

# War and Peace

# Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture

Edited by  
Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge

8

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# War and Peace

Critical Issues in European Societies  
and Literature  
800–1800

Edited by  
Albrecht Classen and Nadia Margolis

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# Introduction

Albrecht Classen

(The University of Arizona, Tucson)

## A. Theoretical and Historical Reflections

War in its myriad manifestations has always, unfortunately, determined human life almost more than any other aspect in history.<sup>1</sup> By the same token, military interests have propelled technological developments more than any other factors, and this both in antiquity and in the twentieth century. Knightly armor, for instance, underwent tremendous transformations throughout the entire Middle Ages, and yet at the end the emergence of gun powder, quickly leading to the inventions of guns and canons, changed all that for good. Let us briefly examine the situation in the Middle Ages, before we turn our attention to warfare in the early modern period.

How much western and central Europe transform during those centuries in the wake of or in response to the massive attacks first by the Huns in the fifth century, then by the Arabs/Saracens in the eighth and ninth centuries, by the Vikings from the eighth through the tenth centuries, by the Magyars in the tenth century, and by the Mongols in the thirteenth century! Later, during the following centuries filled with conflicts between the Ottomans and the European Christian rulers, war strategies and equipments improved and changed considerably, but the need to build weapons, to maintain a military force, to erect defense structures, to work toward military alliances against the enemy, and so forth, did not diminish, of course.<sup>2</sup> As Jean-Denis G. G. Lepage correctly observes, "It was not the French

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<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, the contributions to *Medieval Warfare 1300–1450*, ed. Kelly DeVries. International Library of Essays on Military History (Villiston, VT: Ashgate, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> Philippe Contamine, *La Guerre au moyen âge* (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1980); *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher T. Allmand (London: Duckworth, 1981); John R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe 1450–1620* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1985). See also Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500–1700* (London: Routledge, 2004); *Warfare in Early Modern Europe: 1450–1660*, ed. Paul E. J. Hammer. The International Library of Essays on Military History (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007); John A. Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). The list

chivalry nor Jeanne d'Arc who finally brought the Hundred Years' War to a close and bundled the English back to their island." Instead, as he suggests, it was the invention of gun powder. And he continues: "Powder gave a source of energy thousand times stronger than that of human muscular force; its use as an explosive charge to provide the power to fire missiles was the most influential innovation in the history of warfare."<sup>3</sup> However, virtually the same conditions to a different degree can be observed in earlier times since military conflicts operate normally quite similarly, which allows us to pursue comparative investigations.<sup>4</sup>

War enjoyed a virtually religious character in the Arabic world since the rise of Islam, and some branches continue this *jihad* or *ghiad* today (Taliban, Al Qaida, etc.). To do justice to this huge topic, we would have to add a whole separate chapter both to the present Introduction and to the volume as a whole. Suffice it here at least to keep in mind how much the Muslim world has consistently and regularly embraced holy war against the Christian world or hostile neighbor, who could also have been adherents to the Islamic faith.<sup>5</sup>

The popular slogan in the 1960s "Make love not war" was only seemingly a powerful expression of an effective revolt against the dominance of the military-industrial complex,<sup>6</sup> as President Dwight Eisenhower famously had identified it

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of relevant titles could easily be extended here, especially because virtually every country or nation both in the Middle Ages and far beyond experienced extensive military challenges or was established by way of military operations. To write medieval or early modern history without a strong focus on war (and then also on peace), would be an impossibility.

<sup>3</sup> Jean-Denis G. G. Lepage, *Medieval Armies and Weapons in Western Europe: An Illustrated History* (Jefferson, NC, and London: McFarland & Company, 2005), 248; see also Wendelin Boeheim, *Handbuch der Waffenkunde* (1890; Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1966); Karl Georg Zinn, *Kanonen und Pest: Über die Ursprünge der Neuzeit im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1989); William Weir, *50 Weapons That Changed Warfare* (Franklin Lakes, NJ: New Page Books, 2005). For an excellent overview, see Peter H. Kunz, *Technische Entwicklung der Feuerwaffen 1200 bis 1900: Eine Zusammenfassung der wichtigsten historischen und technischen Daten in Texten, Zeichnungen und Bildern* (Zurich: Ed. à la carte, 2008).

<sup>4</sup> Ryan Lavelle, *Alfred's Wars: Sources and Interpretations of Anglo-Saxon Warfare in the Viking Age* (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2010); cf. Katherine Allen Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture* (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Ronald A. Messier, *The Almoravids and the Meanings of Jihad* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010); see also Jan-Erik Lane, *Religion and Politics: Islam and Muslim Civilization*, with a chapter by Riadh Sidaoui. 2nd ed. (Farnham, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009); David Bukay, *From Muhammad to Bin Ladin: Religious and Ideological Sources of the Homicide Bombers Phenomenon* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2008); cf. also J. Daryl Charles, *Between Pacifism and Jihad: Just War and Christian Tradition* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005); John Kelsay, *Islam and War: A Study in Comparative Ethics* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993). For the conflicts between the two most imperialistic world religions in the Middle Ages, see Stephen O'Shea, *Sea of Faith: Islam and Christianity in the Medieval Mediterranean World* (New York: Walker, 2006).

<sup>6</sup> David Allyn, *Make Love, Not War: The Sexual Revolution, An Unfettered History* (Boston, MA: Little,

in his farewell address on January 17, 1961.<sup>7</sup> As beautiful as the ideal behind that motto might have been, historical reality and our understanding of human nature speak volumes about its romanticizing value. In this context it does not really matter whether we think about Neolithic cultures, the Greek or Roman world, medieval feudalism, or any subsequent societies all over the world, east and west, north and south. Mankind has always tended more to resort to weapons in cases of conflict than to conversations, negotiations, debates, or any other form of communication that make human life worth living.<sup>8</sup> A major portion of human ingenuity has always turned toward building weaponry, siege engines, defense structures, and all the necessary paraphernalia to carry out successful, that is, triumphant warfare, whatever the ultimate purpose, reason, or intention might have been.<sup>9</sup>

War expresses physical might, but also fear. It is a basic need, we might say, for those who want to bully others, subjugate them, oppress them, conquer them, defeat them, hurt them, and also kill them. People have always been greedy, aggressive, reckless, and ruthless, and weapons have continuously been used to achieve the one and only goal to take from the others and to appropriate their

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Brown, 2000); Rainer Jogschies, *Make Love not War!: Die entspannten Siebziger*. Ullstein Sachbuch (Frankfurt a. M.: Ullstein, 1992).

<sup>7</sup> For an excellent review article, see Ronald D. Gerste, "Eisenhower's Warnung vor einem Staat im Staat," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Jan. 18, 2011, no. 14; see also James Ledbetter, *Unwarranted Influence: Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Military-Industrial Complex*. Icons of America (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011). Similarly helpful prove to be Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004), William Proxmire, *Report from Wasteland: America's Military-Industrial Complex* (New York: Praeger, 1970), Sam C. Sarkesian, *The Military-Industrial Complex: A Reassessment*. Sage Research Progress Series on War, Revolution, and Peacekeeping, 2 (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1972), and Paul A. C. Koistinen, *The Military-Industrial Complex: A Historical Perspective* (New York: Praeger, 1980).

<sup>8</sup> Albrecht Classen, "Communication in Medieval Studies," *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms – Methods – Trends*, ed. id. Vol. 1 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010), 330–43.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Purton, *A History of the Early Siege, c. 450–1200* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009). In fact, a major portion of medieval historiography pertains to war and everything associated with it; see, for instance, Ann Hyland, *The Medieval Warhorse from Byzantium to the Crusades*, with a foreword by Michael Prestwich (Far Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire; Dover, NH: Alan Sutton, 1994); Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996); John France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades, 1000–1300* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999); *Weapon: A Visual History of Arms and Armor* (New York: DK Publisher, 2006). See now *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology*, ed. Clifford J. Rogers, together with William Caferro, Kelly DeVries, John France, and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), which "contains articles on military leaders; battles; sieges; individual fortresses; and military technology focusing on subjects such as armor, navigational techniques, and siege warfare tactics. In addition, each regional overview—such as Britain, the Byzantine Empire, and Hungary—includes a discussion of primary sources, an introductory narrative, and an entry on historiography providing a depth and breadth of coverage not found in any other resource on the subject" (online preface).

treasures, homes, or other valuables, including their families. The Romans employed that strategy as well as the subsequent Franks, Vikings, Saracens, Magyars, Mongols, and all the European powers throughout history. Of course, the same would also apply to the rulers in Africa, Asia, Australia, and America, but that should not concern us here despite the numerous parallels.<sup>10</sup>

Of course, there is the whole business of Just Wars, war in defense against an aggressor, protective war, proactive war, etc., but this does not change anything in terms of how people choose to interact with others in this highly volatile world.<sup>11</sup> The difference between a rock used to slay another person and a nuclear bomb is one of quantity, but not in essence—both clearly express the willingness to oppose the other by means of physical force, whether in a concrete face-to-face confrontation or via long distance, with a pilot simply pressing a button to release the bomb which a short time later kills hundreds of thousands of people.

This is not to deny the completely different impact, and also not the different ethical dimension, especially when we consider the meaning of a knightly joust in contrast to massive killings by means of remotely exploded (nuclear) bombs. Individuals have always relied mostly on weapons of all sorts to defend themselves because this earthly existence is not a peaceful one, despite all dreams formulated by many of the great thinkers and founders of religions, despite the stream of preachers and ministers throughout time, and this also in the Middle Ages.<sup>12</sup>

But would this really surprise us? How do people normally interact with each other? As soon as there are no laws, or as soon as there is no enforcement agency, i.e., no police, or no other control mechanism and institution responsible for the supervision and maintenance of peace, individuals begin to fight against each

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<sup>10</sup> Despite the highly promising title, *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Global Medieval Life and Culture*, ed. Joyce E. Salisbury. 3 vols. (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 2009), does not meet scholarly standards and proves to be rather superficial, generalist, and badly marred by countless errors in its presentation of medieval life. Salisbury, in her contribution in vol. 1, focusing on medieval Europe, mentions war once, but then only in passing, 66, but the entire project basically fails because of its much too global scope and lack of expertise by the individual authors. See my review, forthcoming in *Mediaevistik*.

<sup>11</sup> James Turner Johnson, *The Quest for Peace: Three Moral Traditions in Western Cultural History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987); Frederick H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd ser., 8 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Alex J. Bellamy, *Just Wars: From Cicero to Iraq* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006); see also the contributions to *Ethics, Nationalism, and Just War: Medieval and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Henrik Syse and Gregory M. Reichberg (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007); David Whetham, *Just Wars and Moral Victories: Surprise, Deception and the Normative Framework of European War in the Later Middle Ages*. History of Warfare, 55 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009).

<sup>12</sup> Rosa Maria Dessì, *Prêcher la paix et discipliner la société: Italie, France, Angleterre, XIIIe-XVe siècle*. Collection d'études médiévales de Nice, 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).



other, they extend, with all measures available to them, their individual boundaries, and struggle with the authorities, or they establish their own authority in the case of a political vacuum. The essential idea simply consists of gaining control over resources, a living space, and influence over other people and properties. Then there are those wars waged for religious or ideological reasons, but ultimately those can always be traced back to more basic motives, such as fear, hatred, greed, or desire for power. History all by itself would be a fairly simple and not very exciting topic, as contradictory as that might sound, if there had not been military conflicts and struggles throughout time.

Several vices or types of weakness in human existence can be recognized quite easily as the major culprits for the aggressive behavior leading to war and the loss of peace: greed, fear, personal insecurity, and desire for power, perhaps to compensate for that lack of inner strength. More generally speaking, which many poets in the late Middle Ages picked up eagerly, the seven deadly sins can be identified as the source of virtually all the evils in this world.<sup>13</sup> When people have a chance to allow their lust for influence, fame, and reputation get the better of themselves, then weapons of many different kinds are almost automatically utilized to achieve that goal. If individuals or a social group are unchecked by moral, ethical, and religious forces, or are not influenced by specific values promoting peace, community, collaboration, and mutual support, a most dangerous spiral of violence sets in which ultimately engulfs everyone involved.

But there is no absolute certainty regarding how to evaluate war, or violence of any kind. Sometimes we communally recognize a clear sense of a Just War, in order to defend a people, individuals, or a land from outside aggressors. War is always driven by specific interests, and if those interests meet certain expectations, the military operations are suddenly regarded as legitimate and good. It all depends on one's perspective. The side that is attacked claims the right to defend itself, whereas the other argues that it was provoked, or had some other reasons to intervene. And then there are wars that are waged simply because the aggressor's purpose is to conquer, to loot, to colonize, and to acquire wealth from the enemy (see the Vikings, for example). Ultimately, however, there is no need to rationalize war and to search for concrete reasons that might explain military attacks because, apart from simple defense, virtually no country has ever been able to explain in logical terms its own aggressive stance toward neighboring countries, colonies, or any perceived enemy.

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<sup>13</sup> *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser. Papers in Mediaeval Studies, 18 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005); *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals*, ed. id. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 123 (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2007).

Will Hasty once argued that the emergence of courtliness in the high Middle Ages resulted in the global containment of aggression, hence in the control of military operations. But he really has only in mind the way how people within feudal society since the eleventh or twelfth centuries interacted with each other, especially within the circles of the court:

To the extent that courtliness impresses and lulls one's enemies, strategically absorbs and redirects aggression toward another target, or serves the refinement of the means with which force is wielded rather than pacifistic self-refinement, it needs to be seen as a new and more efficient way of controlling aggression, rather than as something that is beyond aggression or opposed to it.<sup>14</sup>

Courtly love dominated the literary scene since then, but this had no or very little impact on the military structure of medieval society, if we think, for instance, of the on-going Crusades or the *Reconquista* on the Iberian Peninsula, and multiple local wars within Europe and outside of its borders.<sup>15</sup> In fact, in the late Middle Ages we observe an increase in the number of heroic texts in which the protagonist are forced to enter war to defend their own country and their people, especially because internecine strife then led to many new types of conflicts. This is powerfully reflected in the rich tradition of the Middle High German *Dietrichepik* in which the exiled protagonist Dietrich painfully struggles over years to recover his inherited lands from his evil uncle Ermrich.<sup>16</sup> We would not be able to correlate in a straightforward manner the fictional projection of human suffering, specifically Dietrich's experience of being exiled, to concrete historical events. What matters, by contrast, is the poet's explicit interest in developing a literary framework in which to elaborate on the fundamental sentiments which an exile has to undergo.

Let us jump back and forth a little in history to grasp the universal meaning of war in people's lives. The way how people all over Europe responded to the outbreak of World War I might be a good example for this strange phenomenon, at least at the beginning welcoming it as a long-desired release of a host of tensions, anxieties, and longings.<sup>17</sup> The same could be claimed for the entire

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<sup>14</sup> Will Hasty, *Art of Arms: Studies of Aggression and Dominance in Medieval German Court Poetry*. Beiträge zur älteren Literaturgeschichte (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2002), 12.

<sup>15</sup> *The Oxford History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>16</sup> Now see Elisabeth Lienert, *Die 'historische' Dietrichepik: Untersuchungen zu 'Dietrichs Flucht', 'Rabenschlacht' und 'Alpharts Tod'*. Texte und Studien zur mittelhochdeutschen Heldenepik, 5 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010).

<sup>17</sup> How much all that enthusiasm was probably manipulated to some extent, can no longer be fully fathomed, and any critical analysis must carefully consider the impact of the economic forces and the propaganda machinery. See the by now classic study by Fritz Fischer, *Griff nach der Weltmacht: die Kriegszielpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschland 1914/18* (1961; Düsseldorf: Droste-Verlag, 2009). See

history of the Crusades from the time of Pope Urban II's sermon in Clermont-Ferrand in 1095 until the fall of the last Christian fortress in the Holy Land, Acre, in 1291.<sup>18</sup> Ideology, or deep religious motivations propelled thousands of participants onto their path, into war, and in many cases toward their death. Many certainly hoped to enrich themselves, others might have been driven by a sense of adventure, but the majority of them certainly pursued religious ideals, as we can tell from the enormous dedication by and investments by the crusaders and their families.

It all depends on the perspective, or the side you are on. Consistently, of course, Islamic historians have viewed the Crusades from very different vantage points than their Western, Christian counterparts. The Hundred Years' War between England and France (ca. 1337–ca. 1453) had enormous ramifications and was viewed—how else could it have been?—from many different positions. The same applies to the Thirty Years' War in Germany (1618–1648), and we could easily go on and examine the world history of wars, such as the Seven Years' War (1765–1763), the Napoleonic wars (1799–1815), the First World War (1914–1918), the Second World War (1939–1945), the Korean War (1950–1953), the Vietnam War/s (1955–1975), not to mention the countless other military conflicts and operations all over the world throughout time up to the present time (see, for instance, the many wars on the African and Asian continents).<sup>19</sup>

Reflecting on recent events in world politics, the USA have regarded their attack on Afghanistan that began on October 7 in 2001 as completely justified and fundamentally legitimate as a matter of defense, whereas the Russian military

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also Celia Malone Kingsbury, *For Home and Country: World War I Propaganda on the Home Front* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press: 2010); Walter Lord, *The Good Years: From 1900 to the First World War* (1960; New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, [2011]).

<sup>18</sup> Again, there is a legion of relevant scholarship on this topic. Most recently, Jonathan Phillips, *Holy Warriors: A Modern History of the Crusades* (2009; New York: Random House, 2010); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*. 2nd ed., rpt. (London: Continuum, 2009); Rebecca Rist, *The Papacy and Crusading in Europe: 1198–1245* (London: Continuum, 2009); Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008). See also, for a comprehensive research overview, Andrew Holt, "Crusade Historiography," *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, Vol. 1, 379–92 (see note 8).

<sup>19</sup> Historians have always expressed greatest interest in wars because, so it seems, they represented the catalysts of all human events in the extreme. See, for instance, George Bruce, *Collins Dictionary of Wars*. Foreword by Field-Marshal Lord Carver. Second ed. (1904; Northampton, UK: HarperCollins, 1995); *The Hutchinson Dictionary of Ancient & Medieval Warfare* (Oxford: Helicon Publishing, 1998); George Childs Kohn, *Dictionary of Wars*. Rev. Ed. (1986; New York: Facts On File, 1999). The critical literature on wars throughout time is legion, but all authors have agreed that wars have been decisive for the development of all history; see, for instance, Michael Ruse, *The Evolution Wars: A Guide to the Debates*. Second ed. (2000; Millerton, NY: Grey House Publishing, 2009); John Lewis, *Nothing Less Than Victory: Decisive Wars and the Lessons of History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

occupation of that same country that began on December 24, 1979 was roundly rejected and condemned by the entire West. Curiously, however, in that case the voice of the Afghan people, probably a chorus of very different opinions, has never really heard outside of its borders.

Today, quite revealingly, many people in the West have second thoughts as to the justification—not to speak of the effectiveness or success—of the military operations by the American and other NATO troops in Afghanistan, either because the goal no longer justifies the means, or because all these military operations simply do not achieve the desired, but mostly elusive social, political, and cultural goals of establishing a free, perhaps even democratic country in Central Asia and nearby.<sup>20</sup> Whether the true objectives behind that war might be nothing but naked economic greed, the desire to control the flow of oil from the region north of Afghanistan, or to gain safe access to huge mineral resources, or drugs, there, cannot be addressed here.<sup>21</sup> After all, are there not always hidden agendas behind every war? Do the masses not always believe that they fight for an ethical ideal, moral values, and the like, while the true sources of power supporting or rather inciting the war have totally different interests?

One point, however, seems to be tragically most true: all military efforts to win in Afghanistan (or Vietnam decades ago for that matter), either by the Soviets or the U.S. troops, have failed for a number of reasons that are frighteningly similar comparing the two separate attempts to conquer that country. Religious fighters, based in a thinly spread rural population, driven by a strong *jihād* ideology, cannot be defeated by conventional weapons, strategies, or even political operations. War is not always the ultimate instrument to control this world.<sup>22</sup> Of course, the

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<sup>20</sup> Dan Edward Caldwell, *Vortex of Conflict: U.S. Policy Toward Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Francis J. West, *The Wrong War: Grit, Strategy, and the Way Out of Afghanistan* (New York: Random House, 2011). The literature on the many modern wars is legion, and yet scholarly opinions, whether from a historical or from a sociological and economic perspective, do not seem to shape concrete politics. See also Michael E. Latham, *The Right Kind of Revolution: Modernization, Development, and U.S. Foreign Policy from the Cold War to the Present and U.S. Foreign Policy from the Cold War to the Present* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011). However, there is a growing unease on many fronts about the validity of war as the only possible *modus operandi*, see Sarah E. Kreps, *Coalitions of Convenience: United States Interventions After the Cold War* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Chiyuki Aoi, *Legitimacy and the Use of Armed Force*. Contemporary Security Studies (London and New York: Routledge, 2011). For more historical perspectives, see Karl-Heinz Golzio, *Geschichte Afghanistans: von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. Bonner Asienstudien, 9 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2010).

<sup>21</sup> This is, of course, a highly politicized argument hotly debated; see, for instance, James Risen, *State of War: The Secret History of the CIA and the Bush Administration* (New York: Free Press, 2006); David E. Sanger, *The Inheritance: The World Obama Confronts and the Challenges to American Power* (New York: Harmony Books, 2009); Geoffrey Wawro, *Quicksand: America's Pursuit of Power in the Middle East* (New York: Penguin Press, 2010).

<sup>22</sup> Larry Goodson and Thomas H. Johnson, "Parallels with the Past – How the Soviets Lost in

examples of World War I and World War II might provide us with different lessons, but there the conditions and the larger frameworks were completely different. Whenever religion enters the picture (Crusades, Thirty Years' War, e.g.) in one or the other way, most traditional military instruments are radically blunted or made useless.<sup>23</sup>

Throughout history, of course, winners have written a different history than losers, and the victorious side has regularly evaluated its military efforts very differently than the losing side. The purpose of our book can consequently not be to identify, for instance, 'good' wars versus 'bad' ones. We would only end up in a quagmire of constantly contradictory arguments if we tried to evaluate, once again, the Crusades, whether from the Christian or the Muslim point of view.<sup>24</sup> People who are involved, affected, hurt, or damaged must speak up, and yet they also must have spokespersons bringing to light their suffering, such as through the poetic medium, or music, the arts, etc. The same applies to countries, communities, states, or other social entities affected by military operations. The cultural historian cannot take away the politicians' responsibilities and make decisions for them, but his/her task certainly consists of addressing the central issue of human suffering resulting from war.

Despite all doubts, we can, and ought to comment critically on the consequences of war and peace, and analyze the conditions that made either one possible, necessary, or impossible to achieve.<sup>25</sup> After all, human life is at stake, and so our society at large. Thus we can grasp once again what one of the essential functions of the humanities prove to be. Especially in the face of war, we need literary or musical expressions of what is truly going on. While for the generals or politicians nothing matters as much as the actual victory in numerical terms, the poets express the basic suffering going on in the individuals' lives.

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Afghanistan, How the Americans are Losing," *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, April 2011 (online at: [http://www.fpri.org/enotes/201104.goodson\\_johnson.afghanistan.html](http://www.fpri.org/enotes/201104.goodson_johnson.afghanistan.html); for a pdf version, see [http://www.fpri.org/enotes/201104.goodson\\_johnson.afghanistan.pdf](http://www.fpri.org/enotes/201104.goodson_johnson.afghanistan.pdf) [last accessed on April 25, 2011]). I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Gerald R. Kleinfeld for pointing out this really insightful article to me.

<sup>23</sup> Jessica Stern, *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill* (New York: Ecco., 2003); Michael Scheuer, *Imperial Hubris: Why the West Is Losing the War On Terror* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 2004); For historical perspectives on this topic, see Norman Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400-1536* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Tomaz Mastnak, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002); Thomas S. Asbridge, *The Crusades: The Authoritative History of the War for the Holy Land* (New York: Ecco Press, 2010).

<sup>24</sup> See the excellent survey article by Andrew Holt, "Crusade Historiography" (see note 18).

<sup>25</sup> Alex J. Bellamy, *Just Wars: From Cicero to Iraq* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009); David Whetham, *Just Wars and Moral Victories: Surprise, Deception and the Normative Framework of European War in the Later Middle Ages*. *History of Warfare*, 55 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009).

At the risk of preaching to the choir, this book will combine a number studies that examine the devastating impact of war particularly in the Middle Ages and the early modern time with the intent of bringing to light the fundamental, continuous, often quite desperate discourse on how to oppose war and to bring about peace.<sup>26</sup> This is intimately interlaced with the discourse on the 'Just War,' whether we should wage war at all, and with the questions why people need military defense—and this proves to be as relevant today as in the past.<sup>27</sup> Naturally, considering the basic social structure of medieval society, with knighthood and chivalry assuming such a central role, we would find only few voices that actually might have explored a peaceful world.

Whether pacifism was only a modern phenomenon cannot be decided here, and we can certainly find some religious groups already in the Middle Ages who strongly advocated absolute peace, such as the Bohemian Brethren,<sup>28</sup> but I would suspect that there were so many external threats challenging medieval people that no one would have questioned the relevance and importance of the military class of knights.<sup>29</sup> Those, however, were supposed to defend all social groups within

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<sup>26</sup> Antony Adolf, *Peace: A World History* (Cambridge, et al.: Polity, 2010); see also the contributions to *Peace and Protection in the Middle Ages*, ed. T. B. Lambert. Durham Medieval and Renaissance Monographs and Essays, 1 (Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies; Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2009); *The Making of Peace: Rulers, States, and the Aftermath of War*, ed. Williamson Murray (Cambridge, New York, et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2009); David Cortright, *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); *War and Peace in Ancient and Medieval History*, ed. Philip de Souza (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). The list of relevant critical studies could easily be extended far and wide.

<sup>27</sup> R. Joseph Hoffmann, *The Just War and Jihad: Violence in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2006); see also the contributions to *The Price of Peace: Just War in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Charles Reed and David Ryall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

<sup>28</sup> Peter Brock, *Pacifism in Europe to 1914* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972); id., *A Brief History of Pacifism: From Jesus to Tolstoy* (Toronto: P. Brock; Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1992); J. Daryl Charles, *Between Pacifism and Jihad: Just War and Christian Tradition* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005); David Cortright, *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

<sup>29</sup> The research literature on this topic is legion, but see *Das Rittertum im Mittelalter*, ed. Arno Borst. Wege der Forschung, 349 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976); Maurice Hugh Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984); Bradford B. Broughton, *Dictionary of Medieval Knighthood and Chivalry: People, Places, and Events* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988); Richard W. Barber and Juliet R. V. Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry, and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989); Werner Hechberger, *Adel, Ministerialität und Rittertum im Mittelalter* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2004); Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Knights: In History and Legend* (Buffalo, NY: Firefly Books, 2009); Jesús D. Rodríguez-Velasco, *Order and Chivalry: Knighthood and Citizenship in Late Medieval Castile*, trans. Eunice Rodríguez Ferguson. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010). Now see also Michael Prestwich, *Ritter: Der ultimative Karriereführer*, trans. from the English by Jörg Fündling (2010;

medieval society. Our concern, however, pertains to the issue of peaceful co-existence with all other neighbors. Theologians and philosophers throughout the Middle Ages were deeply concerned with probing the fundamental meaning of peace and examined from many perspectives the concepts of justice, tranquility, safety, unity, love, and regarded all those within the framework of *pax* and *iustitia*.<sup>30</sup>

Unfortunately, the voices for peace have always been more subdued than those voices placating for and advocating an aggressive, military approach. Nevertheless, all wars throughout time have provoked debates and discussions since interacting with other people by means of weapons cannot, and has never been completely accepted as the norm of the day. Life itself demands peace to thrive and bloom. Ironically, if not tragically, the very opposite often seems to be the case. As the overwhelming evidence of medieval heroic poetry indicates, war was the *modus vivendi*, especially at a time when survival against overpowering external forces was the critical issue. Both the Old English *Beowulf* and the Old French *Chanson de Roland* signal in unequivocal terms the importance of the military, although, as we also can recognize, it was not necessarily the *raison d'être* for those epics. By contrast, the entire genre was predicated on the tragic sense that life is precarious in face of ever rising new dangers and threats for each individual, and that even the most heroic characters have little, or any, chance to defy their own destiny.

## B. Literary Case Studies

The Old High German *Hildebrandslied* (early ninth century) proves to be a remarkable example in this regard because it contains, not so subtly, strong criticism of the old world determined by military operations, feudal bonding, and leadership by mighty war lords. The old Hildebrand, having fought for thirty years on all kinds of battle fields on behalf of his ruler Theoderic, hence of the Hunnish ruler Attila, suddenly faces his own son Hildebrand, whom he had never seen before. Lacking the ability and willingness to talk openly with the young man, resorting to clumsy symbolic gestures to signal their close family relationship, and facing Hadubrand's firm conviction of his father's death, all attempts to establish a peaceful exchange and thus to gain mutual recognition

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Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2011); Linda M Paterson, *Culture and Society in Medieval Occitania*. Variorum Collected Studies Series (Farnham: Ashgate Variorum, 2011).

<sup>30</sup> Wolfgang Huber, "Frieden V. Kirchengeschichtlich und ethisch," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Krause † and Gerhard Müller. Vol XI (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1983), 618–46; here 621–26.

miserably fail. Once the young man has rejected the unknown old man as what the latter claims to be, that is, his long lost father, he gets ready to fight, without speaking any further. The short epic poem concludes with old Hildebrand's monologue in which he bemoans his destiny either to be killed by his own son or to kill him with his own hands. The fragmentary conclusion does not allow us to learn of the outcome of the battle between these two men, but it can only be tragic. We consequently observe the poet's severe criticism of the feudal bonds that make it impossible for father and son to reach out to each other. The fact that the text had been copied by two scribes in the Benedictine monastery of Fulda indicates that they obviously felt attracted to the potential in this heroic song to criticize the tradition of feudal warfare and military lifestyle which could only lead to the mutual killing of father and son.<sup>31</sup>

By the same token, both *Beowulf* and *Chanson de Roland* (or the Middle High German version by the Priest Konrad, *Rolandslied*) certainly glorify the heroic efforts by the protagonists to fight against arch-enemies and to defend the Christian world against the Muslim enemies. But in the *Poema de Mio Cid* military operations, as central as they prove to be, are not identified as the *ultima ratio*. On the contrary, there we observe specific concerns to embrace again the rule of law to determine the relationship between the exiled protagonist and King Alfonso. Although El Cid is a most outstanding hero, his military prowess does not seduce him to mistake his new-found powerful position as ruler of Valencia as significant and independent enough to disregard the feudal order, hence to disrespect the king. In specific contrast to the behavior of the Carrión brothers, El Cid resorts to the laws, appeals to the king's sense of justice, and predicates his claims against his sons-in-law on the ideal of honor coupled with the legal system, diplomatic skills, and mutual respect.

All this does not necessarily imply that absolute pacifism might be a true option everywhere and all the time, if at all. Certainly, for some individuals, however,

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<sup>31</sup> *Althochdeutsche Literatur: Mit altniederdeutschen Textbeispielen. Auswahl mit Übertragungen und Kommentar*, ed. Horst Dieter Schlosser (1998; Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2004), 68–71; for a nicely contextualized reading, see Theodor M. Anderson, "Heroic or Vernacular Poetry?," *A New History of German Literature*, ed. David E. Wellbery and Judith Ryan (Cambridge, MA, and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 12–17; Derk Ohlenroth, "Hildebrands Flucht zum Verhältnis von Hildebrandslied und Exilsage," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 127.3 (2005): 377–413. The literature on the "Hildebrandslied" is legion, but most research has focused on philological and literary-historical issues, not so much on the ethical dimension of the old man's inability to communicate with his son, to perform publicly according to new social standards (after thirty years in exile), and to accept family bonds as superior to feudal bonds. See also my study "'Why Do Their Words Fail? Communicative Strategies in the Hildebrandslied,'" *Modern Philology* 93 (1995): 1–22. For the most recent in-depth discussion, see Victor Millet, *Germanische Heldendichtung im Mittelalter: Eine Einführung* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 24–47.



that would represent an ideal, while others would be opposed to it. Human life is too complicated, diverse, and changing as that we could insist on one model, one concept, and one approach to the challenges in our existence. These challenges occur constantly, and we respond to them as we just can. The issue would be not to close our eyes to them, but to take them on and deal with them constructively. The position pursued by the contributors to the present volume relies on the understanding that conflicts, tensions, and dangers are essential components of our lives, and that we must deal with them in a constructive manner. There are no ideal responses, and utopias prove to be as fleeting as the mundane reality. However, poets and chroniclers, artists and composers provide a variety of media to reflect upon the meaning of violence, war, and peace. Some texts or images idealize war, while others criticize and condemn them radically (see my comments on Goya at the end of this Introduction) This applies as much to the Middle Ages as to our modern world.

As cultural and literary historians, for instance, we are empowered to engage with the discourses that took place in the past, and we are thus entitled to gain direct access to opinions, sentiments, arguments, and feelings as expressed both in public and in the artistic media. It might be impossible today to determine with all desired clarity to what extent poets, minstrels, artists, composers, theologians, or scholars exerted influence on their contemporaries, but the fact by itself that those specific documents, which address the fundamental questions regarding war and peace, have survived until today confirms the validity of the issue both then and in the present. The discourse continues throughout the ages because the challenges do not simply disappear. On the contrary, in time military technology and defense systems become more and more sophisticated, society spends increasing percentages of its available resources on war efforts, and as we have seen so many times repeated over and over, at one point critical mass is achieved, and the system collapses under its own military weight because it is, in the long run, simply not productive, even when it regularly achieves its own set goals.

Those who stand behind the military-industrial complex would rush to its defense, arguing that war has commonly proven to be the decisive engine in the development of new machinery, fighting tools, materials, etc., which subsequently proved to be most fruitful for civilian use. If we consider the close correlation between feudal society and knighthood, both embraced by the ideal of chivalry, which found its most vocal expression in Arthurian literature, courtly love, and Gothic architecture; if we do not do injustice to other here ignored aspects, or combine unrelated aspects with each other, we might have to agree with such a position. Castles, medieval tournaments, the knightly class, courtly romances, etc. were all the by-product of a military system that affected everyone throughout the entire Middle Ages. However, with the rise of new war technology the social conditions changed radically, leading to a shock which late-medieval society

suffered when mercenary soldiers appeared on the battle field, when the cross-bow and the long-bow proved to be so much superior to the knightly sword and armor, and finally, when gun powder made its tremendous impact felt on all traditional warfare.

Nevertheless, there have always been powerful counter-voices explicitly opposed to the use of weapons for whatever purpose and under whatever circumstances (see, for instance, St. Francis of Assisi). It would not be correct to assume rather naively that in the Middle Ages and Early Modern world war was regarded as a normal and everyday experience. Despite many violent conflicts throughout the ages, and despite many groups and individuals in medieval and then also early modern society who favored the use of arms to settle issues with their neighbors and/or enemies, we also perceive many alternative voices arguing quite strongly against war and its devastating consequences. The discourse on 'Just War' can be traced from the time of Saint Augustine down to the present, as several of our contributors will confirm. But this did not mean that the concept of 'Just War' was easy to grasp and found little opposition. Pacifism would be mostly a phenomenon of modernity, and yet we find precursors in the Middle Ages, even if hidden behind the broad interest in the phenomenon itself, 'war' with all its horrific consequences.

We encounter a most remarkable example in the anonymous thirteenth-century Old French 'chante-fable,' *Aucassin et Nicolette* where the young protagonist proves to be most reluctant to engage in a war to defend his father's kingdom because he is mostly concerned with his love for the slave girl Nicolette.<sup>32</sup> When his father promises him that he would be allowed to kiss her at least in return for his fighting, he does so, and performs most impressive deeds of arms. But sequently he is betrayed by his father, even thrown into prison, and Nicolette is shipped away. However, Aucassin follows her and ultimately manages to find her again. On their subsequent journey they reach the country of Torelore, where everything is topsy-turvy, with the king lying in childbed at home while his wife the queen is leading an army, though they fight with crab apples, cheese, and mushrooms.

Nicolette, who had forced the king to pledge that in his country no male would ever lie in child bed again, now asks the king for his permission to enter the melee, which is granted him. But contrary to the king's expectations, the male protagonist actually slays many of the opponents, which horrifies the king because, as he explains: "Il n'est mie costume que nos entrecocions li uns l'autre" (XXXII, 161, 11-12; "It is not our custom to kill each other;" 162). Of course, the entire episode does not really make sense, and only represents a world turned topsy-turvy, but

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<sup>32</sup> Quoted from *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne and Aucassin and Nicolette*, ed. Anne Elizabeth Cobby, with a trans. and introduction by Glyn S. Burgess. Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Series A, 47 (New York and London: Garland, 1988).

it is definitely predicated on the idea that killing is plainly wrong and should not be done, though the specific reasons are not given here.

The poet does not, to be sure, resort to any religious argument; instead he only has the curious king explain that it is wrong to kill and wage a war with deadly consequences. Undoubtedly, we also perceive some similarities to the world of Cockaigne, a dream country where everything is available in plenty, since all those food items can be used as projectiles and weapons.<sup>33</sup> This implies that the king and queen regard war as a sort of a game in which no one is supposed to suffer physical harm, which for Aucassin seems just as absurd as it was supposed to be regarded by the audience. Nevertheless, even in its most abstract context, the poet at least projected the possibility of such a war in which no fighter would have to face his/her death because their projectiles and missiles are food items, and because the war itself seems to be nothing but a game.

Ironically, however, the subsequent events illustrate the illusionary character of this childish kingdom of Torelore where true fighting is not supposed to happen. Once Aucassin and the king have returned to the castle and everyone has dedicated him/herself to the joys of courtly life, a band of pirates arrives, attacks the castle, and takes everyone with them, including the two lovers whom they treat as their booty (XXXIV; 161/162). No one seems to be able to defend the country against the pirates, and all are enslaved, if not killed. If, however, they had set up an energetic defense, things might have been different, though the poet does not address those contradictions. It is alright for him to have the queen wife battle in the field with fruit and cheese, which makes Aucassin break out in loud laughter: “S’en prist a rire” (XXXI, 13; 159; “And started to laugh”; 160).<sup>34</sup> The parody itself comes to a quick end, just as the dream briefly alluded to with the reference to a war without any killing comes to an abrupt ending.

### C. Criticism of War in Medieval Literature

Numerous texts from the Middle Ages that seem to idealize war and battle against infidels or any other enemies signal that the killing of an enemy might be a necessity, but it is still a most lamentable and tragic consequence. In Wolfram von Eschenbach’s bloody and gory, and yet also deeply moving and religiously provocative *Willehalm* (ca. 1218–1220) the protagonist encounters on his desperate

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<sup>33</sup> Herman Pleij, *Dreaming of Cockaigne: Medieval Fantasies of the Perfect Life*, ed. Diane Webb (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

<sup>34</sup> For the significant role of laughter in epistemological terms, see the contributions to *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Epistemology of a Fundamental Human Behavior, its Meaning, and Consequences*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 5 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010), esp. 218.

retreat from the first utter defeat against the Muslim forces the Persian prince Arofels, whom the narrator presents in surprisingly positive terms.<sup>35</sup> But Willehalm slaughters him, upon recalling the death of his own, most beloved young nephew Vivianz (Book II, chapter 76, 13–chapter 81, 12). In his desperation, Arofels pleads for his life, promises endless material treasures, anything that his opponent might desire from his Oriental lands, but Willehalm refuses and kills him nevertheless.

The brutality of that scene is shocking, but the entire epic poem reels with blood lust and slaughter of scores of men. Did Wolfram glorify war, or did he try to formulate any kind of critical opposition to it? It might actually be anachronistic to pursue such a dialectical approach; however, we still realize how much the issue of war and peace surface here and is being thematized in a variety of strategies. After all, Willehalm defends his country, and his wife, Gyburc, who had escaped with him from her heathen home (where she had been known as Arabel), had then converted to Christianity and assumed the new name. What does every individual here on earth want? Ultimately, as Wolfram indicates, nothing but happiness and love. The human creature wants to live in peace and enjoy his/her life. Yet then greed, hatred, aggression, and a host of other vices set in and disturb that harmonious picture. Quickly, then, this idyl is transformed into an aggressive, military situation, and soon enough war erupts. Nevertheless, and that might be the very hallmark of this extraordinary text, despite all the brutal hostility, the enormous shedding of blood, and the furious fighting disregarding any losses on either side, Wolfram also reflected on the tragedy itself when people must kill people. He has some of his figures clearly express a deep sense of sadness about the catastrophic configuration which sets up even family members against each other. Wolfram does not subscribe to the ideal of pacifism, and he does not support peace at any cost, but he made specific efforts to give a human face to the enemy and to show the incredible pain and sorrow resulting from all that killing on both sides of the conflict.<sup>36</sup>

In fact, this fairly simple set-up can be detected in virtually every major text from the Middle Ages and beyond, wherever bitter conflicts emerge and viciously pit people against one another. Rarely do we observe true attempts to resort to a

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<sup>35</sup> Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm*. Nach der Handschrift 857 der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen. Mittelhochdeutscher Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar. Ed. Joachim Heinzle. Bibliothek des Mittelalters, 9 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1991); for a good commentary, see 1023–24. For the English translation, see Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm*, trans. Marion E. Gibbs and Sidney M. Johnson (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1984). See also James A. Rushing, "Arofel's Death and the Question of Willehalm's Guilt," *Journal of English and German Philology* 94.4 (1995): 469–82.

<sup>36</sup> Horst Brunner, "Bilder des Krieges in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit," id., *Annäherungen: Studien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*. Philologische Studien und Quellen, 210 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2008; orig. 1996), 67–79; here 73–74.

legal, communicative, or political solution, as in the Old Spanish epic poem *El mío Cid*. Similarly in the Old Norse Eddic *Njáls Saga* we learn of how much the protagonist endeavors to work with the opponents, to set up agreements, to negotiate, to pay ransom, and to appease the enemies to the extent possible without losing honor.<sup>37</sup> But death cannot be avoided, blood feud and war engulf everyone in the long run, and the survivors, like in the famous *Diu Klage*, the most somber sequel to the *Nibelungenlied*, can only turn to grief and mourning (see below).

Nevertheless, here we identify the crucial reason for the arts, literature, music, and philosophy. They are not simply the superstructure of the economic conditions in Marxist terms. Instead, they provide expressions for protest, alternative ideas, and give vent to emotions, attitudes, dreams, and hopes. They are both prescriptive and descriptive; they project criticism and outline utopian concepts; they profile human life by reflecting upon its extremes and the mundane aspects of our life conditions. There are only few fundamental concerns we all share: love, fear of death, God, and then war. Depending on the cultural, religious, social, and economic framework, individuals or people respond differently to the question of how war and peace have to be balanced out. For those reasons the contributors to the present volume come from many different scholarly disciplines and provide a wide variety of reflections upon the discourse centering on war and peace in the Middle Ages and early modern time. Ideally, the collective insights will create a segue to contemporary concerns regarding the very same issues, but now seen through the historical lens.

## D. Historical Voices Against War and Pragmatic Aspects of War

Can we rely on past statements about such critical issues to gain deeper insights? Do they help us in our efforts to come to terms with the most destructive forces in our lives? Why would we be inclined to dismiss past voices as irrelevant for modern policy making? Undoubtedly, this is the timeless trouble for the Humanities at large, and yet their true strength rests right there where everything seems to be lost, where despair threatens to set in, and when hope seems to be

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<sup>37</sup> *Njáls Saga*, trans. with introd. and notes by Robert Cook (London: Penguin, 1997); see also *The Complete Sagas of Iceland, Including 49 Tales*, ed. Vidar Hreinsson, editorial team Robert Cook et al.; introduction by Robert Kellogg. Vol. 3 (Reykjavík: Leifur Eiríksson Pub., 1997); cf. also Lars Lönnroth, *Njáls Saga: a Critical Introduction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

waning. We are not the first generation to go through such difficult times, and actually we have so many more opportunities to deal with our problems today than our forefathers, it seems. Nevertheless, our perspectives have changed, and we increasingly look only forward, being blindsided to the experiences in the past. Medievalists and Early Modernists are in an ideal position to assist in handling this problem. After all, we live in a time-space continuum, and our existence moves forward on a sliding scale, relying as much on the past as on the present and future. This is not to say that medieval literature, for instance, contains the answers we all have been looking for. That kind of answer actually does not exist, and has never existed. Situations change constantly, conditions prove to be different, people are no longer the same, and the objects, weapons, and tools available to us are very new and serve different purposes.

Nevertheless, and that is the essential hope that makes us keep living, we can learn from the past, from previous or continuous discourses, from experiences people had in the Middle Ages and beyond, and we can think through models of behavior as exemplified in premodern texts, images, and other manifestations of human life. Insofar as war has always been an operation leading to most excessive slaughter and victimization of a large percentage of the civilian population, it represents one of the greatest challenges to life, here excepting the phenomenon of self defense, whatever that might mean. We all face the profound dilemma in deciding the true value of pacifism versus aggressive posturing and acting. The ideal of chivalry as formulated in medieval courtly romances might have represented an extraordinary effort to come to terms with that dilemma by way of a highly artificial construct that conceivably had little to do with reality. Irrespective of that problem, here rests the greatest potential for literature to outline and to discuss ideals as they could be possible or necessary. True literature and great art or music constitute human conscience and forges the path toward the future. Hence, the discussion of war and peace in literary or artistic terms constitutes a major breakthrough in the way how we have handled violence in the past and what we are potentially capable of doing in the present and the future. The Humanities (including History, the Arts, Social Sciences, etc.) study counter models, the basic material for human dreams, and develop strategies how to cope in life in a constructive, perhaps even peaceful way.

But considering the dream world which modern media, among other sources, have put us in, and especially the hollywoodized version of medieval knighthood and chivalry, we have to approach the topic of war and peace in the Middle Ages most carefully. Contrary to many modern opinions, medieval wars were never a nice, gentlemanly game of chivalrous individuals who wanted to demonstrate their prowess. Certainly, chivalry played a huge part, hence a game of rituals designed to impress the observers, if there were any. But the reality was mostly

very different. Whatever medieval war comes into our critical focus, we quickly have to admit that every war, irrespective of the circumstances and conditions, is a bloody, brutal, devastating event in which many human lives are lost and unaccountable suffering result.<sup>38</sup> People everywhere demonstrated their profound fear of external enemies and hostile armies that threatened to attack them, destroy their cities or settlements, rape the women, and kill the men, not to mention children. If we had nothing left of the Middle Ages but castles and city walls, we would quickly assume, and probably not unrealistically, how much medieval people faced, on the average, a most unstable existence and could never rely on an overlord, a bishop, the king, or any other master and his troops for complete protection.<sup>39</sup> However, we would delude ourselves if we then assumed that the enormous efforts made by nobles in the Middle Ages to erect and defend their castles, or by city governments to protect their communities from outside forces with huge walls and other fortification structures had made for a particularly dangerous world.

Architectural mechanisms of defense were as much part of antique Roman or Greek cultures as of the medieval Islamic world, and yet all those societies also enjoyed tremendous cultural developments and had many periods of peaceful existence. Moreover, despite the invention of gun powder and hence despite the subsequent development of guns and cannons which soon threatened to destroy the traditional base of the chivalric class or actually achieved their goal of blowing to pieces countless castles and city walls, architects continued to design and build ever new and more complex defense structures far into the early-modern age, perhaps as late as the nineteenth century.<sup>40</sup> All those constructions, however, do not suggest by default that they were erected in direct, immediate response to military threats. War and peace were never definite, neatly circumscribed historical events. They have always been part of the larger political development and the result of countless negotiations, or their breakdown. A medieval landscape, for instance, dotted with many military strongholds and castles does not necessarily tell us that those who had commissioned their erections were incessantly involved in warfare. A strong defense system, for example, can

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<sup>38</sup> Steven Muhlberger, *Deeds of Arms: Formal Combats in the Late Fourteenth Century* (Highland Village, TX: The Chivalry Bookshelf, 2005); cf. the excellent review by Donald J. Kagay in *The Medieval Review* (online), 11–1–4

<sup>39</sup> “vmbbringt mit starcken turnen, murn”: *Ortsbefestigungen im Mittelalter*, ed. Olaf Wagener. Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, 15 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, Bern, et al.: Peter Lang, 2011).

<sup>40</sup> For fortification systems in the Renaissance, see the contribution to this volume by Jörn Münckner. Cf. also Jean-Denis G. G. Lepage, *Castles and Fortified Cities of Medieval Europe: An Illustrated History* (Jefferson, NC, and London: McFarland & Company, 2002); id., *The Fortifications of Paris: An Illustrated History* (Jefferson, NC, and London: McFarland & Company, 2006). For examples from the Ottoman empire, see Nicolle, David, *Ottoman Fortifications 1300–1710*. Fortress, 95 (Oxford and New York: Osprey Publishing, 2010).

provide for a long period of peaceful existence. But the opposite would not necessarily be the logical consequence either.

Many historians have focused their attention on the various approaches to building defense structures in the Middle Ages and beyond, signaling thereby how much war determined everyday life of most people, whether at court, in cities, or in the countryside. Life in cities was mostly preferable to the countryside specifically because cities offered protection against enemies.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, cities were also regularly objects of military aggression because they housed so many treasures for a gold-hungry military or because they undermined the interests of dukes and other princes to establish complete control over their territories. In the name of political *raison d'être*, war became a most effective mechanism to achieve political ends, or rather, it has always been the case.

It would be difficult to determine where war really ended and peace began, and vice versa, especially in the Middle Ages because the political purposes behind warfare were so intimately intertwined with military operations. Particularly since the twelfth century kings utilized peace negotiations and peace treaties to establish their own bases of power and to demarcate the range of their influence on the political map of their day. As Esther Pascua now observes, "France and England signed pacts in order to designate their entire frontier of expansion in Central and Southern France. Castile and Aragón divided al-Andalus and the kingdoms of Navarre between them on five occasions during the century. The *convenientiae finis* or *concordia* are splendid cases of self-acknowledgement by which kings recognised the right of other kings to expand, thereby implicitly denying the right of others to do so."<sup>42</sup>

### E. Attempts to Establish Peace and To Promote Toleration or Tolerance (?)

While war and fighting have always constituted central aspects of human interaction, people have also always tried to overcome those conflicts and reach

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<sup>41</sup> Hans-Wilhelm Heine, "Archäologische Burgenforschung im Niedersächsischen Landesamt für Denkmalpflege: Geophysikalische Prospektion – Airborne Laserscanning – Digitale Vermessung," *Burgen und Schlösser* 51.3 (2010): 135–43. Apart from a detailed project description he also introduces us to the "Airborne Laserscanning" (LIDAR) approach to the study of historical castles. He rightly laments, however, the steady decline in public support for in-depth research on the topic of medieval castle architecture. See also Heine, "Der „Heidenwall“ in Oldenburg (Oldb.). Eine Holz-Erde-Burg, datiert auf 1032/33 bzw. 1042," *Château Gaillard* 24 (2008): 23–28 (published in 2010); id., "Burgenbau der Salierzeit zwischen Ems und Elbe: Stand der Archäologie," *Nachrichten aus Niedersachsens Urgeschichte* 77 (2008): 147–69.

<sup>42</sup> Esther Pascua, "Peace Among Equals: War and Treatises in Twelfth-Century Europe," *War and Peace in Ancient and Medieval History*, ed. Philip de Souza and John France (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 193–210; here 200. Now see also Paul Kershaw, *Peaceful Kings: Peace, Power and the Early Medieval Political Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).



peaceful settlement. Religious tensions, however, have regularly pitted whole people and even continents against each other, if we think of the Saracen attacks against Europe through the Iberian Peninsula, then the Crusades and finally of the Ottoman wars. While kings and members of the clergy, up to the highest level, the Pope, constantly worked toward inspiring their people to take up the sword against the enemies of Christianity (or vice versa against the enemies of Islam), many poets expressed great discomfort with that idea and outlined alternatives based on erotic relationships, though these then were also predicated on the idea of Christian dominance. Wolfram von Eschenbach explored in great detail the consequences of a love relationship between a heathen queen, Arabel, and a Christian lover, Margrave Willehalm, in his eponymous *Willehalm* epic (ca. 1220). Although the baptized Gyburc, as she is subsequently called, appeals for mutual understanding among the hostile forces on the battle field, this does not lead to the end of fighting. Instead, as Will Hasty has commented, the epic poem (in the vein of the *chanson de geste*) pursues three interests at the same time: "It is about winning a victory for God, preserving a just claim to the love of a beautiful courtly dame, and achieving a privileged social position of power and wealth."<sup>43</sup> Closely examined, of course, Hasty's argument is not original. Already Martin Joose and Frederick R. Whitsell, in the *Middle High German Courtly Reader* (1951ff.) argued that chivalric tournaments were war-games, explainable as contained aggression by returning crusaders.<sup>44</sup>

The true dilemma of this major epic consists of the impossibility to overcome military hostility by means of love and mutual understanding. In fact, Giburc, now married to Willehalm, through her person brings about the horrible war because her father, her former husband, and her own son engage in a battle to defeat her new husband, Willehalm, and to regain her as a trophy, so to speak, representing the true power of the Islamic religion and the Oriental culture. In the famous war council Giburc addresses the essential aspects involved and puts them most

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<sup>43</sup> Hasty, *Art of Arms*, 123 (see note 14). Cf. also Alfred Raucheisen, *Orient und Abendland: ethisch-moralische Aspekte in Wolframs Epen "Parzival" und "Willehalm"*. Bremer Beiträge zur Literatur- und Ideengeschichte, 17 (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Peter Lang, 1997); Christopher Young, *Narrativische Perspektiven in Wolframs "Willehalm": Figuren, Erzähler, Sinngebungsprozess*. Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte, 104 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2000); Nadia Abou-El-Ela, *öwê nu des mordes, der dâ geschach ze bêder sît: die Feindbildkonzeption in Wolframs 'Willehalm' und Usa-mas 'Kita-b al-i?tiba-r'*. Bibliotheca academica, 7 (Würzburg: Ergon, 2001); and especially the contributions to Wolfram's *"Willehalm": Fifteen Essays*, ed. Martin H. Jones and Timothy McFarland. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, NY, and Woodbridge, UK: Camden House, 2002).

<sup>44</sup> *Middle High German Courtly Reader*, ed. Martin Joose and Frederick R. Whitsell ([Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1951]. See also Richard W. Barber and Juliet R. V. Barker, *Tournaments*, 1989 (see note 29). The list of pertinent studies could easily be extended here.

dramatically on the table, knowing too well how much she is in a way responsible for the large number of dead warriors on both sides of the conflict. She herself has made her choice a long time ago in favor of Christianity, so she can only appeal to the Christian princes next to her to fight for the honor of their own religion and to take revenge for the death of Willehalm's young nephew Vivianz. Nevertheless, she explicitly appeals to everyone in the council: "schônnet der gotes hantgetât! / ein heiden was der êrste man, / den got machen began" (book 306, 28–30; "spare the creatures of God's Hand! / The first man whom God created was a heathen").<sup>45</sup>

Then, however, the battle continues, and scores of warriors succumb to their destiny. At the end, the triumphant Willehalm demonstrates impressive sensitivity and pays his respect to the dead heathen kings whose corpses he discovers in a tent. Instead of pillaging their decorations or epitaphs, he orders his men to stand guard and to protect the temporary resting place of these dead heroes. Moreover, he arranges their honorable return to their home country for a worthy burial according to their own religion (book 464, 14–book 465, 30).<sup>46</sup>

Wolfram did not intend to develop a new mentality opposed to military engagements. The military defense of the Christian territory against the Saracen attack was of utmost importance, and had to be achieved at any cost. We would look in vain for a real critique of war in *Willehalm*, although the ultimate peace is certainly welcomed, but only because the Christians have gained the victory over the Muslims.

We can easily find full confirmation for this observation in many other contemporary texts. After all, we are dealing with literature by and for members of the aristocracy, that is, a military class that lived and died by its use of weapons

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<sup>45</sup> Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm*. Nach der Handschrift 857 der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen. Mittelhochdeutscher Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar. Ed. Joachim Heinzle. Bibliothek des Mittelalters, 9 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1991); for a good commentary, see 1023–24. For the English translation, see Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm*, trans. Marion E. Gibbs and Sidney M. Johnson (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1984), 155–56. This famous speech, which seems to address tolerance, and yet does not because Giburc only appeals to the Christian in-laws to show respect for their heathen opponents, has been discussed many times; see, for instance, Albrecht Classen, "Emergence of Tolerance: An Unsuspected Medieval Phenomenon. Studies on Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*, Ulrich von Etzenbach's *Wilhelm von Wenden*, and Johann von Würzburg's *Wilhelm von Österreich*," *Neophilologus* 76.4 (1992): 586–99; David O. Neville, "Giburc as Mediatrix: Illuminated Reflections of Tolerance in Hz 1104," *Manuscripta* 40.2 (1996): 96–114; Martin Przybilski, "Giburcs Bitten: Politik und Verwandtschaft," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 133.1 (2004): 49–60; most recently, see Fritz Peter Knapp, "Leien munt nie baz gesprach: Zur angeblichen lateinischen Buchgelehrsamkeit und zum Islambild Wolframs von Eschenbach," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 138.2 (2009): 173–84.

<sup>46</sup> See my discussion of this issue in Wolfram's *Willehalm* in the "Introduction" to: Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages, ed. Albrecht Classen (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), xxiv–xxviii.

in defense of their lord, in the attack against another lord, or in a larger warfare, such as the Crusades, or in any of the many other wars waged throughout the Middle Ages. As much as some ideologues—which certainly includes poets and artists who might have pursued different intentions—favored sparing the civilian population, others “clearly viewed civilians as a separate and contemptible species—that is, an out-group that must be kept in subjection with liberal doses of violence.”<sup>47</sup> However, it remains rather debatable whether medieval wars truly regularly resulted in total carnage and a brutal cutting down of the defeated enemy, as Kelly DeVries warns us in his critical review of the seminal literature regarding wars in the Middle Ages.<sup>48</sup> After all, apart from some most cataclysmic epics where death dominates completely (*Chanson de Roland*, *Nibelungenlied*), with virtually all protagonists succumbing to their tragic destiny, we hear of horrendous war reports only since the late Middle Ages when new weapons, including canons operating with gun powder, were introduced and a new recruitment system was put into place, substituting the traditional knight with mercenaries and professional foot soldiers. As DeVries comments, “The greatest cause of this [transformation] was the constant warfare going on throughout Europe during this period. Added to this was the encounter of the western with the eastern armies of the Ottoman Turks whose leaders did not value human life in the same way as European generals and soldiers did. . . . The medieval culture that defined warfare valued human life as no era before or after.”<sup>49</sup> This would explain the curious phenomenon of the epic poem *Diu Klage*, which I have mentioned already above. In more than 4300 verses we confront nothing but incessant lamentations, egregious mourning, and deep human suffering by the few survivors of the battle between the Burgundians and all of King Etzel’s troops and loyal warriors, the outcome of which had been a massive number of deaths. Two peoples, two courts, two countries, and the flower of Burgundian knighthood have perished because of Kriemhilt’s desire for revenge. The *Nibelungenlied* poet had very little to say about that, concluding with the few verses:

Diu vil michel êre was gelegen tôt.  
 di liute heten alle jâmer unde nôt.  
 mit leide was verendet des küneges hôchgezît,  
 als ie diu liebe leide zaller jungeste gît. (stanza 2375)<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> David J. Hay, “‘Collateral Damage?’ Civilian Casualties in the Early Ideologies of Chivalry and Crusade,” *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities: Warfare in the Middle Ages*, ed. Niall Christie and Maya Yazigi. History of Warfare, 37 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 3–25; here 9.

<sup>48</sup> Kelly DeVries, “Medieval Warfare and the Value of a Human Life,” *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities*, 27–55 (see note 47).

<sup>49</sup> DeVries, “Medieval Warfare,” 49–50 (see note 48).

<sup>50</sup> *Das Nibelungenlied*. Mittelhochdeutsch/Neuhochdeutsch. Nach der Handschrift B herausgegeben von Ursula Schulze. Ins Neuhochdeutsche übersetzt und kommentiert von Siegfried Grosse (1997;

[The great glory had died there.  
 The people suffered from sorrow and misery.  
 With great pain the king's festival had come to an end,  
 just as love always turns to sorrow in the long run.]

As odd as it might be, *Diu Klage* completely turns away from this theme and almost exclusively treats only the intense feelings by the few survivors and describes their mourning rituals.<sup>51</sup> Interestingly, the central point of concern deals with the question of guilt and what could have been done to avoid the bloodbath. The few survivors discuss, when they are not lost in their sorrow and crying, whether Hagen or Kriemhilt was responsible for the endless conflicts, and what alternatives there might have been to the fighting. Most interestingly, when the news also reaches the Bishop of Passau, he reflects deeply about the conditions leading to the catastrophe and what he himself could do in the wake of it. He quickly realizes that continuous crying would not achieve anything, and would certainly not bring back the slain victims. In his discussion with the messenger Swemmel he reaches the significant insight that the Burgundians altogether had become prey to their pride and hubris, and that their greed for the Nibelungen gold—an expression of the murdered hero Siegfried's intimate connection with the autochthonous forces of the netherworld and hence a symbol of human evil and sinfulness—was ultimately responsible for their own downfall: "If they had simply turned their backs on the gold of the Nibelungen, they could have journeyed to see their sister with her blessing. It is their own fault and a consequence of their arrogance that we have lost all of these good warriors in Attila's land" (3430–38; 163).

Not satisfied with this critical examination, Bishop Pilgrim then takes the next, truly monumental step and commissions a precise record of all the events at the Hunnish court, which is, however, not the fictional basis for the composition of the *Nibelungenlied*. As he emphasizes, "' . . . ez ist diu grœzeste geschicht / diu zer werlde ie geschach'" (3480–81; "This is the most momentous event that has ever occurred on the face of the earth"). But the text was then composed not in the

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Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 2010). See also the contributions to *The Nibelungen Tradition: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Francis G. Gentry, Winder McConnell, Ulrich Müller, and Werner Wunderlich (New York and London: Routledge, 2002).

<sup>51</sup> Joachim Bumke, *Die vier Fassungen der 'Nibelungenklage': Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte und Textkritik der höfischen Epik im 13. Jahrhundert*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte, 8 (242) (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996). See also my translation and commentary, *Diu Klage mittelhochdeutsch - neuhochdeutsch*. Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar und Anmerkungen. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 647 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1997); for the English, see *The Lament of the Nibelungen (Diu Chlage)*. Trans. and with an Introduction by Winder McConnell. Translations from Medieval Literature (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1994).

vernacular; instead in Latin, the language of the learned. Here we come across one of the most remarkable instances where a poet clearly outlines strategies how to impact society outside of the fictional world. As the narrator conveys to us, reading about a tragedy such as the one that destroyed all the Burgundians and the court of King Etzel can result in a change of behavior or attitude. The poet thus tries to influence his audience and transform them from being so passionate about heroism and military operations into a different kind of people, understanding the drastic consequences of hatred and vengeance, avoiding the escalation of violence, and the quest for new communicative channels which might lay the foundation for a new type of society.<sup>52</sup> The basic question raised here does not pertain to issues such as 'Just War' or legitimacy of physical violence or military operation. Instead, in *Diu Klage* we are faced with the much more far-reaching concern with how human interaction could be better regulated and self-controlled in order to contain, if not to subdue, aggression.

Of course, neither in the *Nibelungenlied* nor in *Diu Klage* do we observe an explicit commentary on war, for instance, or an appeal for peace. The warriors are still deeply admired and presented as glorious heroes. The issue rests elsewhere, that is, in the human conflicts based on envy, jealousy, hatred, fear, and greed. But the results are just as cataclysmic and tragic, as the constant lamenting and mourning indicates. The worst, however, might be the few survivors' loneliness, such as Dietlinde, whose father Rüdiger has died in the battle, and whose mother has passed away grieving over the loss of her husband. But Dietrich, on his way perhaps back to his home country, promises her that he would find a husband for her who then would help the young woman to rule the orphaned margraviate. Nevertheless, as the narrator comments, "dô scieden si von dannen / lachende ez niht gescach" (4278–79; They then took their leave of one another, but it was without any laughter).

## F. Severe Criticism of War

We can look far and wide in medieval and early modern literature trying to identify any passage where war itself, and then chivalry, or knighthood, would be truly criticized. The consequences, however, are often discussed in most egregiously critical terms. Another example from late medieval German literature might serve us well to illustrate the function which poets assumed regarding war and its devastating consequences for people at large. Around 1400 the Swiss public

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<sup>52</sup> "Rituale des Trauerns als Sinnstiftung und ethische Transformation des eigenen Daseins im agonalen Raum der höfischen Welt. Zwei Fallstudien: *Diu Klage* und *Mai und Beafloer*," *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 36 (2006): 30–54.

notary Heinrich Wittenwiler composed an allegorical verse narrative, *The Ring*, which is mostly based on the idea of a peasant satire.<sup>53</sup> Recent German scholarship has recognized its social-historical relevance as a poetic statement about the basic conditions at that time. The poet is most painfully concerned with the social classes being in dangerous conflict with each other, with the deterioration of the bonds among all people, with the loss of fundamental ethical values, and with the futility of teaching about principle ideals concerning human society. Despite all attempts by the two protagonists, a young peasant lad, Bertschi Triefnas, and his beloved, Mätzli Rüerenzumpf—both names certainly carrying obscene or scatological meaning—and their advisors and friends to arrange their marriage, at the end aggression erupts, quickly leading to physical exchanges, which then escalate into massive fighting and then war. Tragically, however, this war engulfs the entire village population which is killed by their opponents, a neighboring village who manage to decimate them completely, with the only exception of Bertschi because they regard him as an insane, so they leave him alone.<sup>54</sup>

Ironically, in the preparation for the war against the neighboring village, the citizens of Lappenhausen are given a fully-fledged lecture on how to carry out war (6683–861). But despite their best efforts, this is all for nought, and they all have to die, including the women and children because, as the narrative context indicates, they are completely foolish and do not understand how to cope reasonably in life. Sadly, however, the instructions are actually based on classical teachings pertaining to war, but nevertheless they all fail to follow the advice and so have to succumb to death.<sup>55</sup> It does not really matter for us whether Wittenwiler wants to criticize the peasants of Lappenhausen or people at large, since this is an allegorical romance. The critical issue proves to be, by contrast, the peasants' desire in the first place to pursue war at any cost and not to consider the consequences for their own lives and those of their families. Very similar to the *Nibelungenlied*, however, the poet outlines in radical terms the devastating results of this kind of thinking that prioritizes military operations over any kind of communicative strategy.<sup>56</sup> The consequences are plain to see for everyone, the

<sup>53</sup> Heinrich Wittenwiler, "*Der Ring*", herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Bernhard Sowinski. Helfant Texte, T 9 (Stuttgart: helfant edition, 1988); see also Heinrich Wittenwiler, *Der Ring*. Frühneuhochdeutsche / Neuhochdeutsch. Nach dem Text von Edmund Wießner ins Neuhochdeutsche übersetzt und herausgegeben von Horst Brunner (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1991).

<sup>54</sup> Barbara Könneker, "*Dulce bellum inexpertis*: Kampf und Krieg im 'Ring' Heinrich Wittenwilers," *Heinrich Wittenwiler in Konstanz und 'Der Ring'* (Tagung Konstanz 1993), ed. Horst Brunner. *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft* 8 (1994/1995): 59–77; Horst Brunner, "Rede, Blut, Trauer: Der Krieg in Heinrich Wittenwilers 'Der Ring'," id., Joachim Hamm, Mathias Herweg, et al., *Dulce bellum inexpertis: Bilder des Krieges in der deutschen Literatur des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. *Imagines Medii Aevi*, 11 (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2002), 13–36.

<sup>55</sup> See Brunner's commentary, 579–80.

<sup>56</sup> Albrecht Classen, *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung: Die Suche nach der kommunikativen Gemeinschaft in der*

village is destroyed and all of its inhabitants have died, except for the foolish Bertschi, who never understands truly why this tragedy has happened and what it all means. He admits to himself:

'Owe, jämerleicher tag,  
 Das ich dich ie gelebt hab!  
 Des muoss ich iemer leiden pein  
 Mit chlagen an dem hertzen mein  
 Und mangeln pittern jamer dulden  
 Nicht anders dann von meinen schulden,  
 Das ich so weisleich was gelert  
 Und mich so wenig dar an chert.  
 Wie chlaine wolt ich es gelauben –  
 Nu sich ich selber mit den augen:  
 Wer heut lebt, der stierbet morn!  
 ...!'

(9674–84)

[Oh dear, what a miserable day, woe to me that I have to experience it! I will have to suffer pain from it for ever and lament deeply in my heart and suffer much bitter sorrow, and this all only because of my own fault, since I, although so wisely taught, cared so little for it. How little did I believe that it could come true, but now I see it with my own eyes: He who lives today will die tomorrow!]

Of course, subsequently Bertschi retires into the Black Forest, far away from all mankind, dedicating the rest of his life to God, which guaranteed him at the end his soul's salvation. Only the ironic tone of the narrator's voice helps us to gain a higher viewpoint here because despite the best teachings which are amassed in this text nothing comes of it: neither a happy marriage nor a successful war. Wittenwiler roundly condemns these peasant figures, who serve, of course, as allegorical characters representing all of us, alerting us to the profound problems: when people only rely on military operations to achieve their political goals. Better would have been, of course, to avoid the conflict altogether, the cause of which was most ridiculous, namely, one peasant, the old Eisengrain, scratching the palm of his dance partner so hard out of sheer happiness over the joyfulness of the wedding festivities that it begins to bleed. Actually, he intended to signal to her that he felt love for her (6451), but he did not understand the consequences of his own actions and so brings about a total transformation of their happy

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*deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, 1 (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2002), 401–35; Pamela Kalning, *Kriegslehren in deutschsprachigen Texten um 1400: Seffner, Rothe, Wittenwiler*; mit einem Abdruck der Wiener Handschrift von Seffners "Ler von dem streitten". Studien und Texte zum Mittelalter und zur frühen Neuzeit, 9 (Münster, New York, et al.: Waxmann, 2006). Cf. also Werner Röcke, "Der groteske Krieg: die Mechanik der Gewalt in Heinrich Wittenwilers 'Ring'," *Der Krieg im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit: Gründe, Begründungen, Bilder, Bräuche, Recht*, ed. Horst Brunner (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1999), 263–77.

ceremonies.<sup>57</sup> As the narrator emphasizes, peasants always tend to make mistakes and to hurt themselves, like the true bumpkins who they are (6456–57), which has to be understood, however, as a metaphorical expression.

Of course, Wittenwiler ridicules the world of the peasants, but they represent, in reality, everyman, us, that is, the human creature in all its small-mindedness, ignorance, emotionality, and aggression. Considering how insightful the poet's observations are regarding human nature, which tends to resort to violence even when provoked just a little, not hesitating to use weapons to achieve its mostly silly, arrogant, and truly foolish goals, we might feel humbled as to the minuscule progress we as people have made since the Middle Ages. Wars are still with us, if not even more so than ever with much more deadly weapons, hence much more devastating than in the past. Consequently, when we cannot control our emotions, and then rush into war, the impact is still the same, though on a much larger scale than at Wittenwiler's time.

The little scene during the dance at the wedding would have to be considered insignificant, but it quickly balloons into a major strife because violence engenders violence, and once blood has been spilt, there is no more an end in sight, as the *Nibelungenlied* has already taught us. Certainly, Gredul's hand is bleeding, but Eisengrain could have simply apologized. When her uncle Schindennak observes the episode, he immediately bursts out with vehement insults and threats, leaving the other peasant no chance to explain himself, not to speak of apologies. Instead, the culprit knows of no self-constraint either and retorts with equally hurtful comments, threatening his opponent that he would not hesitate to rape Schindennak's mother and niece as a counter-measure (6469–70). Little wonder that this then quickly escalates into a ruckus, and that in turn into a serious attack against each other, in which quickly several of the peasants die (6491). In other words, here we face the origin of the whole conflict, and then of the war. Whether it might have been avoidable, no one might be able to say, but the poet clearly formulates his criticism of these foolish people—to avoid the narrow term 'peasants'—and outlines in dramatic terms what the conditions for an emerging war might be.

Significantly, when the Lappenhausen peasants, to whom the two protagonists belong, request help also from the cities in the German Empire, the urban council under the leadership of the Constance bailiff decides to refuse their support because they do not want to be dragged into a foolish war which they would not profit from and which ultimately would only hurt them. As the bailiff emphasizes,

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<sup>57</sup> Eckhart Conrad Lutz, *Spiritualis fornicatio: Heinrich Wittenwiler, seine Welt und sein 'Ring'*. Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen, XXXII (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990). See also Albrecht Classen, "Heinrich Wittenwiler," *German Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation, 1280–1580*, ed. James Hardin and Max Reinhart. Dictionary of Literary Biography, 179 (Detroit, Washington, DC, and London: Gale Research, 1997), 326–31.



they are all bound to provide protection to a Christian if the latter suffers from unjust treatment (7781–84). Getting involved in two people's or two parties' conflicts would only mean trouble and cause the cities to commit injustice themselves. Helping the weaker side might be problematic as well, and the best would be to let those who seek a fight and do not want to listen to advice to pursue their own desires, even if that means war, as it then happens in Wittenwiler's *Ring*.

The cities send emissaries to the peasants of Lappenhäusen, urging them to preserve peace, but the latter rudely reject that insinuation and insist instead on their right to fight and to achieve their revenge (7859–64). As the poet thereby underscores, lack of reason, readiness to employ violence, revengefulness, and aggressive attitudes prove to be the essential components that easily lead to war. Rationality would be an instrument to avoid it, but the peasants in Wittenwiler's work are impervious to it. We must conclude that this also implies how little military operations can be avoided because reasonable people tend not to have any influence on war mongers. Significantly, however, the representatives of the cities can withstand the lure of war and see through the fabrication of its seeming promises for glory and honor. Intellectuals live in the cities, and when they can advise the city governments, they might have some constructive influence.<sup>58</sup>

At about the same time as this voluminous allegorical romance was created, the famous French contemporary to the Swiss writer, Christine de Pizan (1364–1430), composed a major treatise, the *Livre de paix* (1412–1413), and this during a time of major political and military disturbances and unrest in France.<sup>59</sup> “Central to Christine's understanding of the art of government is that it should be directed toward the common goal and be guided by wisdom and the virtue she calls ‘prudence,’ the word used by French medieval authors to translate Aristotle's *phronesis*.”<sup>60</sup> Since Christine was a diligent compiler and freely drew from many different sources, including Brunetto Latini's *Livre du Trésor*, and thus also, and most importantly, Aristotle's *Ethics*, then Alan of Lille's *De Virtutibus*, and Thomas Aquinas's *Commentary on the Metaphysics of Aristotle*, we can gain a good insight

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<sup>58</sup> For the culture and social-economic conditions of city life in the premodern world, see the contributions to *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 4 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009).

<sup>59</sup> Nadia Margolis, *An Introduction to Christine de Pizan*. *New Perspectives on Medieval Literature: Authors and Traditions* (Gainesville, Tallahassee, et al.: University Press of Florida, 2011).

<sup>60</sup> Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Peace*, ed., trans., and with an introd. and commentary by Karen Green, Constant J. Mews, Janice Pinder, and Tania Van Hemelryck. *Penn State Romance Studies* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 21. See also Karen Green, “On Translating Christine de Pizan as a Philosopher,” *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Green and Mews. *Disputatio*, 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 117–37.

in the broader discourse on war and peace as it dominated late-medieval intellectual debates. Her approach proves to be a political one because she expresses her greatest concern with the situation in France itself, or in any kingdom: "Every kingdom divided in itself will be destroyed, and every city or house divided against its own good cannot endure" (63). Internecine strife threatens to destroy the social cohesion or fabric of any society, and the greatest threat to peace actually results from tensions and problems within. Discord and dissension were the major reasons for the mighty empire of ancient Rome, and so also of the supreme power for Troy, to fall and succumb to external threats. Her precept for kingdoms to survive is very simple, but perhaps also very effective: "peace and love" (63).

In a way Christine does not tell anything new, as she herself refers the readers to the fundamental statements in the Old Testament regarding the beauty and relevance of peace. But at her time, and so also today, such statements are of greatest importance and needed to be brought up again and again because the perpetrators do not seem to hear them or simply tend to disregard them as irrelevant. Very similar to Wittenwiler, Christine emphasizes the importance of responding to "spitefulness and ill will" with "clemency, good cheer, and geniality" (64). People tend to break out in flares and get into a dangerous rage. Hence it would be the task of the leader/s of a country, such as a king, to exert such gentleness "that you entice and soften their hearts" (4). To this she hastens to add: "So let the sting of past rancor, as much for the love of you and your gentleness as for their own good, be altogether smoothed away and turned into love, benevolence, and unity" (64). True peace, which she regards as one of the highest values in life, arises from a virtuous life, which she defines, in close proximity to Cicero's, or rather pseudo-Cicero's *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, as the combination of prudence, justice, magnanimity, fortitude, clemency, liberality, and truth (65).

Both classical authorities such as Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca, and biblical authors support her arguments in favor of a peaceful life for oneself and society at large. Pondering on how a prince can achieve a virtuous life, she emphasizes the need to consult with "learned jurists" (71), that is, to rely on a cohort of trustworthy advisors, which is a very similar scenario to the one projected by Wittenwiler in his episode with the council of the cities who deliberate whether they should respond to the Lappenhäusen request to provide military support against their neighbors. Christine does not express pacifist ideas, but she urges the king, to whom she addresses her treatise, to follow the model provided by Julius Caesar, Pompey, and Scipio "who first strove to be knowledgeable and wise in planning the great enterprises which they later accomplished, better governed by knowledge than by force of arms" (71). There is no word about the potential disarmament of the knights, for example, and about ending all wars—virtually an

impossibility both then and today. Instead, Christine clearly emphasizes how a prince can ensure justice and peace “by keeping his knights well ordered and busy with their training and other duties, by respecting the clergy’s privileges and rights, by keeping the bourgeois loyal and the merchants (whether foreigners or locals) well regulated, and by keeping peace among the people, not involving them in anything except their labors and trades (as good policy required), not permitting them any extortion on anyone” (72).

Christine does not get tired underscoring the importance of good counsel to a prince, especially counsel by the old and wise who have had enough time in their lives to acquire the necessary experience and profound understanding (77). Quoting Solomon, the author highlights this component more than everything else with respect to advisors: “wisdom is worth more than strength, and the prudent man more than the strong” (78; Ecc. 9:16). Of course, at closer analysis we also recognize a strongly conservative streak in Christine’s arguments, advocating unequivocally in favor of the traditional structure of her society, with each class doing what it is supposed to do according to customs: “So will everything be in its right place, without anything unreasonably encroaching upon anything else” (95). However, she is not blind to the concrete, realistic conditions leading to war in her world, yet she comments bitterly, citing Sallust, about the true course of military actions: “war and battle is lightly undertaken and begun, but nevertheless, as he says and as experience confirms, its conclusion is always wretched. An end to battle does not issue from the power of the stronger side, nor victory from the merit of those who hold it: it is rather in Fortune’s gift, by the will of God” (98).

War tends to be an evil thing and should be avoided almost at any cost, as she appeals to the prince, whom she urges to avoid all conflicts if possible, to be generous and supportive of his own people, and to do good wherever an opportunity arises. A cruel king can never hope to squash all his enemies, since hatred and mean spirit engender the equivalent response from the other side (99). A good king, by contrast, aims for justice and employs worthy administrators, punishes the evildoers, protects the innocents, exerts his power to fight against evil, and rewards the good (102–03). Ultimately, Christine’s treatise does not really examine the very nature of war and peace. Instead, she carefully examines what a good ruler/prince ought to be, how he should behave, both in peace times and in war. From virtues result peace. In her own words: “since all our labors are directed toward having peace, . . . , may every effort be made so that peace is upheld among us creatures that reason” (127). This does not mean for her that wars can be avoided under any circumstance because “true justice and reason may permit wars that are undertaken for a just cause” (129). Force and power can, indeed must, be used for a proper political approach, but they must be restrained and reasonably employed (135).

I break off at this point because Christine demonstrates from then on more concern with public morality, ethics, a prince's charity, his ability to communicate with his people, and the like, and hardly discusses the nature of war and peace. But we can clearly discern how much these two issues weigh heavily on her, and how much she regarded it as her duty as a publicly recognized writer to address them and to develop fundamental approaches to the framework that make possible the development of military aggression or, vice versa, the emergence of peace. I can also refer to the contribution to this volume by Angus J. Kennedy, who approaches this topic by analyzing a variety of other texts by Christine de Pizan.

However, one final aspect still deserves to be addressed, concerning civil strife, or war within one country, with one party or group of people pitted against the other. There are many reasons why a country might rise up and begin a war against another country. But when members of the same body politic tear at each other and try to destroy the other, the entire entity is in danger of being brought to death:

Now, let us imagine for a moment what it must have been like to see drawn up in mortal battle, as happened every day and at every hour, so many princes and noblemen, all of one and the same body, under one head and sovereign lord, killing each other and dying pitifully: from the painful thrust of Fortune, in the house of woe. Reflect on how frightful it would be to see a man so charged with anger that he strove to destroy himself by tearing his own flesh with his teeth, his hands hitting each other with great blows, and each pulling against the other, the feet striking his eyes if that were possible, and withal the whole body thrashing in furious movement against itself. One would certainly say that such a man was moved by great madness. But alas! Is it not similar with civil war in a country, and especially in this one? (146)

The sad irony consists of the futility of the poetic word against the fury of war and death. Throughout the centuries we hear countless voices raised against the use of weapons and against the staging of war. In fact, war has regularly brought out some of the most powerful and moving poems, such as the famous German Baroque poetry by individuals such as Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664).<sup>61</sup> Seen the other way around, poetry quickly emerges as one of the most important mediums

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<sup>61</sup> Irmgard Weithase, *Die Darstellung von Krieg und Frieden in der deutschen Barockdichtung*. Studienbücherei, 14 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1953); Gerhard Friedrich Strasser, "The Iconography of War in d'Aubigné, Gryphius, and Milton," Ph.D. diss., Brown University, Providence, RI, 1974; Irmgard Elsner Hunt, *Krieg und Frieden in der deutschen Literatur: vom Barock bis heute*. Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe I: Deutsche Sprache und Literatur, 798 (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Peter Lang, 1985); *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe: der Dreißigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe*, ed. Benigna von Krusenstjern and Hans Medick. Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 148 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999); *Memoria Silesiae: Leben und Tod, Kriegerlebnis und Friedenssehnsucht in der literarischen Kultur des Barock: zum Gedenken an Marian Szyrocki (1928–1992)*, ed. Mirosława Czarnecka. Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, 2504 (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2003).

for the critical engagement with the horrible experience of war, irrespective of the specific time period.<sup>62</sup> However, the opposite also proves to be the case since poetry has traditionally glorified heroic events and accomplishments in war, as best represented by the large corpus of heroic poems from *Beowulf* to *El Poema de Mío Cid*, the *Edda* and the *Chanson de Roland*.<sup>63</sup> By the same token, medieval and early modern chronicles are filled with detailed accounts about warfares, and if we look carefully, we easily notice, maybe only between the lines, but certainly within the full texts, the degree to which the alleged glory of battle, of knighthood, and even of chivalry were part of a collective effort to ideologize the brutal and horrific reality.<sup>64</sup>

## G. Philosophical Reflections On War

The critical issue always proves to be the conflict between external pressures and internal ideals and values. Is there a 'Just War'? Would any individual be allowed to kill in self-defense, or upon the command of a leader, general, prince, or king? What justifies a Crusade? What did it mean for the Vikings to roam freely throughout Europe, looting and pillaging, taking lives wherever they met with resistance? How did Charlemagne view the death of thousands of people in the wake of his expansive wars of conquest? Did the English kings care about the suffering of the people when they tried to hold on to their French lands during the Hundred Years' War? Raising such questions is tantamount to negating them, of course, since we are dealing with human folly, the greatest force here on earth. Philosophers, psychologists, military strategists, poets, artists, preachers, and orators throughout time have confirmed this observation over and over again.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Albrecht Classen, "Death Rituals and Manhood in the Middle High German Poems *The Lament*, Johannes von Tepl's *The Plowman*, and Heinrich Wittenwiler's *Ring*," *Grief and Gender: 700–1700*. Ed. by Jennifer C. Vaught (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 33–47.

<sup>63</sup> The literature dealing with the genre of heroic poetry is immense, and the range of topics discussed can hardly be summarized; for a useful anthology of primary material in the Spanish context, see, for instance, *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, selected sources trans. and annotated by Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher. Manchester Medieval Sources Series (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000); for the Old Norse Saga, see now Margaret Clunies Ross, *The Cambridge Introduction to the Old Norse-Icelandic Saga* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>64</sup> See the contributions to *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities* (see note 47)

<sup>65</sup> See, for instance, Ladislav Farago: "History would not be what it is, the record of man's crimes and follies, if logic and decency governed its events and great decisions." This is an epigraph to Bernard Norling's *Timeless Problems in History* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1970). See James H. Toner, *The Sword and the Cross: Reflections on Command and Conscience* (New York, Westport, CT, and London: Praeger, 1992), 15.

We could easily cite countless voices that have addressed the importance, yet also dangers and challenges of war. One of the most fascinating and enigmatic one was the Chinese general Sun-Tzu (active in the 6th century B.C.E.), who commented in his famous *Art of War*: “In War, / Victory should be / Swift. / If victory is slow, / Men tire, / Morale sags. / Sieges / Exhaust strength; / Protracted campaigns / Strain the public treasury. // If men are tired, / Morale low, / Strength exhausted, / Treasure spent; / Then the feudal lords / Will exploit the disarray / and attack. / This even the wisest / Will be powerless / To mend.”<sup>66</sup> Being the highly respected strategist that he was, Sun-tzu emphasized, “No nation has ever benefited / From a protracted war” (10). And he added: “In War, / Prize victory, / Not a protracted campaign. // The wise general / Is a Lord of Destiny; / He holds the nation’s / Peace or peril / In his hands” (11).

Oddly enough, war is closely associated with poetry because the resulting death needs to be dealt with critically and aesthetically. When Sun-Tzu underscores the dangers one might go into when entering a war, the poet then would follow him and reflect upon the consequences, the spilled blood, the wounded, the dead. So, it is an ongoing process of trying to come to terms with one of the most violent actions in human life. Many scholars have already dealt with it, but the issue proves to be so complex that we cannot simply be content with previous efforts. We need, above all, a more comparative and interdisciplinary approach to the task at hand, and the contributions to the present volume aim to do just that, at least by way of addressing a wide range of texts and issues correlated with war and peace.

The collective whole of this anthology of essays will hopefully take us further in the understanding of the universal discourse on the central topics to be considered when we deal with war. As in the previous volumes of our series “Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture,” the range of topics extends from late antiquity to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. We cannot build a continuous flow of arguments connected one period with the other in a seamless narrative, since this is not a monograph and since the issues themselves are just too complex. Nevertheless, by bringing together such a variety to critical essays, we believe that the discourse itself focusing on war and peace

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<sup>66</sup> Sun-tzu (Sunzi), *The Art of War*, ed., trans., and with an introduction by John Minford (London: Penguin, 2002), 9–10; Pierre Fayard, *Comprendre et appliquer Sun Tzu: la pensée stratégique chinoise: une sagesse en action* (2004; Paris: Dunod: Polia éd., 2007); David E. Hawkins and Shan Rajagopa, *Sun Tzu and the Project Battleground: Creating Project Strategy from ‘the Art of War’* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Ovid K. Wong, *Pivotal Strategies for the Educational Leader: The Importance of Sun Tzu’s The Art of War* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Education, 2008); for a quick and reliable introduction to Sun-tzu, see [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sun\\_Tzu](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sun_Tzu) (last accessed on April 1, 2011), with a useful bibliography.

will emerge more clearly and become somewhat more transparent in its fundamental significance.

After all, each generation, every culture and people, every government and each individual has to face the question ever new whether one can or even should utilize weapons for an array of purposes and justifications. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Martin Luther, and many others before and after them dealt with the challenge to what extent the use of weapons might be legitimate. One example would be the group of scholars known as the 'School of Salamanca' who consisted of Dominicans, Jesuits, and other learned members of the clergy in Spain during the sixteenth century. Where does sinful behavior end, where does good behavior begin for a warrior or a prince who wages a war? What circumstances would make war right, and what conditions would make it wrong? And how would we have to evaluate the conflictual situation of the victor always being right?<sup>67</sup> At stakes prove to be not only the utilization of weapons for political ends, but also the legality of warfare, the employment of public goods, and the endangerment of human lives, either of the soldiers involved, or the collateral damage, the civilian population, to use the modern day parlance of our military echelon. Throughout the ages the debate concerning war and peace has deeply affected the Catholic and other Churches since it is one of profound ethical significance.<sup>68</sup>

## H. Research on War and Peace in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period

Our project is not the first one, of course, and medievalists and early modernists have often looked into the matter of war and peace in the premodern era. The contributors to a volume edited by Brian Patrick McGuire discussed the role of Christ as Warrior in Old English Poetry (Graham D. Caie), the control of violence through the means of friendship expressed in letters (McGuire), the correlation between war, woman, and love (Nanna Damsholt), the attempt by King Stephen to establish peace in his realm (Christopher Holdsworth), the ideals of chivalry with respect to a consolidation of high medieval society (Maurice Keen), the treatment of war and peace in Middle English romances and in the works by Chaucer (Karl Heinz Göller), the issue of Just War (Sten Ebbesen), the concept of war and peace in Islam (Frede Løkkegaard), and the relationship between war and

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<sup>67</sup> See the text anthology *Kann Krieg erlaubt sein? Eine Quellensammlung zur politischen Ethik der Spanischen Spätscholastik*, ed. Heinz-Gerhard Justenhoven and Joachim Stüben. Theologie und Frieden, 27 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006).

<sup>68</sup> See the contributions to *War or Peace? The Search for New Answers*, ed. Thomas A. Shannon (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1980).

music in the Middle Ages (John Bergsagel), to mention some of the highlights.<sup>69</sup> In the volume edited by Diane Wolfthal, the emphasis rests much more on individuals who endeavored to engage hostile forces into negotiations and thus tried to establish peace.

Michael W. Herren investigates the situation in early medieval Ireland; Lori Eshleman turns her attention to images in sculptures on Gotland, Sweden, that were acclaimed for their efforts to establish peace. John Edward Damon considers the role of advisors in the reign of Æthelred Unræd who worked toward the establishment of peace, while Carol Stamatis Pendergast focuses on attempts to create peaceful settings outside of city walls in eleventh- and twelfth-century southern France. Other authors address mystical literature (Kirsten M. Christensen); the approaches to our topic by the Coptic Church (L. S. B. Maccoull), Scottish and French military campaigns against Henry VIII which tried to overcome all opposition and thus to establish eternal peace (Ben Lowe); Ronsard's peach poetry (Cynthia Skenazi); the strategies with marriage as a convenient tool to avoid war in the Renaissance period (Sheila Ffolliott); and concepts of how to establish households by Jewish homesteaders. Despite the book title, it would, however, be difficult to grasp to what extent the authors to both books truly addressed the central issue at stake. Nowhere do we discover any theoretical discussion, and none of the authors has a clear sense of the dialectics concerning war and peace.

The volume authored by Horst Brunner, Joachim Hamm, Mathias Herweg, and others, *Dulce bellum inexpertis: Bilder des Krieges in der deutschen Literatur des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, 2002, also deserves to be mentioned here. The authors' focus is fairly limited, but highly concentrated in that they discuss the discourse of war in the following texts: Heinrich Wittenwiler's *Ring* (ca. 1400) (Horst Brunner); late-medieval and early modern types of newspapers in the form of broadsheets, rhymed chronicles (Sonja Kerth); the discussion of the Peasants' War 1524/1525 in literary texts (Mathias Herweg); the role of war in aristocratic autobiographies from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Kerth); war in early modern prose novels; Martin Luther's attitude toward the Turks and his appeals for a kind of crusade against them (Freimut Löser); the appeals for peace by Erasmus of Rotterdam and his successors (Herweg); the image of war in early-modern Latin poetry (first third of the sixteenth century) (Herweg); sixteenth-century dramas thematizing war (Johannes Rettelbach); Hans Sachs's literary efforts to warn his audience about the catastrophic consequences of war (Rettelbach); and the

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<sup>69</sup> *War and Peace in the Middle Ages*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel Publisher, 1987).



treatment of war in Georg Rollenhagen's encyclopedic and didactic *Froschmeuseler* (1595) (Brunner).<sup>70</sup>

Similar approaches could and should be pursued for other European literatures in the Middle Ages and the early modern period, and to some extent has also happened here and there. David Wetham has recently discussed, once again, the troublesome concept of Just Wars in the late Middle Ages, focusing on the correlation between military ethics and chivalry especially at a time when the strategists increasingly relied on surprise and deception techniques.<sup>71</sup> Not every form of physical violence was realized through war activities; many times vengeance also played a huge role, which could subsequently lead to larger battles.<sup>72</sup> Legal questions also played a huge role, particularly when the concept of a nation state gained in relevance by the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>73</sup> War can never be viewed in isolation, as the discourse always subsequently focused on how to overcome the conflict and to establish peace.<sup>74</sup> The efforts to achieve that utopian goal have never been abandoned, even long after the Middle Ages, and it is our task as human beings to carry the beacon of peace forward to overcome the bane of war also in the future.<sup>75</sup> It might be only a dream, the utopia of a world without wars, but the human spirit survives only because we have hope. Medievalists and premodern cultural historians, literary scholars, art historians, and others might hence be at the vanguard of future projections because we are dealing with so much horror, misery, suffering, and terrible experiences in the past.

## I. Intellectuals' Protest of and Analysis of War

War and peace are big terms, both for theological and secular authors, both in antiquity and the Middle Ages, for artists and composers, for philosophers and

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<sup>70</sup> Dulce bellum inexpertis: *Bilder des Krieges* (see note 54). See also the contributions to *Der Krieg im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit* (see note 56).

<sup>71</sup> David Wetham, *Just Wars and Moral Victories: Surprise, Deception and the Normative Framework of European War in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009). See also the contributions to *Ethics, Law and Military Operations*, ed. id. (New York: Palgrave, 2010).

<sup>72</sup> *Vengeance in the Middle Ages: Emotion, Religion and Feud*, ed. Susanna A. Throop and Paul R. Hyams (Farnham, Surrey, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010).

<sup>73</sup> Dirk A. Berger, *Krieg und Völkerrecht am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit: Bellum iustum, bellum legale oder beides?* Schriften zur Rechts- und Staatsphilosophie, 13 (Hamburg: Kovac, 2010).

<sup>74</sup> Nicolas Offenstadt, *Faire la paix au Moyen Âge: Discours et gestes de paix pendant la guerre de Cent Ans* (Paris: Jacob, 2007).

<sup>75</sup> See the contributions to *De la guerre juste à la paix juste: aspects confessionnels de la construction de la paix dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIe - XXe siècle)*, ed. Jean-Paul Cahn. Collection Histoire et civilisations (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses Univ. du Septentrion, 2008).

generals. But there is no consistent scholarly debate on the continuation of war versus peace as practiced in the past until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the consequences became clear to everyone, especially in light of Erasmus of Rotterdam's famous treatises *Dulce bellum inexpertis* (1515; Sweet Seems To Be The War Only To The Ignorant) and *Querela Pacis undique gentium ejectae profligataeque* (1517; Complaint of Peace Rejected and Subjugated By All People).<sup>76</sup> Precisely here at this juncture is where our contributors promise to offer new and relevant insights by engaging with a wide range of important texts and art works from the early Middle Ages to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as each era and medium attempts to determine whether war is the appropriate tool for dealing with human conflict.

Already the authors of the Old Testament examined the case most critically, arguing, more or less consistently, that "war remains a tragic fact of human history," whether we think of the *Chronicles* (I, 22:7–10), the *Psalms* (Ps. 46:8–11; Ps. 120).<sup>77</sup> But although there seems to be a certain consistency as to the condemnation of war within the biblical context, the discourse itself proves to be most complex and divisive: "War is obviously," as Arthur F. Holmes emphasizes, "no simple moral problem but involves us in considerations drawn from various branches of theological and philosophical inquiry."<sup>78</sup>

Let us cursorily examine what some of the greatest intellectuals throughout the Middle Ages and beyond had to say with regards to war. Augustine (354–430). In his letter to Count Boniface (*The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*) he did not shy away from emphasizing that war carried out with good intentions, to defend a people or the well-being of a country, would be quite justified. The biblical king

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<sup>76</sup> Erasmus von Rotterdam, 'Süß erscheint der Krieg den Unerfahrenen'. Übersetzt, kommentiert und herausgegeben von Brigitte Hannemann. Kaiser-Traktate N.F., 4 (Munich: Kaiser, 1987); Erasmus Desiderius (id.), *Querela pacis undique gentium ejectae profligataeque* (Basil, Joh. Froben, 1517). With a postscript by Ferdinand Geldner. Quellen zur Geschichte des Humanismus und der Reformation in Faksimile-Ausgaben, 1 (Munich: J. Froben, 1916). Cf. Karl Ernst Nipkow, *Der schwere Weg zum Frieden: Geschichte und Theorie der Friedenspädagogik von Erasmus bis zur Gegenwart* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlags-Haus, 2007). For an excellent collection of relevant texts dealing with the ethics of war, including Erasmus's, see *The Ethics of War: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, ed. Gregory M. Reichberg, Henrik Syse, and Endre Begby (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006). For specifically Spanish perspectives, see José A Fernández-Santamaría, *The State, War and Peace: Spanish Political Thought in the Renaissance, 1516–1559*. Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

<sup>77</sup> Arthur F. Holmes, "Introduction," *War and Christian Ethics: Classic and Contemporary Readings on the Morality of War*, ed. id. Second ed. (1975; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 1–9; here 6. For a list of some of the most important statements about war and peace in the Bible, see there, 6–7. See also John A. Wood, *Perspectives on War in the Bible* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998).

<sup>78</sup> Holmes, "Introduction," 9 (see note 77).

David served him well as a model for that case. Each person has a God-given gift on his or her own and must live accordingly: "Some, then, in praying for you, fight against your invisible enemies; you, in fighting for them, contend against the barbarians, their visible enemies."<sup>79</sup>

Of course, Augustine identified peace as the idealized state of affairs, but he was too much of a realist to ignore the need at times to resort to arms as well: "Peace should be the object of your desire; war should be waged only as a necessity, and waged only that God may by it deliver men from the necessity and preserve them in peace. For peace is not sought in order to the kindling of war, but war is waged in order that peace may be obtained" (63). More precisely, Augustine specified that "When war is undertaken in obedience to God, who would rebuke, or humble, or crush the pride of man, it must be allowed to be a righteous war; for even the wars which arise from human passion cannot harm the eternal well-being of God" (65). In response to the possible objection that Christ had taught complete peacefulness (not quite 'pacifism') and love, even if one were struck on the right cheek, and that one then should "turn to him the left also" (65; Matthew 5:39), he determined: "what is here required is not a bodily action, but an inward disposition" (65).

As necessary as Just Wars might be, we learn from Augustine, they still represent misery and result in endless pain: "For it is the wrongdoing of the opposing party which compels the wise man to wage Just Wars; and this wrongdoing, even though it gave rise to no war, would still be matter of grief to man because it is man's wrongdoing" (71).<sup>80</sup> Ultimately, as Augustine underscores in his *City of God*, every person desires peace, once their desires have been satisfied, "For even they who make war desire nothing but victory—desire, that is to say, to attain to peace with glory" (71). In other words, once a warring general or king has achieved his goal of conquering a neighboring country, there is no more need for war: "And thus all men desire to have peace with their own circle whom they wish to govern as suits themselves. For even those whom they make war against they wish to make their own, and impose on them the laws of their own peace" (72).

At closer analysis we recognize in Augustine a superior 'psychologist' who understands how to read the human soul in its finest ramifications, outlining in unmistakable terms how much man really desires peace, even though many try to achieve it by means of violence. Augustine condemns war, and idealizes peace, but he clearly indicates the extent he considered war as a reality of human existence that could not be easily, if at all, replaced or substituted. Nevertheless, he regarded his task as a theologian, philosopher, and ethicist to describe what the

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<sup>79</sup> War and Christian Ethics, 62 (see note 77).

<sup>80</sup> Albert Marrin, *War and the Christian Conscience: From Augustine to Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Chicago: Regnery, 1971).

true ideal would be: "The peace of body and soul is the well-ordered and harmonious life and health of the living creature. Peace between man and God is the well-ordered obedience of faith to eternal law. Peace between man and man is well-ordered concord. Domestic peace is the well-ordered concord between those of the family who rule and those who obey. Civil peace is a similar concord among the citizens. The peace of the celestial city is the perfectly ordered and harmonious enjoyment of God, and of one another in God." (75). His ruminations find their most beautiful and crystalline formulation in the subsequent sentences: "The peace of all things is the tranquillity of order. Order is the distribution which allots things equal and unequal, each to its own place" (75).

Long after Augustine, but certainly deeply influenced by his writing, Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) declared in his *Summa Theologica* that "war should be declared for a just cause" (104), although he considered war in itself as most sinful according to Matt. 26:25: "All that take the sword shall perish with the sword" (106), concluding rather curtly but poignantly: "Therefore all wars are unlawful" (106). Nevertheless, he granted three exceptions to this rule. First, "the authority of the sovereign by whose command the war is to be waged" (107), and these would have to be motivated to declare war in order to protect their own people, the poor and helpless. Second, closely linked with the first one, "a just cause is required, namely that those who are attacked, should be attacked because they deserve it on account of some fault" (107). Third, "the belligerents should have a rightful intention, so that they intend the advancement of good, or the avoidance of evil" (108).

For Thomas, those who truly aim at peace are regarded as justified in their military efforts because their intentions are good (108), such as protecting "the poor and the entire common weal from suffering at the hands of the foe" (109). While clerics are not allowed to engage in warfare, they are strongly encouraged to motivate their parish to pick up arms and fight if the purpose is to defend their people and the just cause (111). For an individual strife is only then not sinful when it relates to self-defense: "For if his sole intention be to withstand the injury done to him, and he defend himself with due moderation, it is no sin, and one cannot say properly that there is strife on his part" (113). Vengeance and hatred, by contrast, are to be regarded as extremely sinful and can never be cited as justification for war or strife (113–14).

Aquinas even grants that war against a tyrant can be regarded as justified "since he encourages discord and sedition among his subjects, that he may lord over them more securely; for this is tyranny; being conducive to the private good of the

ruler, and to the injury of the multitude" (117).<sup>81</sup> Ultimately, then, Aquinas confirms: "It is lawful to fight, provided it be for the common good" (117).

Insofar as war and peace have had such a tremendous impact on all people's lives, little wonder that intellectuals throughout the centuries critically engaged with the justification of war and the quest for peace. We could expand our comments here almost *ad infinitum*, but suffice it to conclude with some remarks on the contributions by famous Martin Luther (1483–1546) who explored, for instance, the relationship between the soldier and his consciousness in his *Ob Kriegsleute in seligem Stande sein können* (1526; *Whether Soldiers, Too, Can Be Saved*). The critical issue for him consists of the question whether a soldier could be justified to do his job, that is, fight and kill, and yet remain a good Christian. Most troubling for Christian soldiers seems to be the conflict between their faith and their actions on the battlefield. Luther does not argue for pacifism, and actually does not reject war at all, but notes only that "whoever fights with a good and well-instructed conscience can also fight well. This is especially true since a good conscience fills a man's heart with courage and boldness" (141).

Explicitly drawing from the biblical testimony, Luther emphasizes that war and fighting for a good cause are supported by God: "For the very fact that the sword has been instituted by God to punish the evil, protect the good, and preserve peace is powerful and sufficient proof that war and killing along with all the things that accompany wartime and martial law have been instituted by God. What else is war but the punishment of wrong and evil? Why does anyone go to war, except because he desires peace and obedience?" (142).

To explain this point, Luther hastens to adduce the example of a surgeon who sometimes has to amputate a limb in order to rescue a wounded person from death. This metaphor can thus be applied to soldiers as well: "In the same way, when I think of a soldier fulfilling his office by punishing the wicked, killing the wicked, and creating so much misery, it seems an un-Christian work completely contrary to Christian love" (143). The explanation, however, follows suit because an army that protects the people by fighting with all its force against the enemy can only be called good and Christian: "when I think of how it [Christian work] protects the good and keeps and preserves wife and child, house and farm,

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<sup>81</sup> As cited by many contributors to this volume, Frederick H Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought; 3rd ser., 8 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975), deserves to be mentioned here as the most authoritative voice in this respect. See also Eleonore Stump, *Aquinas. Arguments of the Philosophers* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 315–16, on tyranny. Cf. also Gerhard Beestermöller, *Thomas von Aquin und der gerechte Krieg: Friedensethik im theologischen Kontext der Summa Theologiae* (Cologne: Bachem, 1990); Dirk A. Berger, *Krieg und Völkerrecht* (see note 73); Gregory M. Reichberg, "Thomas Aquinas Between Just War and Pacifism," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 38 (2010): 219–41.

property, and honor and peace, then I see how precious and godly this work is" (143). Luther's perspective is focused on the defensive function of the military force, and completely excludes the offensive aspect, although he fully understands how much hostile entities there are in this world that desire nothing but to attack, occupy, rob, steal, rape, and pillage. The sword hence guards peace, the highest ideal in human existence, and it would be foolish to dismiss the sword altogether because it serves, as Luther emphasizes, to protect peace. Christian society must rely completely on God, who Himself had instituted the sword and handed it over to man to fight for protection and peace.

This is not to say that every soldier would have to be regarded as godly and honorable, because Luther does not address the individual people fighting or killing in a war, but the institution of war itself. Good soldiers do their job as they are required to, whereas bad soldiers perform just as bad surgeons would, privileging their own desire for evil deeds over their responsibilities to protect and defend their people. Likewise, those who launch a war unnecessarily will certainly face at the end their own demise. The critical issue hence consists of fulfilling one's obligations and observing one's responsibilities as a soldier, avoiding willfulness, abuse, and brutality for its own sake (144). Otherwise, as Luther underscores, we would have to condemn all those figures in the Old Testament who fought on behalf of God. The same applies to the New Testament: "even under the New Testament the sword is established by God's word and commandment, and those who use it properly and fight obediently serve God and are obedient to his word" (145). Condemning the sword and the justified use of physical violence would be tantamount to resisting the notion to exert punishments of the evil or wicked, and would make it impossible to fight for peace. In Luther's words, "For what is just war but the punishment of evildoers and the maintenance of peace? . . . in a just war a whole crowd of evildoers, who are doing harm in proportion to the size of the crowd, are punished at once" (145).

Although Christians are not supposed to fight and wage wars in spiritual terms, in material terms they are subject to worldly rulers and owe them obedience. If those rulers see the need to fight in order to defend themselves or their country and people, the Christian soldiers must rally to the weapons and do their job, which is killing in the name of a good, Just War. In sum, for Luther "The office of the sword is in itself right and is a divine and useful ordinance, which God does not want us to despise, but to fear, honor, and obey, under penalty of punishment" (146). More specifically, as he emphasizes, "the military profession is in itself a legitimate and godly calling and occupation" (146).

In the subsequent sections, however, Luther qualifies his own observations further, insisting that a good war can only be a defensive war: "whoever starts a war is in the wrong" (149). He claims that throughout history those who had been guilty of initiating a war had then also normally lost, whereas the defenders had

won. After all, worldly governments serve the only purpose to preserve peace and to protect their people and property in good measure. Those who desire to engage in war are in grave danger of falling victim to hubris and murderous instincts; whereas those who grudgingly take up arms in self-defense are to be regarded as the just and true children of God. Fighting in the name of defense would give those warriors a good conscience because "it is God who does the deeds; he desires peace and is the enemy of those who start wars and break the peace" (150). Here as well he relies on the Old Testament, quoting from the Psalms: "God scatters the peoples who delight in war" (Ps. 68:30). Over and over again, Luther highlights the specific nature of Just War, characterized by the situation of self-defense: "Self-defense is a proper ground for fighting and therefore all laws agree that self-defense shall go unpunished; and he who kills another in self-defense is innocent in the eyes of all men" (151). Wars of desire are to be condemned, while wars of necessity are to be regarded with respect because they are provoked by external foes.

Of course, Luther also warned his readers not to trust in an assumed guarantee for victory if the case was a 'Just War.' God cannot be forced to grant victory to that one side assuming itself to be on right side; hence over-confidence, if not arrogance, might be the quickest cause for a fall and defeat (153). Underestimating the enemy, however weak and badly armed he might be, might result in a bad loss, and death of the own soldiers. Over-confidence might lead to catastrophe because ultimately God is the one who decides the outcome of a battle (154). To explain himself more concretely, Luther concludes: "Such a war is forced upon us when an enemy or neighbor attacks and starts the war, and refuses to cooperate in settling the matter according to law or through arbitration and common agreement, or when one overlooks and puts up with the enemy's evil words and tricks, but he still insists on having his own way" (154–55). The fear of God should determine all human actions, so it should not matter whether one can enter a war with full confidence or trust in God's might. The individual, however, was also supposed to obey all his worldly authorities, whether they are tyrants or not, whether they enter a war or not: "For to be right and to do right do not always go together. Indeed, they never go together unless God joins them" (155).

Pursuing a very traditional view of the social structure, Luther subscribes to the common view that the nobles, or knights, bear the responsibility of defending their people, whereas the peasants are expected to tend to the fields and thus to feed the people. "The emperor or prince in the land is to supervise both groups and see to it that those who have the responsibility of defending are armed and have mounts, and that those who have the responsibility of feeding honestly try to increase the supply of food" (157–58). The warriors or soldiers ought to fight not out of a desire to acquire wealth or power, but because they are required to do so to defend their lord and people. All other motives would be "nothing but bloodshed, murder, and

the inflicting of all kinds of suffering upon one's neighbor, as happens in wartime" (158).

Anticipating the modern debate about conscientious objectors, Luther urges all those who know that their lord is acting wrongly in fighting a war to refuse and not to obey: "you should neither fight nor serve, for you cannot have a good conscience before God" (159). However, if the individual soldier might have even just a thread of doubt, and might not know for sure what the situation or condition might be, obedience to the authority would go first (159). The worst soldiers would be those who offer their services as mercenaries to whatever lord pays them the most (162).<sup>82</sup> By contrast, the best soldiers emerge as being those who are called upon by their lords who needs them for the defense of a just cause, such as the own country, people, and property (163), that is, who subscribe to that ideal and fight in a war which they consider a 'Just War.'

We could easily continue the line of arguments about 'Just War' and peace from Luther to John Calvin (1509–1564), Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536), Menno Simons (1496–1561), Francisco Suarez (1548–1617), Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), John Locke (1632–1704), and so forth.<sup>83</sup> But we would have to keep in mind that only with the Enlightenment does the philosophical approach to war change fundamentally insofar as from then on the basic cause of war was no longer sought in God's name. Instead, war was from the eighteenth century onwards regarded more and more as caused and launched by worldly rulers for their own purposes and intentions. This allowed individual critics to come forth and to argue against war as an exclusively man-made action that could or even should be condemned.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Heinrich Pleticha, *Landsknecht, Bundschuh, Söldner: die grosse Zeit der Landsknechte, die Wirren der Bauernaufstände und des Dreissigjährigen Kriegs* (Würzburg: Arena-Verlag, 1974); *Landsknechte, Soldatenfrauen und Nationalkrieger: Militär, Krieg und Geschlechterordnung im historischen Wandel*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Ralf Pröve. Reihe "Geschichte und Geschlechter", 26 (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus Verlag, 1998); John Richards, *Landsknecht Soldier, 1486–1560*. Warrior Series, 49 (Oxford: Osprey, 2002); Martin Paul Schennach, *Ritter, Landsknecht, Aufgebot: Quellen zum Tiroler Kriegswesen 14. - 17. Jahrhundert*. Tiroler Geschichtsquellen, 49 (Innsbruck: Tiroler Landesarchiv, 2004).

<sup>83</sup> Here I continue to rely on *War and Christian Ethics* (see note 77). For an excellent anthology of relevant texts from classical antiquity to the late twentieth century, see *The Ethics of War: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, ed. Gregory M. Reichberg, Henrik Syse, and Endre Begby (Malden, MA, Oxford, and Carlton, Victoria, Australia: Blackwell Publishing, 2006). Most remarkably, as this collection demonstrates impressively, the number of positions vis-à-vis war and peace is legion, so one, if not the essential reason why war does not finally disappear from the face of the earth is that just too many people have just too many different perspectives of how to solve conflicts and of how to acquire power and influence under a variety of circumstances.

<sup>84</sup> Heinz-Horst Schrey, "Krieg IV: Historisch/Ethisch," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Müller. Vol. XX (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1990), 28–55.



We could also examine many more literary texts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and then far beyond, to explore the discourse on war and peace because that aspect of human history has not come to an end, on the contrary. Poets and artists throughout the ages certainly made their voices heard in protest against the cruelty and destruction resulting from war, but here it is time to give the contributors to the present volume their share. It has become abundantly how much the discourse on war has dominated western culture ever since antiquity. Intriguingly enough, we can identify critical opinions about war and its consequences even in those epics and romances that seem most dedicated to the description of heroic deeds and accomplishments. After all, people have always desired peace, which was, however, often matched, if not even superseded, by the desire for honor, money, and power. That diverse, complicated, often even contradictory discourse has continued until today, whether we think of Francisco Goya (1746–1828), Robert Sothy (1774–1843), Alfred Tennyson (1809–1892), Stephen Crane (1871–1900), Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), Erich Maria Remarque (1898–1970), or the great socialist dramatist Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956).<sup>85</sup> As helpless and feeble as literature and the visual arts seem to be in face of weapons and armies, they have proven to be most forceful media for exposing the cruelties, injustice, and brutality of all military operations, especially those not serving a just purpose, to the broad population.

Our volume will address war and peace as seen through medieval and early modern lenses and will combine a variety of disciplinary approaches, without claiming, which would be impossible at any rate, comprehensive coverage. Nevertheless, the spectrum of themes and topics casts a wide net, with all papers sharing the same concern for the crucial question how different cultures sought to achieve peace, how war affected them, and how society could be improved by peaceful means.<sup>86</sup> A number of these papers were originally delivered at the 42nd

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<sup>85</sup> For more medieval perspectives, see John Edward Damon, *Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors: Warfare and Sanctity in the Literature of Early England* (Aldershot, Hampshire, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003); see also J. E. Cookson, *The Friends of Peace: Anti-War Liberalism in England, 1793–1815* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Lyn Smith, *Voices Against War: A Century of Protest* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2009); for a useful survey online see at: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-war\\_movement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-war_movement) (last accessed on April 14, 2011).

<sup>86</sup> See the wonderful, both deeply religious (Christian) and humanistic, reflections on all these issues by James H. Toner, *The Sword and the Cross: Reflections on Command and Conscience* (New York, Westport, CT, and London: Praeger, 1992). He concludes, expressing an impressively pragmatic position, “To combine the sword and the cross, command and conscience, into a politically practicable and ethically desirable tool of statecraft has always been the chief goal of dutiful statesmen. In their quest to establish the result of that merger, which is civic virtue, they had two beacon lights, the intersection of which revealed enough wisdom for them to carry on the Sisyphean tasks of statecraft. One was the beacon light of the national interest, based on the rock of national values and traditions. . . . The other was the beacon light of the divine and natural law, which offered them insights into, and was based upon, that treasury of principles agreed upon

International Congress of Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, in 2007. Others were written specifically for this volume upon my solicitation. All of them underwent extensive revisions and were critically reviewed by the editors and outside readers.

## J. Critical Summaries of the Contributions

Scott L. Taylor begins the collection with a discussion of the topic of 'Just War' as it emerged especially since the eleventh century, although it had already been a major concern for St. Augustine, as we have seen above as well. Throughout the ages various powers utilized most skillfully the theme of 'Just War' for their own purposes, whether they allegedly pursued a religious warfare or intended to conquer a country. In fact, there are cases of 'legitimate violence,' if the goal of the military force would insinuate that. Even Martin Luther was to argue along those lines (see above). Taylor informs us in great detail about the various discussions within the church, among members of the highest-ranking clergy, and among individual princes throughout the Middle Ages.

Moreover, as he notes, the debate on justified violence, i.e. that exerted by the government (the monarch, the princes, etc.) on behalf of the Church or a larger cause, continued unabated throughout the centuries and found powerful expression in late-medieval statements about specific law cases. Officially sanctioned violence could then also be directed against heretics, Jews, and any other imaginable minority in the name of the Christian God. After the discovery of America, the Spaniards supported their claim of control over those vast new territories with the same arguments as in the past, referring to their endemic right to pursue a 'Just War' against the infidels and non-Christian natives. Especially the alleged sodomitic behavior by the American Indians, which was 'obviously' directed against the laws of nature, required the intervention of the European 'colonizers,' as we would call them today, to wage a war against those 'demonic' heathens. Uncannily, as Taylor rightly concludes, in the present we are still heirs to an almost unholy approach to the matter at hand, fighting wars in foreign lands for a host of different reasons, but certainly not because the West might have been attacked. The almost universal rhetoric exposed by Taylor sounds suddenly frighteningly familiar, and it is undoubtedly an inheritance from the Middle Ages we might want to deal with much more carefully.

The entire discussion about 'Just War' versus 'Unjust War' might seem to have been predicated on the theoretical ruminations by the classical writers, and then,

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over the centuries by decent and discerning men and women of character and grace" (168).

above all, St. Augustine (see above). But can we always assume that, and would it have been necessary for all poets who addressed this issue to have been familiar with the theoretical arguments before they could have formulated their own thoughts on that? As Ben Snook alerts us, in Anglo-Saxon poetry we can observe numerous passages that lent themselves to the debate about what constituted a 'Just' versus an 'Unjust War.' This is the same, so it seems, as in the Old High German *Hildebrandslied* where the description of the military culture pitting father and son against each other could be read as a critique of war altogether, or at least of the feudal system.

Snook opens a remarkable perspective by studying the comments by the Venerable Bede on the Saxons' attacks against the Britons, identifying those military operations as God's punishment of the sinful Britons. In this sense the attack from the outside constituted a form of 'Just War' which served as God's instrument here on earth to exact justice. However, Bede's perspective changed vis-à-vis other wars, other military leaders, and likewise his characterization of individual wars as 'just' versus 'unjust.' We clearly sense the inner struggle the author was going through, and which all writers of theological texts had to face when they ventured into the most difficult terrain of determining what could have justified killing and warfare within the Christian universe. Much depends on how authoritatively an individual writer believed that he could interpret God's will in those mundane affairs.

In Stephen of Ripon's *Vita S. Wilfridi*, roughly contemporary to Bede, we encounter a number of different attempts to come to terms with the theologically appropriate explanation of warfares, responses to attacks by outside forces, pagans or not, or aggressions by English warlords against heathens, etc. Depending on the circumstances, Wilfrid perceived his, or the English, cause always as a just one. We notice how intensively the various Anglo-Saxon writers had to grapple with the issue. The same certainly applied to all other periods of medieval and early-modern Christianity because waging any war represented a clear break with Christ's fundamental teaching, and yet in the case of attacks by enemies or when heathens/Muslims etc. were supposed to be conquered the idea of the 'Just War' mollified all those concerns. However, in Stephen's text we observe, as Snook emphasizes, still the constant effort to appease the opponents by means of Christian teachings and behavior. A defensive war was always deemed to be much preferable to an offensive one, though the latter could not always be avoided, as the various chroniclers or poets signaled.

It cannot be determined with all desired specificity whether the early English writers had a clear sense of what their classical Roman precursors (especially Cicero) had in mind when they discussed 'Just War,' but in that existentially dangerous situation of Anglo-Saxon England the fundamental, if not timeless, conflict emerged as well, which deeply troubled the Christian authors in

particular. Just as in classical literature, the tension between morality and expediency created a severe dilemma that no-one could easily solve.

Snook reasonably suggests that the idea of 'Just War' could have been transmitted to Anglo-Saxon England via Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, which in turn were based on Cicero's ideas. Snook also alerts us to Gilda's *De excidio Britanniae* where 'Just War' similarly surfaces as a significant topic, yet we cannot decipher all the possible ramifications of the various possible sources. It would be an exaggeration to talk about the existence of a 'Just War Theory,' either for classical antiquity or for the early Middle Ages, and yet we can certainly agree with Snook that the discourse on 'Just War' was already prevalent at that time, perhaps particularly because of the seriously unstable situation in England with internecine strife, Viking and Saxon attacks, and the strong attempts by representatives of the Church to practice what it was actually teaching.

What are we then to make of such heroic epics as *Beowulf*, in which violence, fighting, and war are the mainstay of the entire narrative? Is Just War even a meaningful term in this context. Sean Pollack discusses the correlation between kingship, combating evil in the form of monsters and dragons, and the relationship between the leader/s and their retainers in that Anglo-Saxon world. In order to understand the context in which the debate has to be located, Pollack refers to Augustine's teachings and the Exeter *Maxims* I (C). He emphasizes that *Beowulf* reflects on war as a fact of life, but that the anonymous author might not have thought of it as a true way of life. After all, once Grendel and his mother have been killed, Beowulf rules peacefully for a good fifty years, before he has to fight against the last challenge, the dragon. He is not a blood-thirsty leader of his people, and does not desire to conquer new lands or to acquire new treasures. His fights, by contrast, are driven by ethical concerns.

For Pollack, the numerous references to the sword with which Beowulf kills Grendel's mother, and more specifically the hilt remaining after the sword has melted in her body, signifies a deliberate attempt by the poet to reflect upon the ancient history of violence and the profound need for man to overcome war and unrest in favor of peace. After all, weapons continue to bring about violence and death, triggering ever-new swings of the cycle of destruction and aggression, blocking all attempts to establish peaceful conditions in society. The disappearance of the ancient weapon symbolizes then the rise of a new world. Reading and communication, evoked by the inscription on the hilt, could have avoided the original cause of war, but the differences among human tongues have made all those efforts futile, as Augustine already had noted. Were people to understand their own vices better, most conflicts could be easily solved, but this is an impossible proposition in Beowulf's world where fighting dominate most actions.

War and strife are the true culprits in human history, to which *Beowulf* refers in numerous ways.

Pollack confirms this reading through a glance at wisdom poetry, such as Exeter *Maxims* I (C), where the fight between Cain and Abel is described as the root problem, or rather, Cain's envy, greed, and lust for power and wealth. Human nature is at stake here, insofar as we can suddenly recognize how much the entire debate concerning war hinges on the question of the origin of man's deepest vices, the deadly sins. We begin to realize that in heroic poetry the ethical dimensions of human behavior plays a much greater role than heretofore assumed, and this exerts a huge impact on the discussion about the validity and legitimacy of war, particularly if the question concerns its justifiability.

As the deaths of some of Hrothgar's most precious friends, such as Æschere, signal, the cycle of violence threatens to engulf everyone, and past events might have a catastrophic impact on the present generation. War and violence are not something that can be easily forgotten, if ever, because the past determines the future. As *Beowulf* then reminds us, or rather actually urges us to keep in mind in most serious terms, is the necessity to consider the impact of history on the future, and that violence in the past does not simply disappear from memory. On the contrary, it threatens to engender ever new violence. Whoever launches a war is in danger of getting caught in that Maelstrom himself. The example of the *Nibelungenlied* discussed above proves to be a most unsettling case, especially because there the female protagonist Kriemhilt initiates the cycle of violence and has not only everyone of her family killed, but suffers her own death as well.

Literary texts are always some of the best media to explore how people reacted to the consequences of war and violence, as we have seen already multiple times above. Andrew Breeze continues the investigation with a critical interpretation of the Welsh *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*. Although it is very much based in Welsh mythology, the events described are deeply rooted in universal human history, and hence explore the basic causes of human conflicts resulting in military clashes. Love and war bitterly intertwine—again, see, for comparison's sake, the *Nibelungenlied*—leading to massive bloodshed and a tragedy. Curiously, however, the poet hardly ever dwells on the individual fighting scenes, does not describe the weapons in any significant manner (if at all), and seems disinterested in the concrete aspects of war altogether.

By contrast, as Breeze comments, the poet placed greatest interest on the political dimension, on efforts to establish peace and to avoid war (if possible). Some of the greatest sources of conflict consist of the tensions between the royal rulers and their magnates, a point which could be identified as rather typical of the medieval world. But we gain the impression that the poet seems to have belonged to the royal caste himself, considering his great concern to take the royalist side, which

is rather unusual. The critical issue emerges over and over again, how to secure peace after war. It is a timeless concern, and we continue to struggle with it, having more or less success, considering the countless wars ongoing at the present moment. In the medieval Welsh text we observe the same problems, and the same approaches, relying more on diplomatic strategies than on the use of weapons because it proves to be much more effective and enduring.

Kings require counselors and advisors, and they must listen to their advice.<sup>87</sup> Surprisingly, as Breeze notices, the role of women as peace-weavers finds significant attention in the *Four Branches*, and it would be fascinating in the future to do a comparative analysis of this text with the Middle High German epic poem *Kudrun*.<sup>88</sup> Of course, not all of the texts in this collection end on a positive note, as in, especially, the *Second Branch* with its deeply pessimistic outlook. The worst situation seems to be when war breaks out within a society, a civil war, or the fight among blood-relatives, which is so often the case, even today. Considering the poet's attempt to profile the terrible slaughter and the catastrophic outcome of the various wars, Breeze returns to an old thesis of his, suggesting, once again, that a woman might have composed the *Four Branches*. The evidence for this thesis is not overwhelming, and actually fairly thin, but just as in the case of *Kudrun* we might be inclined to accept this proposition because of the author's keen interest in and concern with peace. However, peace was not only a matter of great importance for women.

But poets were by far not the only ones who clamored for peace. The Peace of God, or Truth of God, movement that began in the eleventh century is the focus of Charles W. Connell's contribution. Did the populace at large embrace the idea of the peace movement, or was it driven by the Church only? To answer this question requires more careful analysis what the public meant in the Middle Ages, and how the dominant majority, or at least the most vocal and most powerful group imposed its will on the masses. As much as the laity at large did not have much of a voice, Connell confirms that since the eleventh century the issue itself what the public had to say about particular issues gained traction. In order to facilitate the examination of the Truth of God movement, he outlines the growing awareness of what the *populus* meant during that time, and how it increasingly assumed the notion of 'the people' in large numbers as we might define the term today. From here Connell moves to a critical examination of the peace movement,

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<sup>87</sup> See, for example, the contributions to *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages 1200–1500*, ed. István P. Bejczy and Cary J. Nederman. *Disputatio*, 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

<sup>88</sup> *Peace Weavers*, ed. Lillian Thomas Shank and John A. Nichols. *Medieval Religious Women*, 2 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1987); Kathleen Herbert, *Peace-Weavers and Shield-Maidens: Women in Early English Society* (Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norfolk, England: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1997).

which meant not the establishment of peace treatises among nations, but the banning of all violence among the people. Church councils were convened with the explicit purpose of appealing to the masses to rally behind those striving for universal peace, which was explicitly intended to include the knightly class, who were, of course, the worst offenders.

Connell outlines the various stages in the development of the Truth of God movement, with the Church resorting to increasingly stronger rhetoric and public appeals to enforce this ideal for the entire society. Relics, for instance, became highly effective tools to mobilize the faithful and to rally them in support of this universal concept—significantly not through active involvement in the political process, but by way of appealing to their piety and devotion. But once the masses have been activated, as the Church learned all too quickly, they might no longer be controllable. Consequently the Church reduced its outreach efforts considerably and took it upon itself to enforce the ban on bearing arms at large. However, a realistic estimation of the masses also indicates how little those amorphous groups could build any kind of cohesion, and instead dissipated fairly quickly.

In place of the *populus* striving toward a peace process, the Church imposed its own control mechanisms and institutions, such as synods and councils, which proved to be highly effective most of the time, especially when combined with the threat of imposing an interdict and or excommunication. Even though at the end the Peace of God movement did not—and how could it really?—achieve its stated goals, Connell confirms that the basic foundation for the idea of universal peace had been laid and could serve future generations in their struggle to achieve the same goal.

Aside from the question of how war and peace have to be evaluated or how individual writers in the past responded to the brutality and horrors of war, war in itself has always had a tremendous impact on the civil population also in socio-economic terms. One effective strategy by an occupying force used to be billeting, or lodging the own troops in the dwellings of the civil population. Denis Casey studies this topic in light of the conditions of early medieval Ireland (pre-Conquest) and of the situation after the British invasion when conquering troops employed that strategy to weaken further their opponents. References to billeting become more noticeable since the eleventh and twelfth centuries, although that practice was certainly already in place in earlier times. After all, as Casey observes, the institution of a standing army was not an invention of the seventeenth century (Louis XIV), but can already be recognized in the eleventh.

Whereas in the early Middle Ages most troops had been recruited from the rural population, subsequently increasingly aristocratic armies dominated the field, and those knights often needed lodging during their campaigns, hence the establishment of the practice of billeting. This seems to have happened both in

Ireland and also in England. The Irish began to utilize the “gallowglass,” mercenaries from the western isles of Scotland, to fight off British invasion attempts since the thirteenth century. Altogether, the data confirming billeting is not easy to come by, and Casey carefully combs through literary and chronicle texts from the pre-Invasion era through the late Middle Ages to support his claim.

People who were forced to accept troops in their private homes have never been happy with that imposition, as we notice already in such twelfth-century documents as the *Book of Leinster*. Surprisingly, billeting happened not only to ordinary people, but minor kings as well could be forced to accept foreign troops by a hostile or simply higher-ranking king from the outside. Moreover, even the Church was not exempt from being subject to this practice of imposed military lodging.

The evidence regarding billeting demonstrates how contradictory people’s views were throughout time. The Irish data confirm that those who had to suffer from billeting bitterly complained about it—naturally, and who would not?—but those who were on the side of those who opposed that practice actually supported it or welcomed it in their poems or treatises. Refusal of billeted troops, however, or protests against it could result in dangerous consequences.

Billeting later also occurred in the Anglo-Irish areas because it proved to be so effective and practical for the rulers, although it always constituted hardship for those who had to take these soldiers in and was regularly cause for conflicts and strife, especially because in a number of cases the lords protected their kern, or billeted soldiers, to such an extent that they were practically exempt from any legal prosecutions. Although the Irish parliament expressed considerable concern about billeting, it never truly moved against that practice because they could not, or did not want to oppose the great lords. Moreover, since the entire taxation system was rather limited, billeting proved to be an easy way to compensate for the lack of public funding for the military to maintain some form of a standing army already in the high Middle Ages.

As Casey’s article illustrates quite surprisingly, general problems concerning the relationship between the military in the form of a standing army and the civil population have always been rather painful, but those in charge hardly ever cared because that system proved to be an effective and inexpensive way for them to maintain their troops, either as an occupying force imposed on the enemy, or as a standing army within their own country lacking sufficient tax revenue to pay for the soldiers. The truly amazing realization seems to be that such a discourse already raged in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and has continued ever since with ever growing intensity.

As much as we might tend to consider only extreme cases in either war or peace as the outstanding events of the past, in reality the historian has to deal with a



highly complex situation in which many different personalities strive for influence, dominance, and control, whether by means of weapons (war) or negotiations (peace). This finds its stunning expression in the events surrounding the Patarene Bonizo of Sutri, whose life John A. Dempsey examines carefully regarding the precarious nature of peace which most political or religious groups were often very willing to abandon in favor of fighting for their own values and ideals. Bonizo proves to be such a fascinating figure because he easily miscalculated his position in the triangular relationship among Pope Urban II, Emperor Henry IV, and Matilda of Tuscany, perhaps particularly because he pursued his agenda from the position of an urban dweller.

Bonizo struggled hard to convince the other members of the Pataria to join him in his fight against the Hohenstaufen Emperor, trying to convince them that his war was their war. Ironically, Bonizo more or less managed to transform his fellow Patarenes into peace oriented fighters—a contradiction in itself, yet fully in line with the idea of a Just War which Bonizo intended to fight. He appealed to his fellows to join him insofar as they were his friends and collaborators in their endeavor to reform the Church and to resist the German emperor's strategy to install an anti-pope.<sup>89</sup>

For the Patarenes the ideals taught by Christ were of highest value, and yet they did not hesitate, probably following Augustine's teachings, to resort to weapons in defense of their just cause. Since Henry IV was regarded as an evil force, Bonizo called for a kind of crusade against him, or a holy war, because he was identified as an explicit enemy of the Pataria. Here as well, the end was to justify the means, and the Patarenes proved to be typical fanatics who preached peace and yet used weapons to achieve their religious goals. Dempsey's observations, drawn from Bonizo's *Ad amicum*, illustrate how much religious, political, and military arguments could become intertwined under those conditions and then serve as rhetorical tools to incite the readers to war, and this in the name of the Christian God, directed even against the German emperor. Although Bonizo referred to numerous authorities in the history of the Church to justify his agenda of a holy war, they prove to be, as Dempsey demonstrates, rather flimsy and vague. Similarly, the heavy reliance on biblical examples in the treatise did not achieve the desired effect.

The case of Bonizo, who was brutally assaulted in Piacenza (yet he survived), demonstrates the intricacies of the political process involving the German emperor, the pope, and numerous local entities, such as the rich city dwellers of

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<sup>89</sup> See also John A. Dempsey, "Ideological Friendship in The Middle Ages: Bonizo of Sutri and His *Liber Ad Amicum*," *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Explorations of a Fundamental Ethical Discourse*, ed. Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 6 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010), 395-427.

Milan, the regional aristocracy, the clergy at large, and the formidable Duchess of Tuscany, Matilda. The discourse on peace and God's will played a huge role everywhere, but each side was more than willing to resort to arms to pursue its own goals, in the name of the Church, of true Christianity, of the pope, or whatsoever. But Bonizo opposed both the emperor and the pope at the end because he condemned them for their lawlessness, leading to wide-spread arbitrary political processes and the disappearance of peace. The irony of history, and so in this case, often consists of the fact that some of the best-meaning individuals with the highest ethical and religious ideals turn into the most radical fanatics and do not hesitate to resort to violence in order to realize their dreams. Bonizo and the Pataria were certainly victims of their own radical positions and had to succumb to the opposing parties which did not hesitate to persecute their enemies in order to protect their own power, interests, and institutions.

Susan Small pursues a very different approach to the overarching theme of this volume by analyzing carefully the details of the battlefield descriptions provided by Chrétien de Troyes in his *Cligés* (ca. 1176). She focuses on the meticulous narrative involving the various attacks, defense mechanisms, then the victims lying dead on the battlefield, and alerts us to the poet's specific strategies to highlight some of the gruesome methods of killing, such as quartering of some unfortunate knights, almost in the way of a modern-day filmmaker wandering around the field of carnage to achieve the most impressive impact on his viewers/listeners. While the battle was the real thing, the tournament prepared the knights for the future reality, a training ground of sorts, if not a spectacle and a game in which the real brutality of the knightly war is thinly veiled and hidden behind the staging of the chivalric costumes. Not surprisingly, in Chrétien's narrative, but so also in many others dealing with knightly adventures, the presentation of the tournament plays a significant role because of its sheer pageantry: the countless pennants, lances, shields, cloths, and arms that require extensive narrative attention, which seems to have been the result of contemporary audience expectations. In the process, the poet creates specific signifiers for the world of the courts in which knightly prowess and self-presentation were of greatest importance. Virtually all war paraphernalia in the medieval world can be identified as symbols and markers of the individuals carrying them, creating a plethora of public codes serving to identify the person hidden behind the armor (helmet).

By contrast, we also find numerous examples of riderless horses, either those lying dead or wounded on the battlefield, or those who have lost their master and roam around freely, causing mayhem. Then there are the dead warriors, or knights, and both man and animal as victims of the war speak a gruesome language warning about the consequences of war which threatens to undermine

the well-being of the state at large, or of the social community, as Small observes in Chrétien's *Cligés*. But the intense references to weapons and armory, such as shields and lances, along with a poetic delight in their detailed description, also reveals a tendency to aestheticize war and to ignore the brutal reality behind it, which might be a characteristic feature of medieval heroic epics and courtly romances. As much as those tend to idealize and glorify knightly or warrior accomplishments, and blind us to the realities of the bloody war, the critical approach can recognize their potency in the critical analysis of what military violence truly meant, and this also for medieval poets and their audiences.

This line of argument is then picked up by Zan Kocher in his investigating of Old French romances from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in which the depiction of war actually in most cases result in a more or less subtle form of criticism of war and a placation of peace, almost to the point of pacificism, especially when we observe a happy ending, which must be predicated on a peaceful closure and an opportunity for the protagonist to enjoy his future life with his wife. Although hardly ever explicitly addressed, the protagonists' experiences and efforts, failures and successes have, of course, a tremendous impact on the destiny of their people, as we observe, for instance, in the Maboagrain episode in Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec et Enide* (comparable to the Mabonagrain episode in Hartmann von Aue's *Erec*).

Kocher alerts us to a similar example in *Le Bel Inconnu* where we sense the reaction by the larger population to the protagonist's marriage, but then only obliquely. Another example would be the reaction by the people to Count Mai's alleged order to have his wife and child killed in the thirteenth-century Middle High German *Mai und Beafloer*.<sup>90</sup> Certainly, the poets relate to the masses only collectively, but they tend to associate their subtly expressed hopes for peace with the protagonist's successes and accomplishments on the battle field, in the tournament, and on his knightly adventures.

In both historical reality as well as in romance literature we encounter numerous examples of marriage policies that are supposed to overcome military conflicts and to build diplomatic relations, such as in the *Romance de Silence*. Contrary to common expectations, Kocher observes explicit references to the common people's horrendous suffering under warfare, which ultimately forces the royal ruler to seek peace with his opponent. However, that kind of peace policy fails to take into

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<sup>90</sup> *Mai und Beafloer*. Herausgegeben, übersetzt, kommentiert und mit einer Einleitung von Albrecht Classen. Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, 6 (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2006); see also my articles "Kontinuität und Aufbruch: Innovative narrative Tendenzen in der spätmittelalterlichen deutschsprachigen Literatur: Der Fall *Mai und Beafloer*," *Wirkendes Wort* 48.3 (1998): 324–44; and Classen, "The People Rise Up against the Tyrants in the Courtly World: John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, the *Fables* by Marie de France and the anonymous *Mai und Beafloer*," *Neohelicon* 35.1 (2008): 17–29.

consideration any emotional affections and utilizes the young princess and prince respectively for purely political ends.<sup>91</sup> Kocher also points out a very similar situation in Hue de Rotelande's *Ipomedon*, and each time we notice how much, at least in the narrative background, the protagonists' performance impacts the ordinary life of the common people. War, peace, love, and marriage thus prove to be intricately intertwined at least in the literary framework, especially in the courtly romances.

Kiril Petkov revisits one of the thorniest issues in historical research, whether the rituals that we observe in historical narratives represent the actual facts (Ranke) or whether they reflect only the discourse itself. He probes this topic by analyzing kissing rituals in Frankish Greece, or Morea, that is, the Peloponnese peninsula in southern Greece, as endeavors toward establishing peace during the thirteenth century. A number of different parties struggled against each other, and the conflicts soon attracted international attention, resulting in rather shocking developments for the various local lords. As the *Chronicle of Morea* indicates, although the individual power players and brokers were concerned with gaining the upper hand by military means, ultimately they all had to rely on legal means and negotiations because of the considerable conflicts of interest and the large number of affected parties. Personal suffering and grief played a huge role in all those events, which allows Petkov to analyze the chronicle in light of the fundamental question of how peace was really established during the Middle Ages. After all, war has never been the *ultima ratio*; instead it has regularly served as a catalyst to achieve ulterior purposes, and this was the case in thirteenth-century Morea as well. The legal framework dictated much of the events involving the various opponents, above all Prince Guillaume and Lord Guy de la Roche, and centrally addressed their relationship to each other, in some kind of liege, or homage. As it becomes clear in the various accounts dealing with the problems in Morea, war was not the only, and not even the most important, means to achieve political supremacy there. Instead, local, regional, and international legal operations assumed a huge part. At the same time the individual parties involved skillfully involved expressions of emotions as coded language to formulate their particular stances in the entire process. Words such as "anger," "grief," or "love" represented signals of political concerns, and were not simply reflections of personal feelings. However, as Petkov recognizes, there are always many layers

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<sup>91</sup> William Monter, "Tu, Felix Lotharingia, Nube: dynastic marriages and political survival, 1477–1737," *Wege der Neuzeit: Festschrift für Heinz Schilling zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Stefan Ehrenpreis. Historische Forschungen, 85 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2009), 415–30. See also the contributions to *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Developments (1300–1900)*, ed. David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Jon Mathieu (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007).

of meaning in all those emotional formulations which are neither purely ritualistic nor straightforward expressions of 'true' affection.

The peace process subsequently emerged as a complex operation involving the individual warring parties, the neighboring countries, and God as well. The ritual was determined by specific emotional language, but it would be wrong to identify that language as exclusively formal devoid of any sensations. Kisses, as previous scholarship has already observed—here disregarding numerous dissenting views and debates about the true meaning<sup>92</sup>—allowed to build political bridges and to heal past strife. The subsequent joy, as reported by the various chroniclers, seems to have been sincere because peace had been reestablished among the various lords as a matter of interpersonal relationship among equals, at least according to one of them, consolidating feudal relationships on a mutually acceptable level. As Petkov then concludes, ritual was of central importance in the contested field of political and military conflicts and strife. That ritual fulfilled many different functions and hence proved to be highly effective in establishing the desired peace by means of building bridges between “cross-cutting ties between paradigms” (Petkov).

While a majority of historical and literary sources from the Middle Ages seemingly confirm that war, knighthood, and chivalry were of greatest importance during that time, this can be rather deceptive as a result of lack of sensitivity to hidden messages in the various texts concerning the great need to have all violent actions come to a stop so that people can survive and build their private lives. Moreover, as our survey above has already indicated, most of the medieval intellectuals strove hard to combat war and to outline principles of how to establish peace. This did not exclude the question of what might constitute 'Just War,' but peace was still the preferred mode of existence. This finds some of its most vocal expression in the sermons by the famous thirteenth-century Franciscan preacher Berthold of Regensburg, which Classen analyzes in one of his contributions to this volume.<sup>93</sup> As recent research has revealed, medieval literature tremendously gains in volume if we incorporate the genre of sermons. Although they pursue rhetorical and religious purposes, many of them were certainly influenced by literary strategies and employed fictional elements as well to achieve their goals. Berthold must have been one of the most powerful speakers of his time, as he succeeded in reaching out to a vast number of listeners with his sermons. As was rather typical of the genre of sermons, the preacher addressed a wide range of topics concerning ethical and moral (mis)behavior, attitudes, ideas, conditions, and problems during his

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<sup>92</sup> See the research cited and commented on by Petkov in his footnotes 2 and 3.

<sup>93</sup> For other, similar approaches to this topic, see the anthology *The Ethics of War* (see note 77). Berthold of Regensburg, however, is not even mentioned there.

time. Not surprisingly, he also examined the meaning of war and peace a number of times, emphasizing that peace is the one condition in life all people strive for in unison because it is so essential and basic to all human existence.

After all, Christ's arrival here on earth signaled, so said Berthold, the first concrete chance for mankind to realize that utopia of true und universal peace. Only when an individual can achieve peace with God, peace with oneself, and peace with one's neighbor would that dream get within reach. Berthold argued for social and economic justice in this world as a precondition for the establishment of peace. Classen's analysis of Berthold's sermons reveals how much this preacher combined his exhortations to lead a peaceful life with a variety of social, economic, and even political concerns because the one area cannot be viewed without keeping the other in mind. For instance, he criticized especially usurers and heretics as the most recalcitrant opponents of true peace, while true love for God would allow everyone to overcome the hurdle to peace. Berthold operated both as a preacher and a psychologist, as a social critic and as an ethical counselor, reaching out to his audience appealing to them with a host of strategies that must have been remarkably attractive. As we can easily recognize, this preacher addressed not only peace, but also basic socio-economic conditions determining everyday life. In order to reach a peaceful stage, as Berthold emphasized in other sermons, social injustice, crime, and violence had to be overcome first, and true love for God had to be implanted in every human heart.

On the one hand Berthold addressed most mundane and simple aspects, as they determined people's ordinary lives, and on the other he also appealed to the lords and princes to do their part, to exercise justice, and to provide a peaceful framework for keeping all their subjects free of war and violence. Ultimately, however, as Classen concludes, for Berthold true peace could only be established if body and soul worked together to achieve that goal. In other words, his discourse on peace was predicated on a wide variety of social, ethical, moral, and religious concerns.

Glenn Kumhera takes us subsequently to Siena and to a seemingly simple case of peace making involving three men who had had a violent altercation, then, however, entered into a peace contract, and concluded that with the help of the city authority. Although here we deal with a virtually private form of peace-making, the agreement still required civic authorization and thus recognized the legal power exerted by the city. Intriguingly, Siena granted its citizens the right to settle their own conflicts, if they were of no greater significance for the commune at large, on their own, which then avoided for them the payment of huge fines. Kumhera traces, as much as this is possible in this highly complex field of urban legal history, the development of peace arrangements in Siena during the later

Middle Ages which seem to have helped the urban community to maintain social justice and peace in a rather flexible manner.

If those involved in violent acts against other members of the community established an acceptable peace within a short period of time, they might not even face a penalty. Specifics varied, of course, from city to city, but overall in Northern Italy the common practice of allowing individual peaceful settlements, ultimately only by means of notarized contracts for the most part, became wide-spread and avoided a huge legal bureaucracy everywhere. In Siena, Kumhera's focus of investigation, the charges of violating peace agreements were the most lenient, but also the harshest in specific cases, if the previous promise to hold peace was broken again. In other words, Siena made it extremely easy for its citizens to establish peace after an infraction, but threatened them with harsh consequences in a repeat case. This incentive program obviously worked well, as the fourteenth-century evidence indicates.

It remains a difficult task to determine whether the urban policy of permitting private peace agreements worked out by notaries and approved by the city authorities resulted in a more peaceful life, or whether we might have to read the many peace agreements as an indicator of how much strife and conflicts continued to rage but were not brought to full justice because of the private arrangements avoiding the serious involvement of the *sindicus*. Fines increased heftily after the Black Death, but this can be explained with the city's new need of public funds. However we might view the documents presented by Kumhera, one point stands out most dramatically. Siena, along with other northern Italian cities, successfully pursued a flexible and moderate policy in handling violence and crime so long as those involved agreed to formal peace agreements. The conditions changed slightly over time, and the amount of fines grew considerably, but this did not endanger the institution itself because it worked so well for everyone who could profit from it.

We return to the issue of 'Just War' in Yuri Fuwa's article on the Alliterative *Morte Arthure* (late fourteenth century), where many bloody battle scenes mar the traditionally idyllic impression of the world of King Arthur. The issue at first, however, consists of the question whether Arthur holds his kingdom rightfully, or whether he ought to pay tribute to the Romans. This question opens a Pandora's Box as to the legality of any kingdom and as to the topic of a justified war, a legitimacy which the Romans claim to have on their side. In the narrative we encounter numerous positions as to the reason for fighting the Romans and what it might do to the Britons under Arthur's rule, not all of which pertain to the 'Just War.' Neither side can fully legitimate its claims, irrespective of their references to past events, ancestries, or injuries committed. Arthur himself, as now becomes clear, seems to have committed numerous war crimes, or at least must have raged

through enemy territory, robbing and killing hundreds of his adversaries during his war against the Romans. Fuwa offers interesting references to contemporary war strategies during the Hundred Years' War, in which the military campaigns especially by the English must have wrought havoc among the civil population in France. It might well be that the author intended a subtle critique both of Arthur and hence of the actual situation on the battlefields with scores of innocent victims slain on an almost daily basis.

At the same time the text refers to many relics which Arthur could gain during some of his military campaigns, and which thus seem to be more justified for religious reasons. Nevertheless, the savagery of warfare is not hidden behind those elements of piety; instead it casts rather negative light on the protagonists who suddenly emerge as responsible for terrible slaughter, which could also affect Arthur's own knights succumbing to their deaths as a result of their lord's bellicose politics. Contemporary texts confirm this impression, emphasizing the brutality of knightly warfare, that is, criticizing the entire military approach as unjust, inhumane, and detestable overall.

Fuwa also points out the disturbing development in Church history during the late fourteenth century when suddenly the concept of Crusade was utilized by the various popes to rally troops against their enemies in Northern Italy, for instance, which led to a brutalization of warfare at large in Europe. We can even speak of an epidemic of Holy Wars during that time as caused by the devastating Schism, all of which appears to stand in the background of late-medieval Arthurian romances, such as the *Morte Arthure*. This would explain, as Fuwa emphasizes, the explicit reference to the Wheel of Fortune and the theme of the Nine Worthies, uniquely combined in this text. Here these Worthies imply that King Arthur wages an unjust war and spills the blood of innocent victims, raising the specter of severe criticism against the violence and brutality of unprovoked and illegitimate wars, although at the end Arthur repents of his civil war against Mordred and tries to make amends—too late, however, because his knights are already dead.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, the narrator clearly points out how devastating Arthur's war on the continent turned out, adding even further criticism against this erstwhile idealized king.

Fuwa concludes that the *Morte Arthure* hence signals the end not only of this literary protagonist, but of the entire epoch characterized by Arthur and his traditional chivalric ethos and public honor. We would then have to read the text as representative of broader opposition against the explosion of senseless warfare in historical reality in which more and more scores of victims—knights, then

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<sup>94</sup> This reminds us once again of the curious and ominous poem *Diu Klage*, or *Lament* (see above), where the poet expresses severe criticism of the entire notion of revenge and its subsequent massive slaughter.



mercenaries, and finally also the civilian population—were to be lamented. Peace and war thus became essential issues both in the literary discourse and in historiography because of ever more drastic consequences.

In Carolyn P. Collette's contribution we become acquainted with Philippe de Mézières (1327–1405), a papal legate, advisor to King Charles V of France, tutor for his son, and a significant writer of religious treatises. He deserves our full attention because he struggled hard to establish peace between England and France during the Hundred Years' War and to reorient the military energies of both countries toward a new Crusade to liberate the Holy Land. For him, as for many contemporaries, such a project would have provided the appropriate approach to channel many of the vicious energies within Europe to the outside and to provide some of the perpetrators with the right goal, which thus would overcome most of the shortcomings within European society—certainly a common idea which also had influenced the preachings of the Crusades since the late eleventh century.

In a way, de Mézières was a utopian thinker with strongly religious ideals, but in a concrete sense his project only aimed at ending military conflicts in England or France, and elsewhere, in order to collect all European energies against the religious arch-enemy, Islam. By the same token, Philippe expressed strongly religious sentiments, revering the Virgin Mary, above all, and this in the name of the hoped-for Crusade. In his writings—mostly advocating this universal peace plan with the goal of recovering the kingdom of heaven here on earth—the author demonstrated a strong knack for dramatic performances, as reflected in at least one play created by him, *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*. More powerful, however, proved to be his *Order of the Passion*, in which he pursued strongly religious and political goals, appealing to his contemporaries to take up arms against the sole and true enemy, the Muslims.

The Christians' fault rests in their sinful behavior determined by pride, avarice, and desire for luxury, an argument which we will hear of later both in the song poetry by Michel Beheim (William C. McDonald) and Hans Sachs (Albrecht Classen). If knighthood were to return to its original purpose, to defend the Christian faith, it would also remember to take up arms for the liberation of the Holy Land. Although the heyday of the Crusades was long gone, Philippe resumed the traditional rhetoric with its strongly religious undertones, embracing the ideal of peace for all Christians and advocating, at the same time, war against the infidels, the Muslims. In the process of composing this military-religious treatise, Philippe also began to subscribe to the concept of a utopia, as Collette emphasizes in her detailed analysis. Almost ironically, the role of women in that context was to marry the devout knights, to procreate with them, thus helping them as their wives to keep their spirituality clean by avoiding sexual transgressions.

Philippe's hypocrisy could not be more blatant, but it was certainly replicated in future centuries, especially when European conquerors colonized the New World and approached their task with the help of the same rhetoric as we can find it in Philippe's *Ordre*. As much as the author advocated internal peace, it was, as Collette can now confirm, a specific, though ultimately not successful strategy to strengthen the European heartlands and to ready them for a global attack against any and all heathen populations.<sup>95</sup>

The times during the Hundred Years' War were bad for all people involved in it directly and indirectly. The civilian population suffered terribly, especially because there was seemingly no end in sight. While Philippe de Mézières tried to appeal to the monarchies to redirect their energies to the religious enemies outside of Europe, his contemporary Christine de Pizan (1364/65–ca. 1430) set her pen to the task of examining war and peace critically and to teach her audience about the intrinsically evil nature of war, as Angus J. Kennedy discusses in his contribution to this volume.<sup>96</sup> The Schism itself further fueled the military conflicts because the competing popes tried to solicit support from both sides in that war of a century and attempted to exploit ideological tensions among the various social groups (see the *Cabochien* uprising). Christine regularly responded to the woes dominant at her time, both in her prose works and in her lyric poetry. She was certainly not a pacifist, but she addressed numerous times questions pertaining to Just War and the vagaries of human destiny.

As Kennedy comments, Christine commonly subordinated her discussion of war to broader issues, such as ethics, fortune, morality, and politics. In some texts she responded to the specific need for military instructions regarding proper tactics and strategies, in others she reflected upon women's sorrowful lives once they have lost their husbands in war. In her *Epistre a la reine*, for instance, which Kennedy analyzes thoroughly regarding its reception history and its stylistic and rhetorical features, Christine discusses the role of a queen as mother of her people, both in war and in peace-time. She emphasizes, as is often the case in her works, the extreme importance of proper conduct in public life, especially for public figures such as the queen, because, as Kennedy highlights, for her the difference between earthly and heavenly glory was minimal.

Shedding tears serves Christine as an important tool in reaching out to her audience and to remind them of the misery affecting all of France. Crying thus emerges as a public performance directed against the negative consequences of the war. The writer resorts to her tears as instruments to explain her role as a

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<sup>95</sup> For interesting parallels to this line of argument, see the contribution to this volume by Scott L. Taylor.

<sup>96</sup> See also my extensive discussion of Christine's *Livre de la paix* in this Introduction above.

spokesperson for all citizens of France, and to legitimize her protest against the war. To heighten her rhetorical strategy, Christine also resorts to emotionally charged terms, dramatic images of the devastations and destructions brought about by the impending civil war in France, and to the strategy of blending logic with emotions to underscore the catastrophe for the entire country.<sup>97</sup>

For her, as Kennedy specifies, the body politic was suffering badly and had lost much of its cohesion as a consequence of the all-pervasive military conflicts. Most egregiously, the present French King Charles VI suffered from insanity, and for that reason Christine turned to the Queen Isabeau of Bavaria (ca. 1370–1435) instead, warning her in more or less explicit language of the impending sinfulness if she were not to accept her responsibility as mother of her kingdom to take care of vast suffering. To achieve the desired effect, the author resorts both to the Bible and to her own knowledge of history, warning her addressee of the serious dangers for France and its people resulting from continuing civil war and the war against England.<sup>98</sup>

Contrary to previous scholars, Kennedy affirms how much Isabeau actually wielded considerable political clout and was hence not an inappropriate target for Christine's attempts to bring about literary mediation, hoping that she could rouse the queen into action to work toward peace in her own country. As Kennedy concludes, while it seems most likely that the poet composed the letter on behalf of a major political figure, it appears to have had a good effect on the queen who was already leaning toward a new strategy to ban further fighting in France.

In the final analysis, Kennedy adduces sufficient evidence to support his claim that Christine explicitly and deliberately reflected on her role as a woman addressing the queen, resorting to specifically feminine concerns and qualities in defense of peace.<sup>99</sup> In this regard she can be identified as a major, if not the most important forerunner of the international women's peace movement since the

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<sup>97</sup> Nadia Margolis, "Christine de Pizan's Life in Lament: Love, Death, and Politics," *Laments for the Lost in Medieval Literature*, ed. Jane Tolmie and M. J. Toswell. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 265–81.

<sup>98</sup> Tracy Adams, "Medieval Mothers and Their Children: The Case of Isabeau of Bavaria," *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Result of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 265–89; ead., *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria. Rethinking Theory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press: 2010).

<sup>99</sup> See also my discussion of Christine de Pizan's *The Book of Peace*. There is a huge body of scholarship on women and peace since the nineteenth century, see, for instance, Janet M. Powers, "History of Women's Peace Movement," *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace*, ed. Young Nigel. Vol. 4: *Safe Space - Zones of Peace, Appendixes, Topical Outline of Entries, Directory of Contributors, Index* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), S. 420–23; Angelika U. Reutter and Anne Rüffer, *Peace Women*, trans. from the German original by Salomé Hangartner (2004; Zurich: Rüffer+Rub, 2004).

nineteenth century, under the leadership of the German Bertha von Suttner (1843–1914) and others.<sup>100</sup>

Increasingly late-medieval poets took on highly critical viewpoints regarding war and decried all military efforts as sinful and deplorable. This finds powerful expression in Michel Beheim's song-poem for his *Buchlin von den siben tat sunden* ("Little Book on the Seven Deadly Sins"), which William C. McDonald investigates in his contribution. Although Beheim, who mostly served at the court of the Hapsburgian Emperor Frederick III, has not found many enthusiasts outside the confines of medieval German Studies, his poetic oeuvre deserves attention for many different reasons, one of them being his criticism of war. As McDonald illustrates, Beheim examined psychological conditions in man—such as anger, pride, and other deadly sins—as the precondition leading to military aggression. However, he also distinguished carefully, identifying various types of anger, such as God's anger, which was, of course justified in light of man's behavior. The latter's sinful wrath, by contrast, is regarded as a major contributing factor to unjustified violence, an interpretation that was soundly anchored in biblical texts. Anger makes people blind, and its outcome is devastating war, which hence emerges as a most condemnable sin. The only true opposite to the angry man would be the tranquil, serene, and devout monk, as described much earlier by Saint John Cassian (ca. 360–435) in his *De spiritu irae*. Wrath, in reality, is the tool which the devil employs to mislead man into a downward spiral of violence and war. For Beheim, people's true focus ought to rest on the effort to transform angry individuals and heal them from their internal fury. This then would allow people to beat proverbial swords into plowshares—a biblical statement (Isaiah 2:14) which was successfully employed throughout time, and most recently by the peaceful protest movement in East Germany before the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.<sup>101</sup>

In his song-poem "Von chriegen" Beheim develops some of the strongest literary expressions directed against the evils of war. It is a true anti-war song and could easily be placed next to any of the major parallel songs from the twentieth or twenty-first century.<sup>102</sup> The poet clearly perceives the new kind of suffering on the

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<sup>100</sup> Judith Stiehm, *Champions for Peace: Women Winners of the Nobel Peace Prize* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); Sandra Hedinger, *Frauen über Krieg und Frieden: Bertha von Suttner, Rosa Luxemburg, Hannah Arendt, Betty Reardon, Judith Ann Tickner, Jean Bethke Elshtain*. Reihe "Politik der Geschlechterverhältnisse", 14 (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus Verlag, 2000); for Bertha von Suttner, see also [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bertha\\_von\\_Suttner](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bertha_von_Suttner) (last accessed on April 12, 2011).

<sup>101</sup> Warren Snodgrass, *Swords to Plowshares: The Fall of Communist Germany* (Huntington, NY: Nova Science Publishers, 2000); Rainer Eckert and Kornelia Lobmeier, *Schwerter zu Pflugscharen, Geschichte eines Symbols*, ed. Susanne Rebscher. *Zeitgeschichte(n); Geschichte erleben* (Bonn: Stiftung Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 2007).

<sup>102</sup> Stephen M. Gill, *Anti-War Poems: Anthology* (Cornwall, Ontario: Vesta Publications, 1984); James

part of the civilian population increasingly victimized by the new types of warfares generating ever more destructive weapons during the fifteenth century. The belligerents are fools, lunatics, and blasphemers who deserve God's harshest punishment because they break the divine laws and make the innocent suffer. McDonald goes so far as to identify Beheim's concept contained in his criticism of war as virtually utopian and extremist in the positive sense of the word. War proves to be Satan's work here on earth, and war-mongers are nothing but the worst sinners to be condemned by all people and God.

However, as Joan Tasker Grimbert alerts us immediately following, poets' and clerics' ideas were not at all the same as those pursued by the knights and princes. Duke Philipp the Good of Burgundy, for instance, along with his court, tremendously enjoyed tournaments and subsequently also military actions, although he commonly preferred diplomatic solutions via marriage arrangements than warfare. He was also the founder of the Order of the Golden Fleece and promoted the visual arts (as the patron of Jan van Eyck, for instance) and literature, commissioning the rendering of numerous courtly romances (normally composed in verse) into prose, such as Chrétien de Troyes' *Cligés*. This romance contains most vivid and graphic descriptions of war, two in particular confirming Philip's general military ambitions, which included the dreamed of the reconquest of Constantinople after the Turks had caputed it in 1453.

Whereas Chrétien had mixed his description of military combat with a strong dose of narrative commentary and irony, the prose translator moved away from that approach and highlighted, more than ever before, the brutal details of war, which seems to have strongly appealed to Philip the Good and his court. Grimbert demonstrates, however, that the theme of love continues to exert a strong influence, and is ultimately combined with the duke of Saxony's fight against Cligés and his knights in a gruesome manner. In contrast to Chrétien, however, the prose author presents the duke as a frustrated suitor, not as Fenice's betrothed, which adds a considerable dimension of anger to this romance. His later abduction of Fenice through a band of one hundred knights whom he had dispatched confirms this violent component. Cligés subsequently succeeds in liberating her again, which adds a considerable degree of erotic elements to the prose novel. By contrast, Chrétien had presented a proud warrior in all his fury, the prose writer emphasized the lover's anguish and fear about losing his lady to the duke. In contrast to previous scholarship, Grimbert observes how much the fifteenth-century novel succeeded in combining the military with the erotic. This then also sheds light on the contradictory nature of courtly life in fifteenth-century Burgundy where, on the one hand, war and knightly prowess continued to enjoy

tremendous popularity, but where, on the other, love and wild erotic passion also enthralled readers. Much depends on the context, and as the prose text illustrates, despite some of the worst military operations organized by the Burgundian duke, we can also recognize strong interests in the support and promotion of the courtly, literary, and artistic world.

As mentioned before, the fall of Constantinople into the hands of the Ottomans in 1453 constituted a major rupture for all of Europe, signaling the final disappearance of the Eastern Roman empire. The flood of Greek refugees to the West was extensive, and many of them quickly strove to appeal to their contemporaries to take up arms and help them liberate their home city, as George Arabatzis discusses in his contribution. Pope Pius II went even so far as to identify the loss of Constantinople as the “second death of Homer and Plato.” The number of appeals by Greek humanists, such as Cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472), reached such great heights that we can even talk about a separate literary genre, as George Arabatzis notes in his contribution. While the advocates for that ‘Crusade’ argued intensively for that war against the Turks, they also pushed hard for a universal peace in Europe which would unify the individual nations and strengthen the Christian continent sufficiently to organize that warfare effectively. We have heard that argument before in several other contexts (see above), but here the decisive campaign aimed at the essential defense of Europe against the Turks and at the reconquest of the Greek humanist homeland. They justified their requests with a reference to the Ottomans as barbarians, but they also warned the Christian princes of the imminent military threat against the Balkans and the lands further north.<sup>103</sup>

Instead of addressing the masses at large, these humanists turned to the princes and church leaders, knowing all too well where the true power resources rested. If internecine strife would continue, they argued, tearing the European countries apart, there would not be any hope of successfully confronting the Turkish threat. Intellectuals such as Nicholas Cusa were astute enough to comprehend that the severe division between the Eastern and the Western Churches would also first have to be overcome before affective counter-measures could be taken. The entire discourse, hence, was oddly split between the emphasis on internal peace and

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<sup>103</sup> There are countless studies on this topic, but see, for example, Klaus-Peter Matschke, *Das Kreuz und der Halbmond: die Geschichte der Türkenkriege* (Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler, 2004; also Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004); Rhoads Murphy, “Ottoman Expansion, 1451–1503. I.: Consolidation of Regional Power, 1451–1503. II.: Dynastic Interest and International Power Status, 1503–56,” *Early Modern Military History, 1450–1815*, ed. Geoff Mortimer (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 43–80; Franz Brendle, “Religionskriege in der frühen Neuzeit: Begriff, Wahrnehmung, Wirkmächtigkeit,” *Religionskriege im Alten Reich und in Alteuropa*, ed. Franz Brendle and Anton Schindling (Münster: Aschendorff, 2006), 15–52.

external war. Curiously, however, numerous European writers even projected the world of the Ottomans in idealist terms, contrasting it with the catastrophic, highly divisive, volatile, and lawless Christian world.<sup>104</sup> The situation grew even more complicated because a number of courts or governments tried to establish, at least temporarily, peaceful, that is, diplomatic and economic relations with the Turks. Furthermore, with the rise of the Protestant Reformation in Germany, the differences between the individual states in Europe and the Ottoman Empire, not to speak of the Greek humanists efforts as exiles and propagandists for a new Crusade, grew considerably, making the communication among the various forces increasingly difficult.

The Greek scholars in the West faced the particular problems that they were only individuals, though many of them enjoyed extensive prestige. They did not carry the same weight, of course, as the various city republics in Italy, the French court, the German emperor, or the Holy See. Moreover, despite their best efforts to rely on Augustinian thinking regarding 'Just War,' their appeals still entailed a form of military aggression which was, in essence, contradictory to Christian teaching. Insofar as these humanists mostly relied on appeals to political and Church leaders, but did not develop any specific peace plan according to Christian teachings, they relied primarily on reaching out to the political hierarchy and thus could never truly achieve their goals.

Inasmuch as war and peace are intimately contingent upon each other, it seems also very important to include studies focusing on the theory of warfare in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.<sup>105</sup> Defense systems have always been just as relevant as weapons and siege instruments, which find best expression in Albrecht Dürer's *Etliche vnderricht / zu befestigung der Stett / Schlosz / vnd flecken* from 1527. Jörn Münkner turns his attention to Dürer's treatment because it is the first one produced in German, because it impressively reflects the paradigm shift from the Middle Ages to the early modern age, because it uses rather innovative techniques in depicting defense structures, and because it resulted in a highly complex political configuration. In his dedication to the future Emperor, Ferdinand I, Dürer explicitly refers to the threat by the Turks, which was certainly felt in Germany as

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<sup>104</sup> For the perspective of a former slave, the Christian Georgius de Hungaria, see Albrecht Classen, "The World of the Turks Described by an Eye-Witness: Georgius de Hungaria's Dialectical Discourse about the Foreign World of the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of Early Modern History* 7, 3–4 (2003): 257–79.

<sup>105</sup> Paddy Griffith, *The Viking Art of War* (London: Greenhill Books; Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1995); D. J. B. Trim, *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism. History of Warfare*, 11 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003); Helen J. Nicholson, *Medieval Warfare: Theory and Practice of War in Europe, 300–1500* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); see also the contributions to *Medieval Warfare 1300–1450*, ed. Kelly DeVries (see note 1).

well. But it cast a much more ominous shadow on Bohemia and Hungary, which Ferdinand ruled at that time. The devastating battle of Mohács had taken place already one year earlier, 1526,<sup>106</sup> so there were plenty of reasons to reconsider European fortifications. On the one hand Dürer appealed, from his self-assured position as an artist/craftsman to the regent, on the other he outlined strategies to fortify urban spaces and to transform them into stable defense positions for modern warfare. Dürer relied to some extent on the classical literature dealing with military fortifications (for example, the writings of Vitruvius), but he was also deeply influenced by the works of many Italian contemporaries (e.g., Michelangelo).

Dürer's project poignantly reflects the development of modern artillery, which represented considerably new challenges for all architects responsible for defense walls. His drawings show, for instance, the inclusion of casemates, bastions, or pasteys-forts. These critical architectural details demonstrate most impressively the actual transformation of the Middle Ages, taking us into the world of the Renaissance both in terms of military operations and defense buildings. One interesting detail was the development of star-shaped walls which made the use of canon fire rather difficult and prevented blind spots for the defenders. Dürer's design seems highly exaggerated and almost utopian, but the artist was greatly concerned to be as accurate and efficient as possible, as Münkner emphasizes. And later military architects gradually recognized that many parts of Dürer's concept were indeed highly valid and could be utilized in their own plans because "non-Bastionary Systems could be as defensive as Bastionary ones," especially in light of ever improving artillery technology. Moreover, as Münkner emphasizes, defense structures always fulfil two functions: to serve for the military purpose, and to reflect the ruler's or the city's power and esteem. Bastions are thus emblems of power in a variety of ways.

In addition, we can recognize how much Dürer's plan also heralded methods for designing a city so as to make it both pleasantly habitable and defensible at the same time. The central point proves to be the prince's palace, which strongly reminds us of a medieval castle with its donjon, for instance, but now transferred to the Renaissance city under the sovereign rule of a prince. Dürer's design was of colossal proportions, and it remains doubtful whether he truly had in mind only, or if at all, the Turkish threat. Ultimately, fortification emerged as a modern

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<sup>106</sup> András Kubinyi, *Nándorfehérvártól Mohácsig: a Mátyás- és a Jagelló-kor hadtörténete* ([Budapest]: Argumentum, 2007); James Reston Jr., *Defenders of the Faith: Charles V, Suleyman the Magnificent, and the Battle for Europe, 1520-1536* (New York: Penguin Press, 2009); János B. Szabó and Ferenc Tóth, *Mohács (1526): Soliman le Magnifique prend pied en Europe centrale*. Collection Campagnes & stratégies. Les grandes batailles, 78 (Paris: Economica, 2009) see also the rather useful and comprehensive overview online at: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Moh%C3%A1cs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Moh%C3%A1cs) (last accessed on April 13, 2011).



means to represent political power. In other words, as already manifest in the Middle Ages, warfare was an intimate element of Renaissance culture, and it seems almost impossible to draw a distinct line between simple fortifications and architectural display of the sovereign, or city government.

With the following article we return to the same issue which troubled Michel Beheim so deeply, but we move ca. eighty years down the line, when the famous Nuremberg cobbler poet and mastersinger Hans Sachs also raised his voice against war in a number of his poems. While the Nuremberg artist Dürer developed new designs for fortification systems,<sup>107</sup> Sachs developed powerful poetic statements against the cruelty of war some of which he had witnessed personally. Although neither Beheim nor Sachs might be able to appeal to peace activists today, their works deserve our full attention particularly because the life-threatening power of modern war machinery has increased exponentially over the centuries. Classen submits in his second contribution that literature, as feeble a voice as it might be at first sight, offers a powerful medium to develop sharp-cutting criticism against the war-mongers who have only their own selfish interests in mind to the catastrophic detriment of all others.

Human suffering must be addressed relentlessly, through all possible means, even though we will not necessarily overcome it or bring it to an end. We remain human, however, because we know how to suffer and have the artistic and literary means available, from many different centuries, to come to terms with that suffering. In this regard, Sachs once again proves to be a major spokesperson, soon to be followed by the major Baroque poet Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664), who composed perhaps the most moving anti-war poems of his time.<sup>108</sup>

In Sachs's lifetime, Margrave Albrecht Alcibiades was one of the true terrors threatening the well-being of many cities and many people, wherever he appeared with his murderous troops. In a number of poems Sachs reflects upon the disaster that those bellicose maneuvers inflicted upon everybody, both among the civilian population and the soldiers themselves. This does not mean that Sachs actually offers effective or decisive strategies for how to end the war. He does not know how to cut through the political maze, nor does he have an idea how to solve any economic issues standing behind the military conflict. But his poetic voice addresses war in such a powerful and dramatic fashion that even modern audiences/readers can immediately grasp the true tragedy which the Margrave perpetrated. To some extent Sachs appeals to God, but he really wants to awaken

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<sup>107</sup> See the contribution to this volume by Jörn Münkner.

<sup>108</sup> Michael M. Metzger and Erika A. Metzger, "The Thirty Years War and Its Impact on Literature," *German Baroque Literature: The European Perspective*, ed. Gerhart Hoffmeister (New York: Ungar, 1983), 38–51.

his listeners and to shock them with his poetic images which show that nothing and nobody in human society or in nature will be spared from the fury of war. War represents, for Sachs, a veritable apocalypse, since even, if not especially, the soldiers, mostly lansquenets, suffer most horribly. In his visionary anti-war poems he describes in highly dramatic fashion how everyone in society is badly harmed by the military operations, and how much even seeming success ultimately results in pain and suffering for victims, both high and low, poor and rich.

Nevertheless, Sachs is not content with protesting against war as such; he also analyzes some of the causes and conditions of war, pointing out, for instance, the effects of internecine strife among the citizenship that facilitates the Margrave's actions against Nuremberg. He also attacks usury, greed, and many other vices that plague people, and which are here identified as some of the critical causes that ultimately lead to war. In fact, he argues very similarly to Michel Beheim, and we can easily put Sachs on the same pedestal of pre-modern peace advocates of whom modern pacifists and anti-war protesters should be aware as their most vocal predecessors. Sachs was critical enough, obviously having learned his lesson from reading Erasmus of Rotterdam, to realize also the danger of the ideological campaign luring young unsuspecting men into the military by means of the militaristic pomp and false glory, which apparently has always appealed to some male instincts and basic desires for power and honor, as represented by knightly trappings or the modern military uniform and firearm.

In other poems Sachs develops highly critical ideas about the wrongdoings of people which then threaten peace, without necessarily differentiating between Catholics or Protestants. As a poet Sachs attacks every side responsible for war-mongering and does not draw any particular line between the allegedly stupid peasants and the smart city dwellers, as we hear in Heinrich Wittenwiler's *Ring* (ca. 1400) (see above). Deception, lying, and cheating rule the world, as we learn in Sachs's song-poems, and war actually proves to be the result of people's unwillingness or inability to control and especially to turn away from the Seven Deadly Sins. Very similar are Walther von der Vogelweide's biting comments about the social, ethical, and moral shortcomings in this world which lead to violence and war, such as in his famous "Reichston" "Ich saz ûf eime steine" (L. 8.4) (ca. 1200),<sup>109</sup> Sachs correlates moral depravity and lack of a civic society with

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<sup>109</sup> Walther von der Vogelweide, *The Single-Stanza Lyrics*, ed. and trans., with introduction and commentary by Frederick Goldin (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), no. 27, 140; for a recent and solid discussion of this stanza, see Hermann Reichert, *Walther von der Vogelweide für Anfänger*. 3rd, completely revised and expanded ed. (1992; Vienna: Facultas Verlags- und Buchdruck, 2009), 157–59; Otfried Ehrismann, *Einführung in das Werk Walthers von der Vogelweide*. Einführungen Germanistik (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008), 50–52; see also Peter Kern, "Der Reichston, das erste politische Lied Walthers von der Vogelweide?," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 111 (1992): 344–62.

the eruption of wars. His poetic activity was hence directed at instructing people in recognizing the fairly simple solutions to war, which would begin with each individual working on improving his or her own morality and ethics.

However, as a quick glance at Sachs's contemporary, the former lansquenet turned bureaucrat and author of jest narratives, Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof, indicates, the major criticism was aimed at the true culprits, the princes who engage in frivolous warfare everywhere with only selfish and greedy motives. Ultimately, as we can learn from Sachs and others, war is not the result of destiny, but the simple result of human failure, foolishness, ignorance, fear, greed, and lust for power and money. If we hold up those presidents, dictators, kings, or party leaders from our own times who have been responsible for wars of all kinds, not to speak of crimes and violence, we can only concur with Michel Beheim, and even more with Hans Sachs in their critical analysis of what triggers war. It is the miserable creature 'man.'

Sadly enough, religion has often been the cause of war, which subsequently became the fertile ground for dramatists throughout time to compose tragedies dealing with this horrible situation. In the name of God, of whatever religion, countless acts of cruelty, brutality, and mass slaughter have been committed, whether we think of the Christian Crusades or the Islamic Jihad. In 1688 Jean Racine composed the play *Esther* on behalf of Mme de Maintenon, the morganatic wife of King Louis XIV of France, although he had given up on writing plays already as of 1677. This play was intended for a school performance and achieved such great acclaim that Racine continued, after all, and created a second play, *Athalie*, which was staged in 1691. In his article, John Campbell suggests that these seemingly innocent religious plays contain severe and highly critical messages about the explosive nature of religion underlying many wars throughout history.

Already in his classicizing plays Racine had portrayed the Greek gods as responsible for the incitement of wars, reflecting, however, nothing but basic human instincts in their irrationality and passion. In *Esther* and *Athalie*, Racine turned to material from the Old Testament and demonstrated that even the Christian God was willing to legitimize any kind of wars and massive slaughter of people if this served to manifest the divine power. The Christian faith thus assumes absolute relevance and justifies even the worst type of military operation or violence. When the Jews fight a war, then they are completely justified because they act on behalf of their God and thus help to bring to realization the providential design. In most uncanny fashion, Racine transferred this idea to his own historical context and insinuated that the wars waged by his king Louis XIV should also be perceived as legitimate religious struggles on behalf of God. Ironically, even Pope Innocent XI had supported the League of Augsburg in its effort to defend the Palatinate against Louis's belligerent attempt to occupy and

take possession of that land, allegedly defending the inheritance rights of his sister-in-law, Elisabeth of the Palatinate.

Campbell draws our attention to the fact that not everything flourished and progressed in France during Louis's reign, with the masses staging riots because of the threat of famine, a severe budget crisis, and with some critics such as François Fénelon raising their voices against the king himself and his dangerous war games. While Racine extolled the idea of holy war, which Louis XIV was supposed to undertake, Fénelon ridiculed and condemned it altogether. In Racine's play, God Himself appears as a concrete king of armies, as the leader of a fully justified French war against the infidels throughout Europe, whom Louis was expected to conquer and subordinate under French master rule. While previous scholars have also recognized elements of strong anti-Semitism (with references to the 'end solution'), Campbell still emphasizes the complexity of the plays, their basically biblical content, and hence their religious nature. *Athalie*, especially, proves to be a literary masterpiece, irrespective of the at times dubious ideological content. Nevertheless, as Campbell hastens to add, Racine did not shy away from explicitly hailing the king as God's primary warrior here on earth who should spare no bloodshed to realize God's greatness, and hence should proceed with his imperialist wars.

Racine, as Campbell notes next, differentiated also between bad and good wars, but this depended very much on the specific intentions by the belligerents in the biblical context. Those who fight for the house of David receive highest praise, all the opponents are severely condemned, which again can be easily applied to Louis XIV, whom the playwright glorified as God's greatest gift on earth. Only the faithful are redeemed by God and are granted military victory.

In the eyes of modern-day viewers or readers many ambivalences remain, and the ferocious presentation of a bloodthirsty God certainly causes considerable unease. Nevertheless, as Campbell then concludes, Racine's plays have also to be viewed in the context of their time and must be evaluated, above all, for their literary quality, which is, as to be expected, first rate. However, this should not blind us to the endemic ideology in favor of imperialist war grounded in conservative religious thinking, equating the Sun King with the ultimate servant of God, as the triumphant leader of armies bringing glory to God by way of crushing his enemies in bloody battles.

Up to this point all contributors have looked at the huge topic of war and peace as if this all were only a matter for male writers and thinkers, here disregarding the extraordinary and powerful author and poet Christine de Pizan. By the same token, only rarely do we hear of texts in which poets addressed the suffering of the entire population in truly graphic terms and with full empathy (Beheim, Sachs), and overall it seems as if this specific discourse were male dominated because

women were not involved in the actual aspects of fighting in a war. But this impression is rather misleading, as the contribution by Martha Moffitt Peacock demonstrates, at least with respect to one special case and one area in early modern Europe. She brings to the table most fascinating evidence concerning women's involvement in the Dutch war of liberation. The Dutch valiantly fought against the Spaniards since the Duke of Alba had been appointed governor-general in 1567, and they were successful against all odds, as represented by the Union of Utrecht from 1597. During these many struggles the Dutch women played a significant role, quickly gaining an astounding reputation for their bravery and intelligence, which contributed in a major way to the Dutch victory over the Spaniards.

In many other cases male society would have quickly tried to blot out the memory of women's achievements and would have ensured the continued control of men after the war. Not so in the Netherlands. Soon after the military victory, artists began to publish prints, often accompanied by verses, in which they projected highly laudatory images of these war heroines. Through those images we learn of the wide range of activities which these women had been able to carry out against the enemies, such as helping in building up the defense structures, pouring hot oil and water on the Spanish troops, providing weapons and equipment for the Dutch rebels, and in some cases even fighting alongside the men with all available arms.<sup>110</sup> To some extent subsequent authors created a myth of these warrior-women, stylizing them as true heroines carrying out manly deeds, which had a huge impact on the later centuries, giving Dutch women an impressive public status from very early on.

Peacock supports her claim with a wealth of pictorial evidence, which demonstrates that the fighting woman had become a central icon of the Dutch revolution. The popularity of this visual motif did not expire shortly after the establishment of the Union of Utrecht, but continued well into the seventeenth century, if not even beyond. Not surprisingly, here we come across direct allusions to the biblical Judith, also a highly admired warrior woman, but now Holland is presented as the new Holy Land because these women, along with the men, have fought a worthy, noble, and especially a Just War against the Spanish oppressors. War for the liberation of the own country proves to be of great value, and these heroines are regularly portrayed as possessing manly virtues and courage. The

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<sup>110</sup> A truly fascinating example for a brave fighting woman already emerges in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *chanson de geste*, his *Willehalm* from ca. 1220 (see note 44), where Gyburc valiantly holds the castle against the sea of Muslim enemies while her husband, Count Willehalm, travels to the court of the king of France to solicit military help. See Martin H. Jones, "Giburc at Orange: The Siege as Military Event and Literary Theme," *Wolframs "Willehalm": Fifteen Essays*, ed. id. and Timothy McFarland. *Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2002), 97–120. See also my discussion above.

term 'Amazon'—a category, along with Judith, previously honored by Christine de Pizan—was also used to describe these women, but not in a derogatory fashion, quite to the contrary, because these heroines had significantly contributed to the successful fight against Alba and his soldiers. Some of the women had even put on men's clothing, disguising themselves so that they could fight more efficiently. As Peacock emphasizes, these women originated not from the aristocratic class, but mostly belonged to the class of burghers, which added further revolutionary impetus to the entire topic.<sup>111</sup>

Consequently, future generations of Dutch women realized new opportunities in public life, to some extent predicated on this military tradition, which fundamentally changed the patriarchal paradigm and set the stage for women's new level of recognition. In this regard, the war in which they had been involved proved to be a blessing with many ramifications, anticipating in many ways the future of the gender relationship, at least since the twentieth century. Individual women even profited so much from this paradigm shift that they could find a way into the sphere of academia and literature. Their dedication to the military struggle against Spanish military domination elevated them up from their previous subordination, and created, even if only tentatively, a degree of equality which was unheard of in early modern Europe and finds no real parallels.

Heidi J. Holder finally introduces us to a rather surprising element of theatrical presentation in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century London with horses serving as symbolic characters on the stage to demonstrate, for instance, the British victory over an effeminate Napoleon. She appropriately calls this phenomenon "hippodrama." Since the late seventeenth century, with the end of the Puritan wars, many theatres were opened again or newly established, attracting huge crowds, particularly in London, where the new theatre productions offered exciting and innovative mixtures of elements, combining music with acting, and then also introducing animals onto the stage. The horse was first recognized in 1770 as an ideal character for militaristic dramas by Philip Astley, who had a famous military background during the Seven Years' War in which Britain was successfully allied with Prussia against the rest of continental Europe. Astley's idea of a riding school on stage was quickly copied by other theatre or circus owners, Astley became famous for his trick riding, but all this proved to be so popular only because it served to highlight Britain's triumphant victory over its enemies,

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<sup>111</sup> Jessica Amanda Salmonson, *The Encyclopedia of Amazons: Women Warriors from Antiquity to the Modern Era* (New York: Paragon House, 1991). See also the contributions to *Warlike Women in the German Literary and Cultural Imagination Since 1500*, ed. Sarah Colvin and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly. *Women and Death*, 2 (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2009). None of them, however, is aware of the Dutch tradition. Cf. also Rosalind Miles and Robin Cross, *Hell Hath no Fury: True Profiles of Women at War from Antiquity to Iraq* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2008).

especially France—after all, the Seven Years' War had really been a world war, with combat stages also in India, Africa, and America.<sup>112</sup> However, as Holder also notes, trick riding was soon complimented by acts performed by specially trained and skilled horses.

Astley soon proceeded with a further militarization of the stage, organizing mock battles and parades, thereby inviting the audience to witness a fictional panorama of war. He even recreated the French Revolution on the stage, at first projecting a more positive image of the rioting people. But when the war between England and France began in 1793, Astley joined the army again, which highlighted the intimate relationship between the military actions on the battlefield and the theatrical reenactments. In a way the theatres became informational centers for the public regarding the development of the war. Later wars, involving India, for instance, were also successfully presented on the London stages. The more the wars affected the entire nation, the more the interest in the plays grew, which increasingly also included animals, because the horse could so imposingly represent the ideals of manly conduct in battle.

Instead of recoiling from military conflicts, the modern era has plunged even further into warfare and the idealization of combat, perhaps because nationalistic values gained new popularity with the rising bourgeoisie. But we would also have to agree with Holder that the theatre productions served exceedingly well to carry out their intended propagandistic functions to rally people behind the government's war efforts.

## K. Conclusion

It would be hubris to claim that we have covered the topic of war and peace in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age exhaustively. Countless scholars before us have already addressed the issue, along with theologians, philosophers, poets, and politicians. The central concern, however, remains a timeless and inexhaustible challenge because human life depends so much on peace. At the same time human aggression threatens the survival of the own species, whether we look into antiquity, the Middle Ages, or the Modern Age. We hope, however, to have addressed, once again, the enormously wide-spread discourse on war and peace

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<sup>112</sup> William M Fowler, *Empires at War: The Seven Years' War and the Struggle for North America, 1754-1763* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005); Franz A. J. Szabo, *The Seven Years War in Europe, 1756-1763. Modern Wars in Perspective* (Harlow, England, and New York: Pearson/Longman, 2008); Douglas Fordham, *British Art and the Seven Years' War: Allegiance and Autonomy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010). See also M. John Cardwell, *Arts and Arms: Literature, Politics and Patriotism During the Seven Years War* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, Palgrave, 2004).

throughout the formative period constituting the basis from which our modern world has arisen. War and violence continue to vex our world, and this perhaps more than ever before. We as cultural historians are challenged to address the basic courses of this tragic bloodshed far and wide, and to put it into the appropriate context.

There is, perhaps ironically, no doubt in my mind that the powerful individuals who are essentially responsible for war yesterday and today will not listen to the lessons drawn from the past in the many contributions to this volume. After all, this is not a book addressing contemporary issues, and it has no specific political or ideological issue. Nevertheless, as medievalists and early modernists we have an enormous responsibility to reflect upon the past and to carry its messages to the present and future. Irrespective of all cynicism today, which seems more and more logical, or coercive, in light of actual events taking place all around us while I am composing these lines, hope remains despite much despair everywhere. War is not, or ought not to be, the *ultima ratio* in and of life, and man is not doomed to fight throughout his existence. Literature and the arts, not to speak of philosophy and theology, do have a significant task in our lives. The study of heroic epics might not transform the minds of our politicians and military leaders, but it can certainly set the stage for our younger generations to begin the necessary process of reflection on the meaning of heroism, honor, ethical behavior, and the consequences of employing military might.

This does not mean that we are pursuing the goal of achieving pacifism in any specific manner, radical or modest, as ideal as that might be. Instead, the contributors attempt to address concrete situations in the premodern world where war and peace are on the negotiation table. Only the critical analysis of the central issues pertaining to both aspects will carry the promise to spare us all from total annihilation, or Armageddon. This is, furthermore, not to say that all wars are to be condemned. Some wars have always proven to be critical in the self-preservation of a people, a social group, or a culture. But in every war people die and suffer badly in physical terms, while the survivors face enormous grief in psychological and emotional. Poets and artists have consequently responded to that phenomenon, which the contributors to this volume have all tried to address in his or her individual approach.

It seems justified and most appropriate to conclude this introduction with some references to the great Romantic Spanish artist Francisco Goya, or Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes (March 30, 1746 – April 16, 1828).<sup>113</sup> In his series of eighty-two

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<sup>113</sup> Fred Lich, *Goya* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2001); Evan S. Connell, *Francisco Goya* (New York: Counterpoint, 2004); Dagmar Feghelm, *I, Goya*, trans. from the German by Ishbel Flett (2004; Munich and New York: Prestel, 2004).



prints under the title *Los Desastres de la Guerra* ("The Disasters of War") created between 1810 and 1820, Goya developed some of the most powerful and penetrating images presenting the cruelties and barbarity of war.<sup>114</sup> These prints were so dramatic and provocative that they were not published until 1863, thirty-five years after the artist's death. Goya himself never commented on his anti-war art, but the images speak for themselves and represent the most torturous artistic attack against human aggression and violence unleashed in war. Goya demonstrates with his horrifying, stark, and deeply moving prints that the arts have, indeed, much to say about war and peace and can, if not must, inform the public about the devastating consequences of war, which can easily transform the human individual into a beast.

Of course, there have always been honorable knights, lansquenets, or soldiers, and many wars have been fought most valiantly and honorably, both in the past and the present, that is, they have been regarded as 'Just Wars' by the victors.<sup>115</sup> Nevertheless, to win in any war always involves the death of countless people, whether they are the enemy or 'only' collateral damage, the way how the Pentagon calls those victims today.

For this reason, Goya deserves the last word, although he never talked about his darkest and most frightening prints or offered an explanation. I hasten, however, to express my great gratitude to my indefatigable collaborator on this project, Prof. Nadia Margolis. She read every piece along with me, reviewed all contributions, and helped in countless ways. It was a true joy to join forces with someone like her who shares the same professional interests, work ethic, and a powerful determination to live up to her own promises. I am very indebted to her. I am also most thankful for the critical reading of this introduction by William C. McDonald (University of Virginia) and Marilyn Sandidge (Westfield State University, MA).

But now on to Goya, in the hope that this volume will have the desired impact on its readers, both academics and the general public. War and peace are such important topics that we cannot afford—perhaps today less than ever before—to ignore its horrific impact on all of us. Of course, as the overwhelming evidence in this volume indicates, writers, artists, philosophers, theologians, and rulers have always been deeply concerned with war and examined carefully and in countless

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<sup>114</sup> *Los dibujos de Goya, reproducidos a su tamaño y en su color*. 2 vols. Con introducción y notas por F.J. Sánchez Cantón (Madrid, Museo del Prado, 1954); *Francisco Goya: los caprichos, los desastres de la guerra, los disparates* (Montréal: Musé des Beaux-Arts = Montréal Museum of Fine Arts, 2001); Antonio Manuel Garrido Moraga; José Ma Luna Aguilar and José María Morales Camón, *De la guerra fatales consecuencias, horrores y desastres* (Marbella: Fundación Museo del Grabado Español Contemporáneo, 2008); Sandra Balsells, Juan Bordes, and José Manuel Matilla, *Goya, cronista de todas las guerras: Los desastres y la fotografía de guerra* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Centro Atlántico de Arte Moderno, 2009); Nil Santiáñez-Tió, *Goya / Clausewitz: paradigmas de la guerra absoluta* (Barcelona: Alpha Decay, 2009). The secondary literature on Goya's prints is, of course, legion.

<sup>115</sup> See the contributions to this volume by Ben Snook and Martha Moffitt Peacock.

ways how to achieve peace. Without discussing the pictorial elements in Goya's prints, we only need to allow the cruelty of the scenes have their intended impact on us as viewers. I am convinced that most of the medieval and early modern writers and thinkers, such as St. Francis of Assisi, Christine de Pizan, Michel Beheim, and Erasmus of Rotterdam would have agreed with his highly negative assessment of war. Most significantly, once people are directly confronted with the consequences of war and witness its horrific brutalities and massive slaughter, they tend to turn against war. For that reason, poets, artists, philosophers, and theologians truly command much power, if they only know how to utilize that power to control public opinions. This volume represents the continuation of our efforts to address critically fundamental issues relevant for the medieval and early modern world. Life without peace is not imagineable, but war has always, curiously and sadly, proven to be a major catalyst for the further development (and destruction) of human society.



Fig. 1: Francisco Goya: *Los Desastres de la Guerra*

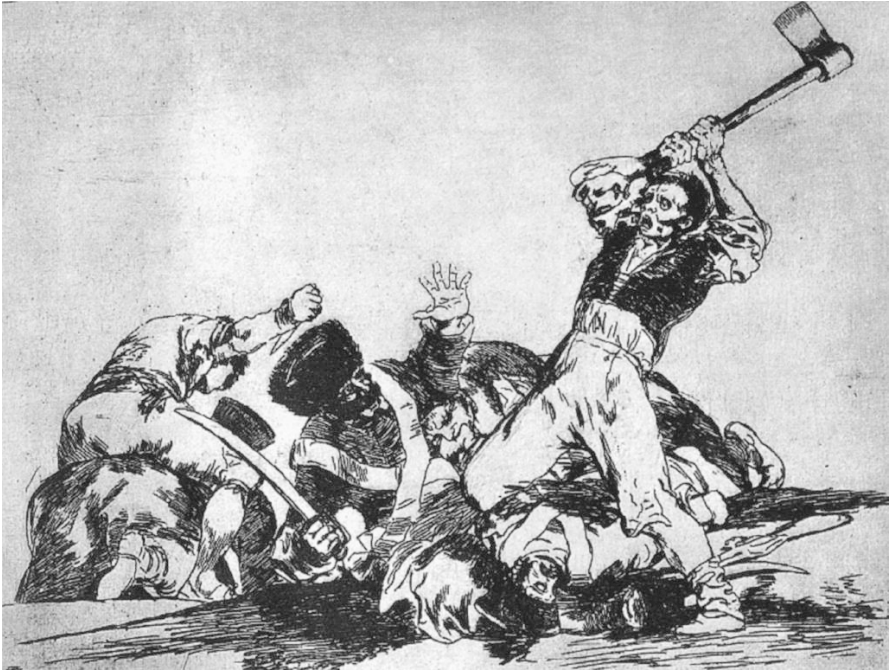


Fig. 2: Francisco Goya: *Los Desastres de la Guerra*

# Chapter 1

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## The Conquest of Sodom: Symbiosis of Calumny and Canon in the *Jus Belli* from Ireland to the Indies

In *Relectiones de Indis Recenter Inventis* (Accounts of the Recently Discovered Indies), a series of lectures discussing the legitimacy of the Spanish Conquest of the Americas delivered sometime in the 1530s, the Dominican Friar Francisco de Vitoria, Professor of Sacred Theology at Salamanca, declared: “Principes Christiani, etiam autoritate Papae non possunt coercere barbaros a peccatis contra legem naturae, nec ratione illorum eos punire.” (Christian princes, even with papal authorization, are unable to prevent barbarians from sins against natural law, nor is it their function to punish them for such offenses).<sup>1</sup> Noting the commonplace of Spanish allegations of sodomy against the Amerindians, and that the Norman-Welsh historian, Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis, † 1223) repeatedly charged the Irish with crimes against nature, particularly bestiality, the late John Kelly, Professor of Jurisprudence and Roman Law at University College, and fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, mused in a footnote to his *Short History of Western Legal Theory* whether these accusations were routine medieval calumnies to justify conquerors.<sup>2</sup> In fact, as this essay endeavors to demonstrate, sexual transgressions *contra naturam qua causa belli* (against nature as cause for war) was a peculiar formulation resulting from the paradigmatic shift flowing from the *reformatio* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the accompanying genesis of

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<sup>1</sup> *Relectiones de Indis*, 2: 16. For a critical edition, see *Relectiones*, Francisco de Vitoria, ed. and trans. Ulrich Horst, Heinz-Gerhard Justenhoven, and Joachim Stüben, 2 vols. Theologie und Frieden, 7–8 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1995–1997).

<sup>2</sup> *Short History of Western Legal Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 201 n. 146. For Gerald’s histories, the *Expugnatio Hibernica* [Conquest of Ireland] and *Topographia Hibernica* [Topography of Ireland], see *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol. 5, ed. James F[rancis] Dimock (orig. London: Longmans, Green, et al., 1867; rpt. Chestnut Hill, MA: Eilbron Classics/Adamant Media, 2004).

an imperial papacy with which the doctrine was largely coterminous. At the same time, the coincidence of attributed offense and legal justifications provides an interesting case study in the symbiosis of perceptions *de facto* (as a matter of fact) and *de jure* (as a matter of law).

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the concept of *justum bellum* (Just War) was in a state of flux, as was indeed all law. The dominant Roman law had hitherto displayed a deceptive simplicity in defining the legitimate basis (*res*) for war. As Cicero (106–43 B. C. E) had written in *De Officiis* (Of Duties): “Nullum bellum esse iustum nisi quod aut rebus repetitis geratur aut denuntiatur ante sit et indictum” (1. 11. 36; No war is just unless it be waged either to recover a *res*, or there first be a statement of grievance and a formal declaration). The *res* at issue could be corporeal or incorporeal, and hence in *De republica* Cicero rephrased the premise as: “Nam extra ulciscendi aut propulsandorum hostium causam bellum geri nullum potest” (11. 23; For no one may wage war except for reason of enemies who must be sanctioned or repelled). Although *ultio* may be defined as punishment or revenge, Cicero seems to intend it in the more juridical sense of taking reprisal to satisfy an injury not otherwise compensable; being essentially offenses against the *jus gentium*, i. e., those *institutiones* that all peoples naturally respect, such as peace treaties (*foedera pacis*) or respect for the inviolability of legates (*legatorum non violandorum religio*). In his *Etymologiae* (Etymologies), Isidore of Seville (†636) would adopt the formulation “Justum bellum est quod ex praedicto geritur de rebus repetitis aut propulsandorum hostium causa” (18.1; a Just War is one of the aforesaid [being unjust, just, civil or beyond civil] waged on grounds of demanding satisfaction [i. e., reclaiming one’s *res*] or repelling an enemy). This phrase he parallels to Cicero’s in a manner leaving no doubt that for him, *ultio* is the equivalent of *rerum repetitio*, granted that in *Etymologies* 5.6, he expands the subject matter of the *jus gentium* beyond its classical confines to include such matters as financial settlements (*sedium occupationes*) and prohibitions on intermarriage (*connube inter alienigenas prohibetur*).

In all likelihood, St. Augustine (354–430) had had no more than the Roman concepts surrounding *justum bellum* in mind when in *Questiones in Heptateuchum* (Questions on the Heptateuch), 6.10, he observed: “Iusta autem bella ea definiri solent que ulciscuntur iniurias, si qua gens vel civitas quae bello petenda est, vel vindicare neglexerit quod a suis inprobe factum est, vel redder quod per iniurias ablatum est” (Moreover, just wars are customarily defined as those avenging injuries, as where a people or city ought be assailed by warfare because it neglected to punish what was wrongfully done by its members or to restore that which was wrongfully taken). Robert Regout rightly maintains that Augustine’s just war merely redresses specific violations of concrete rights (*droits particuliers*,

as Regout calls them),<sup>3</sup> whether those rights be tangible or intangible, choate or inchoate. But the application becomes considerably more complicated if read within the context of a unified empire and church, in which case it could be argued that any violation of divine law or Christian doctrine constitutes a *justa causa belli*, and certainly if taken at face value, a number of Church Fathers could be so read, including Augustine.<sup>4</sup>

The major dissenting voice from this vision of a unified Church and empire was that of the mature bishop of Hippo himself, whose reappraisal, along with the dispensationalism of Orosius, was stimulated by the reversal of Roman fortunes ca. 400 C. E. In *De civitate Dei* (City of God), Augustine defined all human social structures as a mixture of those faithful to the City of God with those whose loyalties belonged to the Earthly City. Hence, Augustine rejected the Ciceronian formulation of the *res publica* (the polity) by asserting that true justice, which accompanies only righteousness, lies beyond the capacities of any human society. Rather, according to Augustine social arrangements between these two groups could only achieve such intermediate goals as security, material necessities, and internal order, elements of *pax terrena* (earthly peace), none of which are abrogated by the heavenly city so long as they do not impede true religion. The purpose of government was to facilitate such earthly peace by mitigating at least some of the consequences of sin. While the empire is open to both groups, the Church, even though in the present dispensation comprising both elect and reprobate, was not. Hence, coercion of members by the Church was considered indispensable to the pastoral function, even though civil authorities as members of the Church imposed that coercion. Outside the Church, coercion was justified internally or externally in terms of the maintenance of minimal order necessary to preserve “earthly peace.”<sup>5</sup> A reading of *De civitate Dei* 19. 7–17, clearly reveals that for Augustine, although all war is fought for peace, this peace is the only proper object of war.

Through most of the Middle Ages, Augustine’s mature views on the nature of civil society would prove a less influential perspective than that which celebrated the merger of church and empire. In fact, Gregory the Great (†604), in his *Moralia*, would redefine Augustine’s two cities—the Earthly and the Heavenly—in terms of the *vita activa* (practical or secular affairs) and the *vita contemplative* (the contemplative, particularly monastic, realm), respectively. For Gregory, the

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<sup>3</sup> Robert Hubert Willem Regout, *La doctrine de la guerre juste de Saint Augustin à nos jours, d’après les théologiens et les canonistes catholiques* (Paris: A. Pedone, 1935; rpt. Aalen: Scientia, 1974), 44.

<sup>4</sup> For example, such is the reading of Augustine by Frederick H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), Ch. 1. Above quotations from Cicero and Augustine’s *Questiones in Heptateuchum* taken from this study or from Regout, *La doctrine* (see note 3).

<sup>5</sup> Robert Austin Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 22–71.

ecclesiastic and secular spheres have unquestionably melded, and according to the *Regula pastoralis* (Pastoral Precepts), rule in either sphere was a ministry designed to profit one's subordinates, as it was in the Benedictine *Regula monachorum* (Rule for Monks, ca. 540). This same position is reflected in the writings of Isidore of Seville, but without any presumption of political universalism, which, though belied by the existence of multiple barbarian kingdoms, at least outside the Visigothic kingdom, nonetheless maintained currency, if only *imaginarie* (conceptually), as Jordanes (fl. 550) would contend in the *Romana, Praefatio*, 84. Hence, Carolingian—and subsequently, Ottonian—texts frequently invoked the Lord on behalf of emperors fulfilling what was characterized as the dual obligations of *defensio* (defense) and *dilatatio* (propagation) of the faith, as expressed in one old liturgy: “Oremus et pro christianissimo imperatore nostro, ut Deus et Dominus noster subditas illi faciat omnes barbaras nationes ad nostram perpetuam pacem” (We pray also for our most Christian emperor, that our God and our Father make all barbarian peoples subject to him for our perpetual peace).<sup>6</sup> Implicit in this liturgical pronouncement is the notion that wars, even those in support of *dilatatio*, are properly conceived in terms of a threat to the Church and the true faith. Although in the mid-ninth century, Nicholas I had emphasized the defensive character of Just War, and that otherwise pagans should be left to the judgment of God alone,<sup>7</sup> the justification of *causa fidei* (cause of the faith) formed the lynchpin of both Carolingian policy and Ottonian policy as well. Moreover, the term “*dilatator*” would become an honorific epithet.<sup>8</sup> But until the eleventh century, by which time the Hungarians and the north had converted, and Islam was fairly contained by the Macedonian Emperors, all wars in the name of the faith could be characterized, at least in preemptive terms, as defensive.

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<sup>6</sup> Leo Cunibert Mohlberg and Anton Baumstark, *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des Liber Sacramentorum anni circuli der römischen Kirche*. Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen, 11–12 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1927), 24; [Ian] S[tewart] Robinson, “Church and Papacy,” *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought ca. 350–ca. 1450*, ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 252–30; here 292. [This volume henceforth = “Burns, *Cambridge Thought*” in all further citations of this and other articles contained in it].

<sup>7</sup> *Responsa ad consulta bulgarum*, 41, *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 217 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Catholique, 1844–55; rpt. Paris: Garnier, 1880–) [Henceforth = PL], 119: 978–1016: 905–6. Furthermore, Nicholas affirms in the same letter that war should be used only in cases of necessity, when no other alternative course of conduct exists, id., 100.

<sup>8</sup> See *Diplomata Ottonis III* 388 (18 January 1001), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Diplomata*, 2: 818, the *intitulatio* of which acclaims Otto III “sanctarumque ecclesiarum devotissimus et fidelissimus dilatator” (most devoted and faithful propagator of holy churches). See Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*. Vol. 1: *Bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts (751–1152)*. Die Entwicklung des menschlichen Bildnisses, 1; Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsinstitute und der Universität Leipzig, Institut für Kultur- und Universalgeschichte (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1928), 157; see also Robinson, “Church and Papacy,” 293 (see note 6).



A somewhat more precise justification of war therefore awaited the eleventh century, when papal reform and the realities of Norman expansion coalesced to form by mid-century a notion of *vindicatio Dei*. In this sense, *vindicatio* essentially signifies the retaking or laying claim to a *res*, much in the nature of *repetitio*, or an avenging of injury, similar to *ultio*. An additional twist on meaning is found in the root, *vindico*, meaning “to free,” and originally, the *vindicta* was the staff with which slaves were touched in ceremonial manumission. This latter connotation became particularly relevant to mentalities surrounding the Norman conquests in southern Italy, Sicily and England. The Mediterranean adventures, when directed toward reconquest from the Saracens can be seen easily in terms of a *vindicatio*, or even a *vindicta* in the old sense of “liberation.”

But even before Robert Guiscard laid plans to invade Sicily and proclaimed his intention to “deliver Catholics and Christians from the bonds of servitude to the Saracens,” and by that deliverance, “to avenge the Saracens’ offense to God,”<sup>9</sup> the Normans had been the beneficiaries of a notion of *Dei iudicio*, when they defeated a papal army at Civitate in 1053, in a war strangely enough called by Leo IX for the “deliverance of Christendom” against the Normans themselves. The realities of power resulted, six years later, in the reconciliation at the synod of Melfi, which was significantly to benefit Hildebrand, who had actively orchestrated the reconciliation when he finally ascended the throne of St. Peter as Gregory VII.

Robert and Richard Guiscard thus having sworn to support the Holy Roman Church everywhere and against all men in holding and acquiring the possession of St. Peter, were made, respectively, Prince of Capua and Duke of Apulia and Calabria, in which capacities they would drive the Byzantines from Southern Italy. Alexander likewise blessed and embannered Guiscard in Sicily, much as in 1066, when Duke William would secure a papal banner for his invasion of England, which token of papal sanction was duly displayed in the Bayeux tapestry. Of course, the rationale for the Norman conquest of the Anglo-Saxon realm was described in no less worthy terms than those justifying the Norman incursions into Italy and Sicily: divine retribution for the murder of Alfred the Atheling in 1036; removal of the schismatic Stigand of Canterbury; the violations of Harold’s oath; and the resumption of Peter’s Pence.<sup>10</sup> Here, war not merely protects and extends the faith, but also punishes wrongdoing; and yet, in light of Harold’s association

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<sup>9</sup> “Je vouldroie delivrer li Christien et li Chatolica, le quel sont constraint à la servitude de li Sarrazin. Et desirre molt de chacie[r] les de la servitude lor, et faire venjence de la injure de Dieu,” Amatus of Monte Cassino, *Ystoire de li Normant, Storia de’ Normanni di Amato di Montecassino volgarizata in antico francese*, ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis. *Fonti per la storia d’Italia*, 76 (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1935), 5: 12; see also David C. Douglas, *The Norman Achievement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 104–09.

<sup>10</sup> See generally, David C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact upon England* (Berkeley: University of California Press; London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1964).

with Stigand, the invasion was also viewed as something of a holy war, in that it liberated the land from both a usurper and schismatic, and reclaimed the territory for orthodox Christianity, as would the First Crusade preached by Urban II slightly less than thirty years later.

In fact, when Gratian addresses the issues of legitimate violence in Causa 23 of his *Decretum* (completed ca. 1140–1150), he uses both *ultio* and *vindicta* as justifications for war or other violence. Generally, however, when referring to *ultio*, it seems to connote a defensive action for redressing injustices, in a protective sense, such as when as used by Leo IV in describing the pope as “ultor sui gregis” (protector of his flock). *Vindicta*, on the other hand, seems to connote some notion of punishment in the sense of administering justice lest wrongdoing go unpunished. At the same time, however, it also implies a sort of liberation. The interplay of these rather contrasting meanings is demonstrated by that passage of Leo’s letter stating:

Scire vos oportet, quod numquam ab aliquibus nostros homines sinimus opprimi; sed, si necessitas ulla incurrerit, presentialiter vindicamus, qui nostri gregis in omnibus ultores esse debemus et percipui adiutores.

[You should know that we wish none of our people to be oppressed; but if any compulsion arise, we who should be the protector and principle aid to our flock in all things, will soon come to the defense].<sup>11</sup>

To complicate signification further, at least among the Anglo-Normans, the term *vindicta* was also used in the sense of *wergild* or *weram*, implying a due, or just, compensation.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> C. 23 q. 8 c. 8, cited in Russell, *The Just War*, 67 (see note 4).

<sup>12</sup> Such is the interpretation of Jan Frederik Niermeyer, ed. [with C. van de Kieft], *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, (Leiden: Brill, 1976; rpt. Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1993), of the *Leges Henrici Primi*, c. 88, aa a,b: “Qui in omni compositione homicidii due partes referentur ad paternam cognationem, tertia ad maternam; et alia est wera vel vindicta thaini, alia villaini” (Whence in every composition for homicide, two parts are awarded the paternal relations, a third to the maternal; and sometimes the wergild or compensation is for a thane, sometimes for a peasant). Generally, as L. J. Downer points out in his edition and commentary on *Leges Henrici Primi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 416–17, *vindicare* and *vindicta* usually seem to refer to retributive slaying, with *wergild* as an alternative. In c. 36, 1c, *vindicetur* is clearly used in the sense of redress, as it certainly is in c. 86, 1: “Omni domino liceat conqueri hominibus suis et amicis si quis ei malefaciat set non percipere sine lege vindictam” (it is lawful for every lord to demand satisfaction from any of his men or companions who cause him injury, but not to take possession entirely without law). The terminology may have become further confused because of the sometimes unfortunate efforts of the *Quadripartitus* to find Latin equivalents for Anglo-Saxon expressions, such that the exaction of *wergild* rather than being translated simply as “*weram exigere*” is rendered “*nemo vindictam vel emendationem exigat*.” II Atr 6, 1, *Quadripartitus*: ein englisches rechtsbuch von 1114, nachgewiesen und, soweit bisher ungedruckt, ed. F[elix] Liebermann (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1892).

During the same years in which Gratian was completing the *Decretum*, Canterbury's jurisdiction over the bishops of the Norse townships in Ireland lapsed. The remainder of the Irish Church had long been tribalized, with jurisdictional authority accorded not to the bishops but to the frequently hereditary abbots, who, along with the kings who exercised politico-military authority and the *brehons* who controlled social and economic structure, constituted a sort of triarchy.<sup>13</sup> According to John of Salisbury, he himself urged Pope Adrian IV, a fellow Englishman, to issue in 1155, following the ascension of Henry II to the throne, the papal bull, *Laudabiliter*, approving the incorporation of Ireland into the English realm,<sup>14</sup> commending the desire to "root out the seeds of vice from the Lord's field," for purposes of "extending the boundaries of the Church, for the restraint of vice, for the correction of morals and for the implanting of virtues, and for the increase of the Christian religion."<sup>15</sup>

In these premises, Henry would not intervene until 1171, which entry was greeted with enthusiasm by Pope Alexander II, who noted "how great are the enormities of vice with which the people of Ireland are infected."<sup>16</sup> The vices involved can be gathered from Gerald of Wales, who, in his *Topografia*, remarked upon incest, polygamy, wife-swapping,<sup>17</sup> all of which arguably relate to the *brehon* law recognizing eight forms of marriage, facile divorce and concubinage, and supplementing the customary crimes against nature, Gerald added bestiality, accounting for the half human, half beasts allegedly inhabiting Hibernia.<sup>18</sup> For this reason also, the Irish had great numbers of blind and lame, all of which misery seemed to Gerald, "*digna Dei vindicta*" (a fitting punishment).<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> See W[ilfred] L[ewis] Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973; orig. London: Eyre Methuen, 1973; rpt. London: Methuen, 1991), 189.

<sup>14</sup> "Et cum Romanus pontifex esset [i. e., Adrian], me in propria mensa gaudebat habere couuiam, et eundem ciphum et discum sibi et mihi uolebat et faciebat me renitente esse commune. Ad preces meas illustri regi Anglorum Henrico Secundo, concessit et dedit Hiberniam iure hereditario possidendam, sicut litterae ipsius testantur in hodiernum diem" (And when he was Roman pontiff, it delighted me to feast at his own table, and though I resisted, he insisted and ordered a common vessel and dish for us. At my requests, he conceded and gave to the illustrious King of England, Henry II, hereditary possession of Ireland, just as the letters themselves now testify.") *Metalogicon* 4:42, ed. J. B. Hall. *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 98 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991).

<sup>15</sup> "Vitorum plantaria de agro Dominico extirpanda [...] pro dilatandis ecclesiae terminis, pro vitorum restringendo decursu, pro corrigendis moribus et vitutibus inserendis, pro Christianae religionis augmentum..." Bull of Adrian IV, recorded, e. g., by Gerald of Wales, in his *Expugnatio*, 2. 5 (see note 2).

<sup>16</sup> *Liber Niger de Scaccario*, 1: 42–48, cited in Warren, *Henry II*, 197 (see note 13).

<sup>17</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, *Distinctio* III, Cap. XIX, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol. 5 (see note 2).

<sup>18</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Topographia*, *Dist. III*, Caps. XXI–XXIV.

<sup>19</sup> *Nec mirandum si de gente adultera, gente incest, gente illegitime nata et copulate, gente exlege,*

This concern with repression of sins against nature had been likewise a major concern of several significant reform figures such as Peter Damian, whose *Liber Gamorrhianus* (Book of Gomorrah) Pope Alexander II seemingly would have suppressed, but for the intervention of Cardinals Stephen and Hildebrand, the future Gregory VII.<sup>20</sup> The collections of Burchard and Ivo likewise contained numerous condemnations against sodomy, bestiality and other “unnatural” vices. According to Eadmer, Anselm of Canterbury was possessed of a particular antipathy to sodomy, and sought the aid of William Rufus to purge it from the realm, lest England devolve into another Sodom.<sup>21</sup> While William seems to have offered minimal assistance in this endeavor, in 1102 the synod of Westminster classified all unnatural sex acts as sins reserved to the bishop for penance and absolution.<sup>22</sup> While Damian’s obsession with sexual deviance seems to have found

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arte invida et invisa ipsam turpiter adulterante naturam, tales interdum contra naturae legem natura producat. Et digna Dei vindicta videtur, ut qui interiore mentis lumine ad ipsum non respiciunt, hi exterioris et corporeae lucis beneficio plerumque doleant destitute. (Nor is it surpring if among an adulterous people, an incestuous people, a people come together and born contrary to law, a people outside law, deeply and foully, secretly defiling wrongfully nature itself, nature should occasionally produce such as are contrary to natural law. And it seems a fitting divine punishment, that those who do not have regard for this according to the interior light of reason, should suffer deprivation of the benefits of the external and corporeal light), Gerald of Wales, *Topographia*, Dist. III, Cap. XXXV.

<sup>20</sup> James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 212–13; Peter Damian, *Epist.* 2. 6, PL (see note 7), 144: 270–72.

<sup>21</sup> Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, ed. Martin Rule (London: Rolls Series, 1884), 49; Robert Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075–1225* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 569–70. On the widespread nature of sodomitical practices, even after the council of Westminster, see *Epistulae Anselmi* 257 and 356, *Anselmi Opera Omnia*, ed. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1946–1963). For a concise overview of Anselm and other theologians against homosexuality, see Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard/Belknap Press, 2004), esp. chapters 6 and 7.

<sup>22</sup> “Sodomiticum flagitium facientes, et eos in hoc voluntarie iuvantes, in eodem concilio gravi anathemate damnati sunt, donec penitentia et confessione absolutionem mereantur. Qui vero in hoc crimine publicatus fuerit, statutum est si quidem fuerit persona religiosi ordinis, ut ad nullum amplius gradum promoveatur, et si quem habet ab illo deponatur. Si autem laicus, ut in toto regno Anglie legali sue conditionis dignitate privetur. Et ne huius criminis absolutionem iis qui se sub regula vivere non voverunt aliquis nisi episcopus deinceps facere praesumat. Statutum quoque est ut per totam Angliam in omnibus ecclesiis et in omnibus dominicis diebus excommunicatio praefata renovetur” (Canon 29, Council at Westminster, 29 Sept. 1102; Those committing the shameful crime of sodomy, and those voluntarily assisting in this, are condemned by this council with the severest curse, until by confession and penance, they merit absolution. Indeed, it is provided that anyone exposed in this offense, if he be a person belonging to religious orders, will be promoted to no greater station, and if he holds one, he will be removed therefrom; moreover, should he be a layman, he shall be stripped of the dignity of his legal rank throughout all of England. And no one shall promise to those within this provision any absolution for their offenses, unless the bishop first acts in the matter. Furthermore, it is provided that the aforesaid excommunication be repeated in every Church on every Lord’s day.) *Councils & Synods with other*

early and particularly fruitful ground in England, by the late twelfth century, Peter the Chanter, Rolandus, and Joannes Faventinus, *inter alia*, devoted extensive discussions to so-called unnatural practices, which, according to Joannes, unlike other crimes which might be excused by custom, were inexcusable.<sup>23</sup> Third Lateran (1179) adopted a canon specifically prohibiting “that incontinence which is against nature.”<sup>24</sup> Shortly thereafter, writers such as Jacques de Vitry claimed that Muhammad himself introduced the Arab world to sodomy,<sup>25</sup> while sodomy and heresy were frequently linked, as in the case of the Cathars.<sup>26</sup> Linguistically, this association is preserved in the derogatory terms “bugger and “buggery”, from the old French “*bogre*” and “*bougeron*” which refer either to a heretic or to a sodomite, and in turn derived from the latin “*bulgaros*” or Bulgarian, that Balkan location being the situs of the neo-Manichean sect of Bogomils, with which the Albigensian Cathars were associated. In England, sodomites perhaps fared worse than heretics. The manual of law known as *Fleta* (I c.18) prescribed burial alive and *Britton* (I

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*documents relating to the English Church*, 1. 1 (871–1066), ed. Dorothy Whitelock, M. Brett, and Christopher N. L. Brooke; 1.2 (1066–1204), ed. F[rederick]M[aurice] Powicke and C[hristopher] R[obert] Cheney (New York: Oxford University Press; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964–81), no. 113, 678–79.

<sup>23</sup> Joannes Faventinus, gloss to C. 32 q. 4 c. 7 v. *mos*, cited in Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 313–14 n. 26 (see note 20).

<sup>24</sup> “Quicumque incontinentia illa, quae contra naturam est, propter quam venit ira Dei in filios diffidentiae et quinque civitates igne consumpsit, deprehensi fuerint laborat, si clerici fuerint eiciantur a clero vel ad poenitentiam agendam in monasteriis detrudantur, si laici excommunication subdantur et a coetu fidelium fiant prorsus alieni . . .” (Canon 11; Let any who cultivate that notorious vice against nature on account of which the anger of God fell upon the children of disobedience and consumed five cities by fire, be apprehended. If they be clerics, then let them be expelled from the clergy or confined in monasteries to do penance; if they be laymen, let them suffer excommunication and be utterly outside the community of the faithful...).

<sup>25</sup> Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Iherosolimitana abbreviata* 5, in the collection of various Crusades chronicles, *Gesta Dei per Francos*... ed. Jacques Bongars. 2 vols. (Hanau: Wechel for the Heirs of Jean Aubry, 1611), 1: 1051–1145, at 1055–56—was also disseminated in the same period in French translation, which reads in part: “car il dist en .i. sien livre que il apielent Alchoranum: ‘se vous avés vos femes ne vos baiasses aparellies a fair vos volentés selonc vos manieres’ . . . car par ce donna il a entendre les visces de soudomition et en estruist son pule si comme anemis de nature, dont il avient que la plus grans partie des Sarrasins font peciés contre nature, non mie seulement en malle et en femiele, mais en biestes mues, dont il est d’aus meïsmes escrit: *Facti sunt sicut equus et mulus quibus non est intellectus* . . . (for he said in one book of his called the Koran: “If you have wives or slaves, prepare them to do your will according to your custom,” for by this teaching he meant the vices of sodomy and instructed his people therein as though enemies of nature, from which it happens that the greatest majority of the Saracens sin against nature, not only with men and women but also with dumb beasts; for he also wrote concerning this: “Let them be regarded just as horses and mules that lack reason...”), *La traduction de l’Historia orientalis de Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Claude Buridant (Paris: Klincksieck, 1986), Ch. 5, 66; see also Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 399 (see note 20).

<sup>26</sup> Michael Goodich, “Sodomy in Medieval Secular Law,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 1 (1976): 295–302.

c.10) directed burning, at least for sodomites caught *in flagrante delicto*. While in principle at least apostates were subject to burning according to these treatises, the statute *De haeretico comburendo* (On the Burning of Heretics) was not established until 1401, and then probably only as a concession by Henry IV to the powerful and orthodox Arundels, who despised Wyclif and the Lollards. By the end of the Middle Ages, the general governmental attitude throughout Europe was nicely summarized in a late fifteenth-century Spanish statute proclaiming:

Porque entre los otros pecados y delitos que ofenden a Dios nuestro señor e infaman la tierra, especialmente es el crimen cometido contra orden natural, contra el qual las leyes y Derechos se deben armar para el castigo deste nefando delito, no digno de nobrar, destruidor del orden natural, castigado por el juicio divino; por el qual la nobleza se pierde, y el corazón se acobarda, y se engendra poca firmeza en la Fe; y es aborrecimiento en el acatamiento de Dios, y se indigna a dar a hombre pestilence y otros tormentos en la tierra.

[Since among other sins and trespasses that offend our Lord God and cast the land into infamy, the crime committed against the natural order is particularly grievous, laws and statutes must be established to combat and punish this nefarious offense, unworthy of utterance, destroyer of the natural order, chastised by divine justice; through which nobility is lost, the heart made faint, and firmness in the Faith is made small; and it is an abomination in the sight of God, for which he sends plagues upon man and torments upon the earth].<sup>27</sup>

The particular relevance of the Albigenian crusades to this study lies not in a crusade against heretics, a principle which seemed beyond question to Churchmen of the period, nor that heretics' property, i. e., *dominium*, was forfeit. Rather, the more interesting development asserted that failure to punish heresy was itself tantamount to heresy, and hence, justified a loss of *dominium*, as the counts of Toulouse discovered, as well as the Stedinger of Bremen and Oldenburg.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Libro XII, Título XXX, Ley I, *Novísima recopilación de las Leyes de España* (Madrid: Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1975), 5: 427–28; quoted and discussed in Cristian Berco, *Sexual Hierarchies, Public Status: Men, Sodomy, and Society in Spain's Golden Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 81 and n. 15.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. J. A. Watt, "Spiritual and Temporal Powers," Burns, *Cambridge Thought* (see note 6), 367–423, at 384–85. Indeed, the principle is established in Canon 3 of Fourth Lateran Council [1215], which reads in pertinent part: "Moneantur autem et inducantur et si necesse fuerit per censuram ecclesiasticam compellantur saeculares potestates, quibuscumque fungantur officiis, ut sicut reputari cupiunt et haberi fideles, ita pro defensione fidei praestent publice iuramentum, quod de terriis suae iurisdictioni subiectis universes haereticos ab ecclesia denotatos bona fide pro viribus exterminare studebunt, ita quod amodo quandocumque quis fuerit in potestatem sive spiritualem sive temporalem assumptus, hoc teneatur capitulum iuramento firmare. Si vero dominus temporalis, requisitus et monitus ab ecclesia, terram suam purgare neglexerit ab hac haeretica foeditate, per metropolitanum et ceteros comprovinciales episcopos excommunicationis vinculo innodetur; et si satisfacere contempserit infra annum, significetur hoc summo pontifici,

The basis for papal jurisdiction in the aforesaid instances could hardly be doubted. Spiritual questions concerning marriage, sex, not to speak of heterodoxy, were clearly within the bailiwicks of the bishops and Rome. Historically speaking, the legitimacy of warfare among Christians was itself a subject over which the Church had long asserted authority, both unflinchingly and largely unsuccessfully. An entirely different question arose, however, when the nation requiring discipline was neither Christian, nor part of the old Roman Empire (since the pope continued to assert his rights under the specious Donation of Constantine), nor ever in either category. This issue was of particular relevance to lands held by Muslims not otherwise subject to arguments of the *Reconquista* (the Christian program of “reconquest” of Spain from the Moors, 710–1492). The dilemma apparently troubled the canon lawyer Sinibaldo dei Fieschi sufficiently that he addressed the problem in his massive *Apparatus* on the *Liber extra*, written after he assumed the see of St. Peter as Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254). Conceding that infidels possessed *dominium*, he nonetheless maintained that, as Christ’s steward, the pope had a pastoral jurisdiction over all humanity, *de jure* if not *de facto*. Just as the pope could punish Christians who transgressed divine law as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, so too:

si gentilis, qui non habet legem, nisi naturae, si contra legem naturae facit, potest licite puniri per Papam, ar. Genesis 19, ubi habes, quod Sodomitae qui contra legem naturae peccabant puniti sunt a Deo . . .

[if a people, who have no law but that of nature, act against the law of nature, it can be punished by the Pope, arguing from Genesis 19, where you learn that Sodomites who acted against the law of nature were punished by God . . .]<sup>29</sup>

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ut extunc ipse vassallos ab eius fidelitate denunciaret absolutes et terram exponat catholicis occupandam, qui eam exterminaret haereticis sine ulla contradictione possideant et in fidei puritate conservent, salvo iure domini principis, dummodo super hoc ipse nullum praestet obstaculum nec aliquod impedimentum opponat; eadem nihilominus lege servata circa eos, qui non habent dominos principales.” (Moreover, let the secular powers, whatever offices they may fulfil, be warned, urged, and if necessary, compelled through ecclesiastical censure, that to the extent they wish to be known and considered as faithful, so they publically take an oath to the defense of the faith, that they will undertake to eradicate from their jurisdictional territories all heretics so designated by the Church in good faith; and whenever anyone shall assume any office of power, whether ecclesiastic or civil, he shall be required to affirm this provision by oath. If, however, a secular lord, required and warned by the church, neglects to purge his land of this heretical filth, he shall be bound with the chain of excommunication by the metropolitan and provincial bishops; and should he fail to make satisfaction within one year, the matter will be reported to the supreme pontiff, so that he may declare with respect his vassals released from their fealty and his land available for occupation by Catholics who may, with the extermination of the heretics, possess it unopposed and preserve it in the pure faith, saving only the right of the overlord provided he raise no obstacle nor place any impediment; this law applies no less to those who have no overlord).

<sup>29</sup> Sinibaldo dei Fieschi, *Commentaria super libros quinque decretalium* (Frankfurt a. M.: Martin Lechler

Other than sodomy, the only other offense against natural law specified by Innocent was idolatry, leaving in doubt the precise scope of his *dictum*. In like fashion, the Jews, if they offend against their mores, can be punished by the Pope, if their prelates fail to do so. The premise is that infidels may have *dominium*, but that *dominium* must be exercised, i. e., enforced, according to its principles and natural law. Innocent is very clear that the power belongs to the Holy Father alone, but that he could authorize attacks by secular princes in furtherance of his *de jure* power and authority. James Muldoon observes, based on the punitive nature of any such expedition, that, "Presumably, once Christian armies had ended those practices deemed in violation of natural law, they would withdraw from the infidel society, just as Innocent IV and Gregory IX did not interfere in Jewish society after burning copies of the Talmud."<sup>30</sup> This ignores that the Jews were considered *sui generis*, as well as the fact that they were within the civil jurisdiction of Christian rules. Accordingly, Innocent does not equate other infidel societies and the Jews, but makes them two different examples of the pope's spiritual jurisdiction. Once the justness of a war against infidels has been demonstrated, nothing in Roman or Christian history suggests that Christian armies would simply withdraw once the alleged offense was deterred or punished. The significant example of Sodom and Gomorrah implies the alternative: that is, the destruction of the offending nation, in which event it is unthinkable and even contradictory to imagine that the vanquished would be allowed to live *ex lege* (outside the law).

With the exception of Hostiensis, who followed Alanus Anglicus in concluding that infidels could not hold *dominium* whatsoever,<sup>31</sup> all subsequent jurists, civil and canonical, adopted this conclusion, which appears prominently in the great synthesis of John of Legnano (Giovanni da Legnano, †1383), *De jure belli* (On The Law of War), in the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>32</sup> That these seeming dicta were taken

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for Sigmund Feyerabend, 1570), 3. 8. 34, § 4.

<sup>30</sup> James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World (1250–1550)* The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1979), 11.

<sup>31</sup> *Mihi tamen videtur quod in adventu Christi omnis honor et omnis principatus et omne dominium et iurisdictio de iure et ex causa iusta, et per illum qui supremam manum habet necerrare potest omni infideli subtracta fuerit ad fideles translata* (So nevertheless it seems to me that at the coming of Christ, all honor, all pre-eminence, all rule and legal power, for just reason was taken from every infidel and transferred to the faithful by him who holds supreme power, nor is able to err), *Lectura quinque decretalium* 3. 34. 8. Cited in Muldoon, *Popes*, 16.

<sup>32</sup> *Hinc est quod gentiles habentes solum legem naturae peccant contra legem naturae poniri poterunt per papam. Nam scribit gensis xix. ca. quod Sodomite puniti fuit a Deo, ergo item vicarius Dei hec poterit....* (Hence, peoples having only the law of nature sinning against the law of nature can be punished by the Pope. For Genesis 19 says that the Sodomites were punished by God, so likewise the Vicar of God is able to do in such premises), *Tractatus de bello*, Ch. XII, *Tractatus de bello, de*



as more than an academic exercise is perhaps demonstrated by King Duarte's 1436 petition to Pope Eugenius IV to lift the papal ban on Christian expansion in the Canary Islands. In addition to arguments regarding defense and propagation of the faith, the Portuguese monarch raises the issue of the primitive nature of a people, who might be expected to be in constant violation of natural law, and thus in a very real sense subsisting "exlege."<sup>33</sup> Apparently, Eugenius sought legal opinions from two counselors, Antonio Minucci de Pratovecchio and Antonio Roselli. Minucci, among others, repeated the usual formulation that the Pope could deprive the infidels of *dominium* either for refusing to admit missionaries or for practices violating the laws of nature.<sup>34</sup> In the premises, and without specific comment on the conditions in the Canaries, Eugenius authorized in *Romanus Pontifex* the completion of the conversion of the islands.<sup>35</sup>

When the Portuguese and the Spanish arrived in the Americas, little wonder that their justification for conquest was two-fold: first, to evangelize; second, to bring "justice" to the native peoples. The former gave birth to the *Requerimiento* (Notice/Demand), undoubtedly devised by the jurist, Juan Lopez de Palacios Rubios, to demonstrate, particularly to the papacy, that the invasions were based on refusal to admit missionaries; the second explains the attention that almost all Portuguese and Spanish chroniclers devoted to the sodomitical practices of the native peoples.

In the debates over these policies during the third and fourth decades of the sixteenth century, Vitoria redefined the requirements for depriving the infidel of *dominium*. Rather than maintaining the Pope's responsibility for the souls of all peoples, he posited that the right to send missionaries was founded on a sort of right of innocent passage, the natural right of all men to peaceably travel where they wished.<sup>36</sup> As to the second argument, he not only denied papal jurisdiction over the infidel, but also maintained that punishment of a foreign people for sins

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*represaliis et de duello* by Giovanni da Legnano, ed. Thomas Erskine Holland (Buffalo, NY: William Hein, 1995; orig. Oxford: Oxford University Press/Carnegie Inst., 1917).

<sup>33</sup> "Has indomiti silvestres fere homines inhabitant qui nulla religiona coagulati, nullis denique legume vinculis irretiti, civili conversacione neglecta, in paganitate veluti pecudes vitam agunt" (In these untamed forests live men who are brought together by no religion, who are unbound by the chains of any law, with civil life despised, in heathenism they live life just like cattle.), *Supplique du roi de Portugal Dom Duarte au Pape Eugène IV au sujet des Îles Canaries*, Bologna, août 1436, Appendix I to Charles-Marie de Witte, "Les Bulles pontificales et l'expansion portugaise au XVe siècle," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 48 (1953): 683–718.

<sup>34</sup> James Muldoon, "A Fifteenth-Century Application of the Canonistic Theory of the Just War," *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Stephan Kuttner (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1976), 467–80; see also his *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, 119–31.

<sup>35</sup> See de Witte (above, n. 33), Appendix II.

<sup>36</sup> *Relecciones de Indis*, 3.10–3.12 (see note 1).

against natural law, was not a legitimate concern of princes.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, he held that the type of violation of natural law justifying military intervention was tyrannical exploitation of innocents, such as human sacrifice and cannibalism.<sup>38</sup> For Vitoria, the difference seems to be that between a permissive infraction—for example, the failure of the indigenous government to punish its citizens' licentiousness—and governmental or quasi-governmental imposition of conduct contrary to the welfare of victims and involuntary, whether because coerced or beyond consensual powers. Sexual mores or idolatry, contrary to the law of nature or not, could be deemed within the *jus proprium* (indigenous law) and thus outside the purview of the *jus gentium*. On the other hand, oppression represented a form of tyranny, and as the medieval and renaissance jurists had recognized, *actiones, populi, tyranni sunt de jure gentium*: actions, peoples and tyrants were the subject of (and hence, subject to) the law of nations. War was justifiable not only for the defense of self, but the defense of other innocents as well.

As another potential offense against nature, cannibalism was not, of course, specifically mentioned coincidentally. The Portuguese had early reported cannibals among the Brazilian Tupinamba, and the practice was reputed, probably unjustifiably, among the Caribs. Vespucci had reported human flesh hanging in butcher shops. Such reports had had an undoubted psychological affect on the Cortes expedition.<sup>39</sup> Following the conquest of Mexico, formal inquests received testimony of rampant cannibalism, often with the cooperation of the Castilians, and in at least one case, an accusation of participation by a member of the expedition party.<sup>40</sup> The descriptions of the meat markets bear a striking resemblance to those in the Vespucci tales.

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<sup>37</sup> *Relectiones de Indis*, 2:16.

<sup>38</sup> Alius titulus posset esse propter tyrannidem, vel ipsorum dominorum apud barbaros, vel etiam propter leges tyrannicas in injuriam innocentium, puta qui sacrificant homines innocentes, vel alias occidunt indemnatos ad vescendum carnibus eorum. Dico etiam, quod sine autoritate Pontificis possum Hispani prohibere barbaros ab omni nefaria consuetudine, et ritu, quia possunt defendere innocentos a morte injusta (*Relectiones de Indis*, 3: 15; Another pretext may be on grounds of tyranny, either of the barbarian lords themselves, or even on account of tyrannical laws injurious to the innocent, for example, those that sacrifice innocent men, or others killing the uncondemned in order to feed on their flesh. I say even without papal authority, the Spaniards can restrain barbarians from every evil custom and ritual because they are entitled to protect innocents from unjust death).

<sup>39</sup> See Hugh Thomas, *Conquest: Montezuma, Cortés, and the Fall of Old Mexico* (London: Hutchinson, 1993).

<sup>40</sup> See General Camilo de Polavieja, *Hernán Cortés, copias de documentos existentes en el Archivo de Indias y en su palacio de Castilleja de la Cuesta sobre la conquista de México* (Seville, 1889), 236; on markets, 263; on accusation against Castilians, 212; 300. Also in Thomas, 197, 318, 436–9.

In any event, it is clear that, after the 1540s, not only did the practice of the *Requerimiento* die out, but also the tenor of travelogues shifted from sodomy to anthropophagy (cannibalism). As an example, Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil* (1557; *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*) could only report as to sodomy that there seemed to be a word for "buggery,"<sup>41</sup> while, on the other hand, like so many other authors, Léry reports in gruesome detail the cannibalistic practices of the indigenous population. This and similar narratives, such as that by Léry's contemporary, André Thevet, may have influenced philosopher Michel de Montaigne, who, sometime between 1572 and 1580, wrote *Des cannibales* (On Cannibals). This text, among the most enduring of Montaigne's essays, although famous for condemning his fellow "civilized" Europeans more than the Amerindians for savagery, nonetheless demonstrates the extent to which the association of the New World peoples with yet another appalling custom had penetrated European mentalities. This negative, or at least bizarre, connection was further spurred on by the panoply of vivid illustrations accompanying some editions of the above-mentioned travelogues and similar works eagerly devoured by European readers of the sixteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

One can only wonder the degree to which historical data is affected here by the normal tendency of the tourist to exaggerate, as in some of the accounts such as those of Spanish *conquistadores*, and how much more the truth may have been skewed by the desire of writers and publishers to pander to the morbid curiosity of the vicarious traveler. Certainly, a host of contemporary European events and debates resonated with these descriptions of Amerindian anthropophagy.<sup>43</sup> At the

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<sup>41</sup> As a sample of Jean de Léry's testimony: "Toutefois, afin de ne pas les faire gens de bien plus qu'ils le sont, quelquefois en se dépitant l'un contre l'autre, ils s'appellent *Tyviere*, c'est-à-dire bougre; on peut donc conjecturer de là (car je n'en affirme rien) que cet abominable péché se commet entre eux" (*Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil*, Ch. 17; However, in order not to portray them as people more worthy than they are: sometimes when quarreling with each other one will call the other *tyviere*, that is, "bugger"; one can thus conjecture from this [for I seek to confirm nothing from it] that they commit this abominable sin amongst themselves), *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil 1557*, Jean de Léry, ed. Frank Lestringant [based on 2nd ed., Geneva: Chuppin, 1580], *Classiques du protestantisme* (Montpellier: Chaillet, 1992). Another French visitor at about that same time (1555)—royal cosmographer and chaplain to Nicolas Durand's expedition colonizing the future Rio de Janeiro—André Thevet, records: "...et si c'est un masle ils le font Bardache ou Bougeron, qu'ils nomment en leur langue *Tevir*: ce qui leur est fort detestable et abominable, seulement de le penser" (*Cosmographie universelle*, Bk. 21, Ch. 10 [933r]; ... and if it is a male they make him a bardache [young male sex slave] or little bugger, whom they call in their language *tevir*, which is most detestable and abominable for them even simply to think about) (Paris: Guillaume Chandiere, 1575).

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, Franz Obermeier, *Brasilien in Illustrationem des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Verviert Verlag, 2000), particularly plates 4, 8, 24, and 39.

<sup>43</sup> These included polemics over transubstantiation, the siege of Sancerre, the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, among others. See, for example, Frank Lestringant, "Calvinistes et cannibales: Les écrits

same time, early ethnography undoubtedly contributed to what Donald R. Kelley has called “the expanding and extra-European horizons of modern political and social thought,” distilled in the notion of *jus gentium*, the legal subset of that universal history upon which Jean Bodin based his juridico-historical method opening the way for Grotius, and subsequently Vico, toward conceptualizing the world of nations and *diritto naturale delle genti*, the natural law of nations.<sup>44</sup> The resulting tendency to see nations as juridical persons whose internal acts of state were largely immune from outside scrutiny, despite the periodic efforts over the ensuing centuries of influential statesmen—whether conservatives, such as Metternich, or progressives, such as Wilson—to hypothesize a general right or even obligation to intervene in the domestic affairs of other nations, may have significantly hindered evolving concepts of universal human rights.

But the doctrine likewise discouraged conquest or intervention for what relative to the international order could be but considered picayune peccadilloes of sexual practice or proclivity. The fact that the very idea of *crimen contra naturam qua causa belli* strikes the twenty-first century mind as ludicrous—indeed, in some quarters, the concept of *crimen contra naturam* itself—demonstrates how foreign the late medieval paradigm of intercultural relations is to modern notions of international relations. Yet the manner in which *de facto* perceptions and *de jure* interpretations of those perceived facts evolve symbiotically remains essentially the same. As Augustine noted, no wise man wages a war unless he think it just.

A perceived evil seems to demand a remedy afforded by a legal justification. The justification in turn focuses attention upon similar offenses, thereby refining the legal conceptualization. The efforts of the reformed papacy to free itself from secular restraint and assert its authority over the episcopate coincided with the obsession, justifiable or not, of the reform papacy and bishops with sexual offenses, first within their orders, then within their sees, and then in sees over which their jurisdiction had lapsed. Had this coincidence not occurred, the calumnies leveled by the medieval Normans against the Irish likely would have had little more significance than those of the above-mentioned quarreling Tupinamba youths in Brazil hurling insults of “*Tyvire!*” at each other. Likewise, had sodomy not been afforded recognition as an offense meriting force of arms, at least with papal authorization, subsequent ethnography suggests that it would have received little more than passing notice in reports surrounding New World inhabitants.

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protestants sur le Brésil français (1555–1560),” *Bulletin de la société de l’histoire du protestantisme français* 1–2 (1980): 9–26, 167–92, and “Catholiques et cannibales: le thème du cannibalisme dans le discours protestant au temps des Guerres de religion,” *Pratiques et discours alimentaires à la Renaissance* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1982), 233–45.

<sup>44</sup> Donald R. Kelly, “Law,” Burns, *Cambridge Thought*, 66–94, esp. 86 (see note 6).

Despite extensive efforts to avoid interventionist wars by respecting state sovereignty, today we seem to be interpreting the *jus gentium* less in the manner of Pufendorf—i. e., as a “law of nations” promoting sociability between peoples and states, subject always to the self-interest of those very actors— and more in the manner of Vitoria, or even some medieval canonists. Does genocide justify intervention? Misogyny? Torture? What of undemocratic practices, or racial, ethnic or religious discrimination? Whatever is ultimately perceived as a sufficiently severe injustice will surely find its way into a new paradigm of international law and relations that will focus both future perceptions and future wars, some of which history may record as noble, many of which will be judged misguided. Perhaps, in the last analysis, the only sure assessment is that of Augustine:

Sed sapiens, inquiunt, iusta bella gesturus est. Quasi non, si se hominem meminit, multo magis dolebit iustorum necessitate sibi extisse bellorum, quia nisi iusta essent, ei gerenda non essent, ac per hoc sapienti nulla bella essent. Iniquitas enim partis adversae iusta bella ingerit gerenda sapienti; quae iniquitas utique homini est dolenda, quia hominum est, etsi nulla ex ea bellandi necessitas nasceretur. Haec itaque mala tam magna, tam horrenda, tam saeva quisquis cum dolore considerat, miseriam fateatur; quisquis autem vel papitur ea sine animi dolore vel cogitat, multo utique miserius ideo se putat beatum, quia et humanum perdidit sensum.

[*De civitate Dei*, 19: 7; But, they say, the wise man will only wage just wars. As though, were he to remember he is a man, he should not mourn all the more the necessity that there be just wars, for unless they were just, they would not be waged, and for the just there would be no wars. For the wise, surely it is the iniquity of the adverse party that occasions just wars; and this iniquity would be a grief to man even if it engendered no compulsion to war, just because he is human. So let anyone sadly contemplating such great evils, such horrors, such savageries, confess that this is a misery; and moreover, whoever either endures or reflects upon these things without sadness of spirit, much more I esteem him unfortunate, thinking himself blessed, for he has lost all human feeling).<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> See, e. g., the critical edition of Augustine, *De civitate Dei/La cité de Dieu* by Bernhard Dombart and Alfons Kalb, annotated by Gustave Bardy and trans. Gustave Combes, 5 vols., Bibliothèque augustinienne: Œuvres de Saint Augustin, 5 ser., 33–37 (Paris: Desclée de Brower, 1959–1960), at vol. 5. [Ed. note: for more on Augustine and other perspectives on Just War doctrine, see esp. the essay in this volume by Ben Snook].



## Chapter 2

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### Just War in Anglo-Saxon England: Transmission and Reception

#### I. Introduction

In the early 1970s, James Cross addressed the issue of “Just War Theory” in Anglo-Saxon literature.<sup>1</sup> As he worked through a series of Anglo-Latin texts and Old English poems, ranging from the “Recapture of the Five Boroughs” to “Beowulf”, Cross analyzed the prevailing moral attitudes of the Anglo-Saxons towards conflict. He went on to address what he referred to as “the complicated problem of *Beowulf*,” where “national wars form a background against which the hero’s last decision to fight the dragon and his death become momentous for his people.”<sup>2</sup> Unsurprisingly, Cross detected a powerful strain of Christian morality running through the Anglo-Saxon attitude to war. On that basis, he went on to conclude that the Old English poets would go to some lengths to manufacture a reactive conflict in order that it might seem just: for the Anglo-Saxons, Cross argued, “the most easily justifiable” kind of war was a “defensive war.”<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, the evidence that the Anglo-Saxons understood the difference between just and unjust wars is overwhelming, and Cross’s article remains an important and erudite contribution to a field which has yet to attract much scholarly attention. However, his conclusions rest, in the main, on one largely untested

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<sup>1</sup> See James E. Cross, “The Ethic of War in Old English,” *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 269–82.

<sup>2</sup> Cross, “The Ethic of War”, 278 (see note 1).

<sup>3</sup> Cross, “The Ethic of War”, 274 (see note 1).

assumption: that the Anglo-Saxons, whether they were writing in Old English or Latin, knew what they were doing when they referred to a just war. "A Christian poet," Cross wrote, "would certainly be conscious that the Englishmen were writing about 'just war.'"<sup>4</sup> The Anglo-Saxons, he seems to imply, from the very earliest flowerings of literary culture in England in the seventh century, were aware of "Just War Theory" and the mass of classical and patristic scholarship on the subject; thus, when they justified warfare in their own literature, they did so consciously, within the framework of a just war philosophy which stretched back into antiquity. Such an assumption cannot be left untested. Cicero and Augustine are best-known as the progenitors of "Just War Theory": did the Anglo-Saxons read their works and, more importantly, appreciate as we do today the significance of the relatively short passages within them that consider the justification of warfare? Was the Anglo-Saxon just war also a Ciceronian or an Augustinian just war? For that matter, can we even use the term "Just War Theory" to mean a cogent and precisely defined theory of ethical military practice in the context of Anglo-Saxon England? Addressing these questions will be the purpose of this article.

## II. The Justification of War in Early Anglo-Saxon England

The notion that when one wages a war, one must wage it justly has existed, in one form or another, for as long as war has been a concept rather than simply an activity. In recent times, "Just War Theory" has become the subject of lengthy and sophisticated philosophical discussion. The modern commentator has access to hundreds, if not thousands, of books and articles not only discussing "Just War Theory" retrospectively, applying it in one way or another to most conflicts of which we possess some reasonable historical account, but also moralizing about contemporary "just" wars.<sup>5</sup> For more than two millennia, it has been a natural human tendency for belligerents to have rationalized warfare in their favor; generally, the victors have been transformed into injured party by the prose of their apologists, while the plight of the defeated has been distorted, overlooked,

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<sup>4</sup> Cross, "The Ethic of War", 274 (see note 1).

<sup>5</sup> Although they constitute only a tiny proportion of the work available on this subject, the following are highly readable: Chris J. Dolan, *In War We Trust: The Bush Doctrine And The Pursuit Of Just War*. Ethics and Global Politics (Aldershot, Hants, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005); Robert L. Philips, *War and Justice* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984); and the essays collected in *Just War and Jihad: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on War and Peace in Western and Islamic Traditions*, ed. John Kelsay and James Turner Johnson. Contributions to the Study of Religion, 28 (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1991).



excused and, most of all, justified. Wherever conflict has been waged by a literate power, it has been inevitable that, once the swords and the spears have been laid aside, the parchment and quill have been taken up; after the butchery there comes the spin.

Surviving accounts of the conflicts which consumed the Insular world in the seventh and eighth centuries are no exception. Invariably, they have come to us in a highly subjective form. Examples from two early Anglo-Latin authors support Cross's conclusion that, at least in a literary context, there existed a profound understanding in Anglo-Saxon England that warfare required justification.

Perhaps the most famous author of the Anglo-Saxon "golden age" was the Venerable Bede. In his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (Ecclesiastical History of the English People), completed in 731, examples of "just" and "unjust" wars are in abundance. "Much of what warfare there was in Bede's *Historia*," wrote John Wallace-Hadrill, "could be seen as Christian warfare, justifiable warfare."<sup>6</sup> Bede's concept of war and attitude towards how it should be waged constitutes a large and complicated subject requiring more in-depth analysis than space permits here. Nevertheless, a cursory assessment of two particularly telling episodes from the *Historia ecclesiastica* will demonstrate that Bede understood very well that certain wars were more justified (and more justifiable) than others.<sup>7</sup>

The arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain the fifth century presented Bede with a problem: so far as he was concerned, the Britons were a Christian people (although the reality was almost certainly more complex),<sup>8</sup> yet the Anglo-Saxons, Bede's own race, were, at the time of the invasions, resolutely pagan. The repercussions of this for Bede's attempt to portray the English as being in some way divinely sponsored were potentially very damaging indeed.<sup>9</sup> By what means,

<sup>6</sup> J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, "War and Peace in the Earlier Middle Ages," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 25 (1975): 157–74; here, 165.

<sup>7</sup> For more examples, see Wallace-Hadrill, "War and Peace", 165–68 (see note 6); compare with Clare Stancliffe's comments in "Oswald, Most Holy and Most Victorious King" and "Where was Oswald Killed?", both in *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. Clare Stancliffe and Eric Cambridge (London: Paul Watkins, 1995), 33–83 and 84–96 resp. For a broad and entertaining contextualization of Bede's presentation of Just War, see Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin, 2006), 36.

<sup>8</sup> For more on Christianity in sub-Roman Britain, see the relevant articles contained in *Christianity in Britain 300–700: Papers Presented to the Conference on Christianity in Roman and Sub-Roman Britain Held at the University of Nottingham 17–20 April 1967*, ed. Maurice W. Barley and Richard P. C. Hanson (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1968).

<sup>9</sup> Commentaries on Bede's "greater purpose", whatever it might have been, are numerous. The standard discussion of the subject remains Patrick Wormald, "Bede, *Bretwaldas* and Origins of *Gens Anglorum*," *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough, and Roger Collins (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1983), 99–129. However, Wormald's position has since been qualified, most recently by George Molyneux, "The Old English Bede: English Ideology or Christian Instruction?", *English Historical*

then, could a victorious war of aggression waged by a barbarous pagan people against civilized Christians possibly be construed as just by a Christian writer? As so often in the Middle Ages, St Augustine of Hippo provided a solution. Bede certainly knew Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (City of God),<sup>10</sup> in which Augustine had laid the philosophical foundations of medieval "Just War Theory", and he may have been informed by a certain passage in which Augustine considered that even the wicked could serve God's purpose by punishing the sins of others:

Nam et cum iustum geritur bellum, pro peccato e contrario dimicatur; et omnis uictoria, cum etiam malis prouenit, diuino iudicio uictos humiliat uel emendans peccata uel puniens (19: 15)

[Even when a just war is waged, it is in defense of his sin that he against whom it is waged is fighting; and every victory, even when it goes to the wicked, is a humiliation inflicted upon the conquered by divine judgement, either to correct their sins or punish them.]<sup>11</sup>

Indeed, a significant element of Augustine's thinking on warfare was the belief that, in Frederick Russell's words, "God automatically granted victory to righteous warriors."<sup>12</sup> Bede certainly presents the pagan invaders as a "flagellum Christi" ("scourge of Christ"), according them a divinely inspired role as chastisers of the wayward British. He writes: "accensus manibus paganorum ignis, iustas de sceleribus populi Dei ultiones expetiit" ("the fire kindled at the hands of the heathen executed the just vengeance of God on the nation for its crimes").<sup>13</sup> He continues:

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*Review* 124 (2009): 1289–323. On Bede's role as an ecclesiastical historian, see Jan Davidse, "On Bede as Christian Historian," *Beda Venerabilis: Historian, Monk and Northumbrian*, ed. L. A. J. R. Houwen and A. A. MacDonald. Mediaevalia Groningana, 19 (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1996), 1–15.

<sup>10</sup> Not only was this work widely available in Anglo-Saxon England—see Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 282–91—but Bede also quoted *De civitate Dei* directly on several occasions, see *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici Project*, ed., *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register*, <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/> (last accessed on April 15, 2011).

<sup>11</sup> All Latin citations from Augustine, *De civitate Dei* from this edition: *Saint Augustine: De ciuitate Dei/The City of God Against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. William Chase Greene, 7 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), 6: 52; for the English translation: *The City of God Against the Pagans*, trans. R. W. Dyson. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 943.

<sup>12</sup> Frederick H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 39.

<sup>13</sup> Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum/The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R[oger]. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968; rev. ed. 1991), 52–53. All further Latin citations and English translations are taken from this edition.

Sic enim et hic agente impio uictore, immo disponente iusto Iudice, proximas quasque ciuitates agrosque depopulans, ab orientali mari isque ad occidentale nullo prohibente suum continuauit incendium, totamque prope insulae pereuntis superficiem obtexit (1: 15)

[So here, the just Judge ordained that the fire of their brutal conquerors should ravage all the neighboring cities and countryside from the eastern to the western sea, and burn on, with no one to hinder it, until it covered almost the whole face of the doomed island.]<sup>14</sup>

It is significant that the word “iustus,” (just) is used twice in a single chapter in connection with the Saxon invasions. Furthermore, Bede uses “Iudice,” “Judge,” as an epithet for God, emphasizing the importance of the moral judgment he was inviting his audience to make about these events. Bede’s point is clear: the Britons had been judged by God and found wanting; the Saxons were a divine instrument, used by God to punish them. The aggressive war pursued by the Saxons against the British was, therefore, just. Moreover, it was just according to Augustine’s definition.

Another insight into Bede’s concept of the Just War is afforded by his presentation of the attack made by Ecgrith, king of the Northumbrians, on the Irish, as recorded in Book 4 of the *Historia*. In some cases, Bede was keen to condone war, even in the most troublesome of circumstances, so long as his own people were involved. His treatment of Ecgrith’s assault on Ireland, however, serves to remind us that although he may have had his biases, Bede was not entirely bereft of critical faculties. Furthermore, it illustrates the important fact that Bede was aware not only of the nature of a just war, but also of the elements of an unjust one.

Bede’s feelings toward the Irish differed markedly from his attitude toward the Britons. He referred to them as “gentem innoxiam et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam” (4: 26; a harmless race who had always been the greatest friends of the English),<sup>15</sup> and characterized Ecgrith’s raiders as “ita ut ne ecclesiis quidem aut monasteriis manus parceret hostilis” (4: 26; hostile bands, who spared neither churches nor monasteries).<sup>16</sup> In this instance, Ecgrith was the aggressor: he was making war without good reason (in Bede’s eyes) and was offending the Church in the process; his war was most certainly not just. A little later in the *Historia*, Ecgrith got his comeuppance. In a statement which seemed to echo his attitude towards the Saxon invasions of sub-Roman Britain, Bede wrote that “creditum est

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<sup>14</sup> Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 52–3 (see note 13).

<sup>15</sup> Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 426–27 (see note 13).

<sup>16</sup> Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 426–27 (see note 13).

tamen quod hi qui merito inpietatis suae maledicebantur, ocus Domino uindice poenas sui reatus luerent” (4: 26; one may believe that those who were deservedly cursed for their wickedness quickly suffered the penalty of their guilt at the avenging hand of God).<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, Ecgfrith made war against the Picts “multum prohibentibus amicis et maxime beatae memoriae Cudbercto” (4: 26; against the advice of his friends and particularly against that of Cuthbert, of blessed memory),<sup>18</sup> and met his end in the Highlands, heralding a period of decline in Northumbrian power in northern Britain. Here, although Bede did not say so exactly, the Picts were the proponents of an implicit just war: as they found themselves on the defensive, fighting an aggressor with a distinctly questionable human rights record, the Picts became the *flagellum Christi* against the insufficiently pious Ecgfrith.

Why, then, should Bede have changed tack so dramatically? Why, when in Book 1 he had found a way to justify a victorious war of aggression waged by the pagan English, should he have chosen in Book 4 to portray the Christian, Northumbrian king Ecgfrith in such a negative light and allow those who brought about his brutal end to have waged the just war? It could, of course, have all been down to Bede’s adherence to the cause of historical truth; or it might have had more to do with his ecclesiastical agenda.

The political situation which had come into being following Ecgfrith’s defeat—namely that the Picts and Irish in northern Britain had thrown off English dominance—prevailed into Bede’s own time. Not only did English political hegemony over the North fail but, moreover, English ecclesiastical domination declined as well when Trumwine—an Englishman who, Bede recalled in the same chapter, had been appointed bishop over the Picts—retreated to Whitby. Bede was faced with an inescapable, contemporary political reality: there was no way that a just war, waged with the support of God and the Church could have ended in the decline of English power in the North, which “fluere ac retro sublapsa referri” (4: 26; [began to] ebb and fall away),<sup>19</sup> as Bede put it, borrowing an appropriately plaintive aphorism from Virgil (*Aeneid* 2: 169). Therefore, Bede glossed these events so that they appeared to have grown out of an unjustified act of brazen aggression against which key figures in the Northumbrian Church had been quick to warn. For Bede, it was an “I told you so” moment, which demonstrated that the state could not wage war without the backing of the God (channeled, of course, through the medium of the Church).

It is striking that, once again, Bede’s presentation of warfare conforms to Augustinian thinking on the matter. In his *Contra Faustum manichaeum* (Reply to

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<sup>17</sup> Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 426–27 (see note 13).

<sup>18</sup> Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 428–29 (see note 13).

<sup>19</sup> Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 428–29 (see note 13).

Faustus the Manichean; 22. 74–75), Augustine urged that wars should be undertaken at the behest of a country's ruler, but added that his cause must be favored by God. Ecgfrith's cause was not favored by God; therefore, his war was not just. Thus, Bede recognized, as Augustine had, that it was the role of the secular ruler to make war; he appreciated, as Augustine had, that even when a victory went to the "wrong" side, it could still be understood as just when seen as part of the larger, divine purpose. The question that remains, then, is whether or not, for all the apparent similarities, Bede's attitude towards conflict was inspired directly by Augustine's.

Before going on to consider the sources of Bede's thinking on warfare, however, it is worth widening the focus by examining the way in which one of Bede's rough contemporaries, Stephen of Ripon, portrays warfare. Happily, Stephen's *Vita S. Wilfridi* (Life of St. Wilfrid) presents us with an altogether less sophisticated construction of just war. Indeed, Stephen's purpose was considerably simpler than Bede's: as a biographer and, more importantly, a hagiographer, his role was to portray Wilfrid—a controversial figure at the best of times—as a saintly individual, more misunderstood than malignant.

In Chapter 13 of Stephen's work, Wilfrid and a small band of men are washed up in Sussex and set upon by a large group of pagan South Saxons. Wilfrid, whom Stephen wished to present as a peace-loving soul, tries to reason with the pagans: "Sanctus pontifex . . . animas redimere cupiens leniter pacificeque loquebatur" (*Vita S. Wilfridi*, §13; the holy bishop [. . .] spoke to them soothingly and peaceably, wishing to calm their souls).<sup>20</sup> The Saxons do not heed Wilfrid's words and attack his band of companions anyway. Stephen then likens the smaller, Christian force to David, and the larger, pagan contingent to Goliath, lending the conflict an explicitly biblical dimension. Wilfrid's companions wage a defensive conflict—it is they who are attacked—and, importantly, they fight against pagans, not Christians. Moreover, Wilfrid first tried to avoid the conflict through discussion. This, then, is a perfect set piece of just war, albeit on a small scale: non-Christian barbarians, who would not listen to peaceful reasoning are punished for their aggression by a force whose piety ensures God's support.

A few chapters later, Stephen recounted Wilfrid's relationship with the same Ecgfrith of Northumbria who was the villain of Bede's work. When Wilfrid was at Ecgfrith's court, however, the latter was on the way up and in the process of subjecting the Picts to Northumbrian domination. Here, Ecgfrith is not the vicious warmonger of Bede's piece, but a magnanimous ruler. Stephen tells the story of Ecgfrith's first encounter with the Picts: despite the battle having been fought on

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<sup>20</sup> Stephen of Ripon, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), 26–27. All citations from Stephen's *Vita* are taken from this edition.

Pictish territory and resulting in considerable slaughter leading to their eventual subjugation by the Northumbrians, Stephen fashioned his account so as to make Ecgrith, who enjoyed Wilfrid's favor at this time, the wounded party. The Picts, he says, were "populi bestiale" (§19; bestial peoples),<sup>21</sup> led by "ferocium regum" (§20; warlike kings),<sup>22</sup> whereas Ecgrith was "humilis" and "magnanimus in hostes" (§19; lowly [. . .] magnanimous toward his enemies).<sup>23</sup> Thus, Stephen represents the Northumbrians as the defenders of Christian "civilization" in the face of the "barbarous" Picts. The war that Ecgrith waged might have been literally aggressive, but it became morally defensive and, accordingly, the ensuing slaughter was "mirum dictum" (§19; marvelous to tell).<sup>24</sup> Once more, Stephen illustrates his account by alluding to King David in order to enforce his point and, moreover, emphasizes the fact that, with the support of Wilfrid, Ecgrith's victories were divinely inspired:

Deinde post hanc victoriam rex Ecgrithus cum pontifice Dei iustus et sanctus regensque populos et validus sicut David in contritione hostium, humilis tamen in conspectu Dei apparens et colla tumentium populorum et ferocium regum, audacior a Deo factus, confringens, semper in omnibus Deo gratias agebat (§20)

[Then, after this victory, King Ecgrith, ruling the people with the bishop of God, justly and piously, strong like David in crushing his enemies, yet lowly in the sight of God, breaking the necks of the tumultuous tribes and their warlike kings, emboldened as he was by the help of God, in all things, always gave thanks to God.]<sup>25</sup>

A little later in the same chapter, Stephen reports that Wulfhere, king of the Mercians, sought to overthrow Ecgrith. In doing so, he provides (probably inadvertently) a nice parallel to the Pictish episode described immediately beforehand. Having attacked Ecgrith, we are told that Wulfhere is "non tam ad bellandum quam ad regendum sub tributo servili animo" (§20; not merely intent on fighting, but on compelling them to pay tribute in a slavish spirit).<sup>26</sup> Fortunately for Wilfrid, Ecgrith and Stephen, Wulfhere did not have God or Wilfrid on his side — "non regente Deo" (§20; he was not guided by God)<sup>27</sup> — unlike Ecgrith — "in Deum confisus" (§20; [who] trusted in God).<sup>28</sup> Accordingly, "Deo adiuvante" (§20; with the help of God),<sup>29</sup> Ecgrith gained a great victory which, this time, Stephen

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<sup>21</sup> Stephen of Ripon, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, 40–41 (see note 20).

<sup>22</sup> Stephen of Ripon, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, 42–43 (see note 20).

<sup>23</sup> Stephen of Ripon, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, 40–41 (see note 20).

<sup>24</sup> Stephen of Ripon, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, 40–41 (see note 20).

<sup>25</sup> Stephen of Ripon, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, 42–43 (see note 20).

<sup>26</sup> Stephen of Ripon, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, 42–43 (see note 20).

<sup>27</sup> Stephen of Ripon, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, 42–43 (see note 20).

<sup>28</sup> Stephen of Ripon, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, 42–43 (see note 20).

<sup>29</sup> Stephen of Ripon, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, 42–43 (see note 20).

likens to Barak and Deborah, just to make absolutely sure that the point could not possibly be lost on his audience. Following Wulfhere's death, Ecgfrith "pacifice imperavit" (§20; ruled peacefully).<sup>30</sup> In addition, he also extended his kingdom considerably, broadening Wilfrid's influence at the same time.

Whether Stephen was indebted to any guiding principles beyond his own sense of morality in his portrayal of conflict in the *Vita* is an interesting question. Just as Bede's narrative appeared to conform to Augustinian ideas about just warfare, it is interesting to note that both of the episodes discussed here (Wilfrid's engagement with the pagans in Sussex and Ecgfrith's wars against the Picts and Mercians) match up neatly with Ciceronian thinking on the matter. When Wilfrid faced the pagan South Saxons, he attempted to reason with them, only resorting to violence once other means of conflict resolution had been exhausted. Cicero, in his *De officiis* (On Duties), suggested a similar course of action:

Nam cum sint duo genera decertandi, unum per disceptationem, alterum per vim, cumque illud proprium sit hominis, hoc beluarum, confugiendum est ad posterius, si uti non licet superior  
(*De officiis*, 1: xi. 34;)

[For since there are two ways of settling a dispute: first, by discussion; second, by physical force; and since the former is characteristic of men, the latter of brutes, we must resort to force only in a case where we may not avail ourselves of discussion.]<sup>31</sup>

Furthermore, in presenting Ecgfrith's wars against the Picts and Mercians as primarily defensive wars, Stephen's narrative conformed to the Ciceronian model of just war as proposed in *De republica* (The Republic). The extant text is fragmentary and we are only able to reconstruct it partially thanks to a series of quotations and paraphrases. The relevant section survives in a quotation in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*:

De quo in Republica Cicero dicit: "Illa iniusta bella sunt quae sunt sine causa suscepta. Nam extra ulciscendi aut propulsandorum hostium causa bellum geri iustum nullum potest  
(*Etymologiae*, 18.2)

[Cicero speaks of this in the *Republic*: "Those wars are unjust that are taken up without due cause, for except for the cause of avenging or of driving off the enemy no just war can be waged."] <sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Stephen of Ripon, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, 42–43 (see note 20).

<sup>31</sup> Cicero, *Cicero: On Duties*, ed. and trans. Walter Miller (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1913; rpt. 2005), 36–37. All quotations are from this edition.

<sup>32</sup> All Latin citations from Isidore are from this edition: *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. W[allace] M[artin] Lindsay, 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911, at vol. 2: "Liber XVIII" [unpagin.]; for translations: *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 359.

Overall, including the above examples, there is abundant evidence that the Anglo-Saxons were well aware of the need to justify conflict. They knew that a defensive war was preferable to an offensive one and, as Cross observed, were keen to present a conflict as reactive wherever it required justification; they knew that war could only be just when it was being waged in such a way as to be pleasing to and with the blessing of God and the Church; they understood the importance of presenting themselves as civilized and their opponents as barbarians; and they knew that adherence to these principles was fundamental in constructing an effective literary or historical account of just warfare.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, this attitude to warfare was not confined to a single genre or language; as Cross has shown, it could be found in vernacular poetry just as readily as in Latin hagiography or history. Biblical models certainly played a very important part in informing the Anglo-Saxons of the fundamental principles of just war—Stephen explicitly and repeatedly acknowledged his own Old Testament sources, though Bede was more subtle—but the question remains: were Bede, Stephen, and their contemporaries also aware of the ethics of conflict formulated by Cicero and Augustine? Certain Ciceronian and Augustinian principles of just war may certainly be located in their work; but is this anything more than coincidence? In order to understand how (and if) “Just War Theory,” to use a phrase that is unsatisfactory in the circumstances, could have reached eighth-century England, it is necessary to undertake a very basic survey of the early history of the just war.

### III. “Just War Theory” before the Anglo-Saxons: A Question of Definition

Supposing the existence of “Just War Theory” as a cogent, precise theory at any period prior to the eleventh century, at the very earliest, is to use a modern concept to marshal a disparate set of ideas expressed across a range of texts composed in very different chronological, political, religious and geographical circumstances. Brent Shaw characterizes the problem thus:

The phrase *bellum iustum* [ . . . ] does not ordinarily mean “just” war. Every *bellum* was “just” by definition in so far as the state was concerned. *Iustum* basically signalled the distinction between regular and irregular conflicts. I do not think that there was any serious debate over “the just war” in pre-Christan antiquity, and certainly not one using the terminology *bellum iustum*.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> These ideas evolved in pre-Conquest England to reflect the new religious and political realities of the time. See Ryan Lavelle, *Alfred’s Wars: Sources and Interpretations of Anglo-Saxon Warfare in the Viking Age* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010), especially chapter 1.

<sup>34</sup> Brent D. Shaw, “Bandits in the Roman Empire,” *Past and Present* 105 (1984): 3–52, here, 6 n. 10. See



"Just War Theory" did not exist in the Classical period; there was no "accepted thinking" on the matter, no established canon of scholarship to consult, and no precisely defined political doctrine which authors could pick up and put down at will.<sup>35</sup> However, that is not to say that there was no awareness of the tension between morality and military necessity. At the heart of the Greek and Roman understanding of conflict lay the discrimination between the "civilized" and the "barbarous." Slaughtering barbarians required little if any justification: that, after all, represented the natural ambition of a "civilized", expansionist state. Justification of internal conflict or of wars between "civilized" peoples, though, required a great deal more thought. Thus, the civil wars which shook the Roman Republic in the middle of the last century before Christ,<sup>36</sup> and the campaigns waged by the Romans against the Greeks<sup>37</sup> (the very model of "civilized" society, in many Roman minds),<sup>38</sup> presented the Roman political theorist with an acute dilemma: how could it be just for "civilized" people to kill each other? This was a difficult question, as Shaw put it, because it required the reconciliation of "individual men who wielded violent force and the Roman state [. . .] of political legitimacy and the exercise of political power."<sup>39</sup>

The tension between the military necessity of conflict and the moral desire for peace was addressed in some detail, in the first century B.C.E., by Cicero, who explored the idea of the just war primarily in two works: *De republica* (The Republic) and *De officiis* (On Duties). The influence of the latter text was enormous; it survives in almost 700 manuscripts from the late antique and medieval periods, and was the second book Gutenberg printed on his new press after the Bible. Augustine, who is often seen as the formulator of the Christian just war tradition, had certainly read it, as had many of the other patristic writers. Quite early in the work, Cicero considers the role of the state in making war:

Atque in re publica maxime conservanda sunt iura belli. Nam cum sint duo genera decertandi, unum per disceptionem, alterum per vim, cumque illud proprium sit

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also Brent D. Shaw, "Der Bandit," *Der Mensch der römischen Antike*, ed. Andrea Giardina (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus Verlag, 1991), 337–81; orig. "Il bandito," *L'Uomo romano*, ed. Andrea Giardina (Rome: Laterza, 1990), 335–84.

<sup>35</sup> On the usage of the term *bellum iustum* itself, see Hans Drexler, "Bellum Iustum," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 102 (1959): 97–140.

<sup>36</sup> On which see P. A. Brunt, *The Fall of the Roman Republic and Related Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

<sup>37</sup> See John D. Grainger, *The Roman War of Antiochus the Great* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002). For a brief but precise exposition of the motivation for such campaigns, see Eva Matthews Stanford, "Roman Avarice in Asia," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 9 (1950): 28–36.

<sup>38</sup> For an introduction to this topic, see Alan Wardman, *Rome's Debt to Greece* (London: P. Elek, 1976; rpt. 2002).

<sup>39</sup> Shaw, "Bandits" 3 (see note 34).

hominis, hoc beluarum, confugiendum est ad posterius, si uti non licet superiore. Quare suscipienda quidem bella sunt ob eam causam, ut sine iniuria in pace vivatur, parta autem victoria conservandi ii, qui non crudeles in bello, non inmanes fuerunt, ut maiores nostri Tusculanos, Aequos, Volscos, Sabinos, Hernicos in civitatem etiam acceperunt, at Karthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt; nollem Corinthum, sed credo aliquid secutos, oportunitatem loci maxime, ne posset aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari. Mea quidem sententia paci, quae nihil habitura sit insidiarum, semper est consulendum. In quo si mihi esset obtemperatum, si non optimam, at aliquam rem publicam, quae nunc nulla est, haberemus. Et cum iis, quos vi deviceris consulendum est, tum ii, qui armis positis ad imperatorum fidem confugient, quamvis murum aries percusserit, recipiendi. In quo tantopere apud nostros iustitia culta est, ut ii, qui civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissent, earum patroni essent more maiorum (*De officiis*, 1: xi. 34–35)

[Then, too, in the case of a state in its external relations, the rights of war must be strictly observed. For since there are two ways of settling a dispute: first, by discussion; second, by physical force; and since the former is characteristic of men, the latter of brutes, we must resort to force only in a case where we may not avail ourselves of discussion. The only excuse, therefore, for going to war is that we may live in peace unharmed; and when the victory is won, we should spare those who have not been blood-thirsty and barbarous in their warfare. For instance, our forefathers actually admitted to full rights of citizenship the Tusculans, Acquiains, Volscians, Sabines, and Hernicians, but they razed Carthage and Numantia to the ground. I wish they had not destroyed Corinth; but I believe they had some special reason for what they did—its convenient situation, probably—and feared that its very location might some day furnish a temptation to renew the war. In my opinion, at least, we should always strive to secure a peace that shall not admit of guile. And if my advice had been heeded on this point, we should still have at least some sort of constitutional government, if not the best in the world, whereas, as it is, we have none at all. Not only must we show consideration for those whom we have conquered by force of arms but we must also ensure protection to those who lay down their arms and throw themselves upon the mercy of our generals, even though the battering-ram has hammered at their walls. And among our countrymen justice has been observed so conscientiously in this direction, that those who have given promise of protection to states or nations subdued in war become, after the custom of our forefathers, the patrons of those states.]<sup>40</sup>

Cicero leaves us with no reason to doubt his disgust at the reality of war. Yet his attitude towards the destruction of Corinth shows that he recognized that moral judgment must sometimes come second to military expediency. Indeed, the conflict between morality and expediency is a key theme of the whole treatise.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Cicero, *De officiis*, 36–37 (see note 31).

<sup>41</sup> Detailed analysis of Cicero's attitude towards war in this text can be found in Andrew R. Dyck, *A Commentary on Cicero, De Officiis* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 135–44.

More significantly, though, Cicero explicitly stated “Quare suscipienda quidem bella sunt ob eam causam, ut sine iniuria in pace vivatur” (*De officiis*, 1: xi. 34, “The only excuse, therefore, for going to war is that we may live in peace unharmed”).

While Cicero was, of course, not the only classical author to have considered ideas related to just war (his approach to war in *De officiis*, for instance, owed much to the Greek Stoic philosopher Panaetius),<sup>42</sup> he was possibly the best known in the Middle Ages and is certainly the most significant in terms of understanding how the theory of Just War might have entered Anglo-Saxon England. Similarly, Augustine was not the only early Christian author to have written about the subject. To name but one, Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (a man admired by Augustine), also considered the ways in which a conflict could be conducted justly in his *De officiis ministrorum* (On the Duties of Ministers), drawing unashamedly on Cicero’s similarly-titled work. However, since there is no evidence that the text was known in England before the 1070s, Ambrose’s work is of limited relevance here.<sup>43</sup> It is Augustine, then, who is most usually credited with linking the Roman philosophy of just war, such as it was, with the medieval concept. In the works of Augustine, moreover, the classical notion of just war received a veneer of Christian morality, bringing it sharply up to date with contemporary patristic thought.

Yet, in the same way as “Just War Theory” never existed in the classical world, so Augustine never formulated a precise “Just War Theory” in a single work. At no point did he consciously and deliberately focus his full attention on defining a theory of correct military conduct in a dedicated text. “Just War Theory” as we have it today is a modern concept which we may project back on to Augustine and Cicero in order to extract from their works passages which are relevant to our contemporary philosophical edifice. Augustine simply commented on what he perceived to be correct and incorrect justifications for military action across a series of different books, sometimes almost as asides to whatever his main point was in each particular work.

In what is arguably his most famous work, *De civitate Dei*, during a discussion of slavery and sin, Augustine made the following pronouncements on the nature of conflict. Echoing Cicero, possibly deliberately, he concluded that conflict should be a tool of peace:

Quando quidem et ipsi, qui bella uolunt, nihil aliud quam uincere uolunt; ad gloriosam ergo pacem bellando cupiunt peruenire. Nam quid est aliud uictoria nisi subiectio repugnantium? quod cum factum fuerit, pax erit. Pacis igitur intentione geruntur et bella, ab his etiam, qui uirtutem bellicam student exercere imperando atque pugnando. Vnde pacem constat belli esse optabilem finem. Omnis enim homo

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<sup>42</sup> On the relationship between Cicero and the Stoic school, see Douglas Kries, “On the Intention of Cicero’s *De Officiis*,” *The Review of Politics* 65 (2003): 375–93.

<sup>43</sup> Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, 138 and 278 (see note 10).

etiam belligerando pacem requirit; nemo autem bellum pacificando. Nam et illi qui pacem, in qua sunt, perturbari uolunt, non pacem oderunt, sed eam pro arbitrio suo cupiunt commutari. Non ergo ut sit pax nolunt, sed ut ea sit quam uolunt.

(*De civitate Dei*, 19.12)

[Indeed, even when men choose to wage war, they desire nothing but victory. By means of war, therefore, they desire to achieve peace with glory; for what else is victory but the subjugation of those who oppose us? And when this is achieved, there will be peace. Wars themselves, then, are conducted with the intention of peace, even when they are conducted by those who are concerned to exercise their martial prowess in command and battle. Hence it is clear that peace is the desired end of war. For every man seeks peace, even in making war; but no one seeks war by making peace. Indeed, even those who wish to disrupt an existing state of peace do so not because they hate peace, but because they desire the present peace to be exchanged for one of their own choosing. Their desire, therefore, is not that there should be no peace, but that it should be the kind of peace that they wish for.]<sup>44</sup>

However, war could only serve as a means for preserving peace when waged by the right people, for the right reasons. Somewhat later in the same text, Augustine declared: “nam et cum iustum geritur bellum, pro peccato e contrario dimicatur” (19. 15; Even when a just war is waged, it is in defense of his sin that he against whom it is waged is fighting).<sup>45</sup>

In addition to the *De civitate Dei*, Augustine also mused on the nature of a just war in his *Contra Faustum manichaeum* (Reply to Faustus the Manichean; 22. 74–75) and *De sermone Domini in monte* (On the Sermon of Our Lord on the Mount; 1.19), where he argued, albeit briefly, for the premise of rightful self-defense. Overall, Augustine’s input changed the theory significantly, as Frederick Russell explains:

whereas *ius* for the Romans stood for a body of law recognised as valid by those whom it affected, Augustine employed *ius* in the sense of righteousness, thus equating *ius* with *iustitia* and *iustitia* with *vera iustitia*. Where there was no righteousness, there was no true justice.<sup>46</sup>

We have already noted Augustine’s place as, in Paul Ramsey’s words, “the first great formulator of the theory that war might be ‘just.’”<sup>47</sup> We can recognize Augustine as such because we have access to a wealth of scholarship on the subject; we know what we are looking for when we approach his works. Whether or not a mediaeval author would have been able to refer to, say, Augustine’s huge

<sup>44</sup> Augustine, (see above, note 11 for both Latin text ed. and trans.) *De ciuitate Dei*, 52; trans. *City of God*, 934.

<sup>45</sup> Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei*, 943 (see note 11).

<sup>46</sup> Russell, *The Just War*, 19 (see note 12).

<sup>47</sup> Paul Ramsey, *War and the Christian Conscience: How Shall Modern War Be Conducted Justly?* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1961), 15.

*De civitate Dei* and extract the precise passages on Just War, attaching the appropriate significance to them in the process, without being privy to 1,500 years of learning is an important and unresolved question which will prove significant, here.

Nonetheless, almost 300 years after Augustine's death, Isidore of Seville, drawing explicitly on Cicero, made mention of Just War in his *Etymologiae*, Book 18:

Primus bella intulit Ninus Assyriorum rex. Ipse enim finibus suis nequaquam contentus, humanae societatis foedus inrumpens exercitus ducere, aliena vastare, liberos populos aut trucidare aut subicere coepit, universamque Asiam usque ad Libyae fines nova servitute perdomuit [. . .] 2. Quattuor autem sunt genera bellorum: id est iustum, iniustum, civile, et plus quam civile. Iustum bellum est quod ex praedicto geritur de rebus repetitis aut propulsandorum hostium causa. Iniustum bellum est quod de furore, non de legitima ratione initur. De quo in Republica Cicero dicit: "Illa iniusta bella sunt quae sunt sine causa suscepta. Nam extra ulciscendi aut propulsandorum hostium causa bellum geri iustum nullum potest." 3. Et hoc idem Tullius parvis interiectis subdidit: "Nullum bellum iustum habetur nisi denuntiatum, nisi dictum, nisi de repetitis rebus." (*Etymologiae*, 18. 1–3; 1)

[Ninus, king of the Assyrians, was the first to wage war. Not at all content with his own boundaries, this Ninus, breaking the compact of human society, began to lead armies to destroy other lands, and to massacre or subject free peoples. He completely subjugated the whole of Asia up to the borders of Libya in an unprecedented slavery [. . .] 2. There are four kinds of war: just, unjust, civil and more than civil. A just war is that which is waged in accordance with a formal declaration and is waged for the sake of recovering property seized or of driving off the enemy. An unjust war is one that is begun out of rage and not for a lawful reason. Cicero speaks of this in the *Republic*: "Those wars are unjust that are taken up without due cause, for except for the cause of avenging or of driving off the enemy no just war can be waged." 3. And he adds this a little further on: "no war is considered just unless it is officially announced or declared and unless it is fought to recover property seized."] <sup>48</sup>

Beyond stating that a just war should be fundamentally defensive and reactive, Isidore does not moralize about warfare at any length here, nor does he provide an extensive ethical structure within which a just war should be waged. Yet it is the brevity with which he treated the subject that makes it all the more significant: did he refer to Just War simply out of a need to classify different forms of conflict (and name-drop Cicero in the process, to lend authority), or did his lack of exposition suggest that he expected his audience to be aware of the weight of philosophical scholarship that lay behind the concept?

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<sup>48</sup> Isidore *Etymologiae*, 359 (see note 32).

Significantly, Isidore looked to Cicero rather than to Augustine as his source on Just War. Certainly, Isidore knew Augustine's work.<sup>49</sup> Famously, he was supposed to have owned a cabinet that contained almost all of Augustine's works, above which he had inscribed: "whosoever claims to have mastered all of the works of Saint Augustine is a liar." Yet Isidore's account of Just War ostensibly owed nothing to Augustine, either in form or in substance (which would seem to prove the inscription's point). One might presume, bearing in mind the high esteem in which he held Augustine, that if he knew the passages in which his predecessor had dealt with the justification of conflict, Isidore would have been keen to include them in his own *magnum opus*. However, being able to locate and extract precisely the relatively few, widely distributed lines that Augustine wrote about just war from the many subjects that he addressed, often in much more detail (especially without prior knowledge of their existence), would have been no mean feat, even for a scholar of Isidore's encyclopedic propensities.

There is a further stage in the early transmission of Just War theory, which brings us neatly into an Insular context. The British writer, Gildas—who was an important source for Bede—in his *De excidio Britanniae* ("The Ruin of Britain"),<sup>50</sup> while writing about the kings of Britain, mentioned that they waged "iniusta bella" (unjust wars):

reges habet Britannia, sed tyrannos; iudices habet, sed impios; seape praedantes et concutientes, sed innocentes; uindicantes et patrocinantes, sed reos et latrones; quam plurimas coniuges habentes, sed scortas et adulterantes; crebro iurantes, sed periurantes; uouentes, sed continue propemodum mentientes; belligerantes, sed ciuila et iniusta bella agents  
(*De excidio*, § 27)

[Britain has kings, but they are tyrants; she has judges, but they are wicked. They often plunder and terrorize the innocent; they defend and protect the guilty and thieving; they have many wives, whores and adulteresses; they constantly swear false oaths; they make vows but almost at once tell lies; they wage wars civil and unjust.]<sup>51</sup>

It is uncertain how much we should make of the phrase "iniusta bella". There are echoes of Isidore's classification of just and unjust wars here, but I know of no evidence to suggest that Isidore knew Gildas's work. Furthermore, there is reason

<sup>49</sup> See Jaroslav J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: a History of the Development of Doctrine*. I: *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100–600)* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1971), §6.

<sup>50</sup> The text was probably written in the sixth century. For a full discussion of Gildas's dates see Molly Miller, "Relative and absolute publication dates of Gildas's *De Excidio* in medieval scholarship," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 26 (1974–76): 269–73; and two articles by David N. Dumville: "Gildas and Maelgwn: problems of dating," and "The Chronology of *De Excidio Britanniae*, Book I," —both in *Gildas: New Approaches*, ed. David N. Dumville and Michael Lapidge (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 1984), 51–60 and 61–84, resp.

<sup>51</sup> *Gildas: the Ruin of Britain and Other Works*, ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom. 2nd ed. (1978; Chichester: Phillimore, 2002), 29–99.

to question the phrase's significance. It occurs at the end of a rhetorical device in which Gildas uses repetition for emphasis: having built up the audience's expectations by recording that the duties of government were carried out, he then dashes them by immediately stating that they were carried out incorrectly. Each time the device occurs, the argument intensifies in tone. It could be the case, therefore, that the mention of *iniusta bella*, in this instance, does not owe anything to the weight of philosophical scholarship that such a phrase appears, at first, to carry with it; rather, it may just be part of a persuasive rhetorical set piece. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Gildas used the words *bella iniusta*: whether or not he made a moral judgment about the nature of these wars being fully aware of the intertextual history of the term he was using must remain a mystery.<sup>52</sup>

Overall, this all-too-brief sketch serves to illustrate in the most basic terms the genesis and early transmission of the ideas relating to the waging of a just war insofar as they are relevant to Anglo-Saxon England. In a modern context, Charles Reed has described the evolution of "Just War Theory" thus:

the just war tradition cannot be reduced to a set of moral assumptions or ideals. Participants within this dialogue have sought to shape and develop the tradition so that its relevance is retained even when it is applied to entirely new security challenges.<sup>53</sup>

This same dynamic—the development of the tradition to fit to “new security challenges”—is exactly what we can see happening at a much earlier period. The philosophical approach to just war was codified by Cicero, then it was adapted by Augustine, then recorded by Isidore, who was explicitly indebted to Cicero; and Gildas used a phrase which may or may not have been intended to place his work in the context of the just war tradition. We have already seen that, to an extent, the way in which war was justified by Bede and Stephen of Ripon can be paralleled in the work of Augustine and Cicero (via Isidore). Establishing whether this came about because Bede and Stephen were privy to the whole, extensive philosophical tradition of just war, or to a part of it, or whether it was simply coincidence, must be our final task.

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<sup>52</sup> It is interesting to consider whether Gildas, like Isidore, might have been inspired by Cicero in his use of this phrase. Michael Lapidge and Neil Wright have both suggested, albeit tentatively, that Gildas may have been familiar with some of Cicero's work: see Michael Lapidge, "Gildas's education and the Latin culture of sub-Roman Britain," in *Gildas: New Approaches*, 27–50; and Neil Wright, "Gildas's Prose Style and its origins," *Gildas: New Approaches*, 107–28; here 111 (see note 50).

<sup>53</sup> Charles Reed, *Changing Society and the Churches: Just War?* (London: SPCK, 2004), 32.

#### IV. The Transmission of the Theory

The extent to which Bede and Stephen inherited their concepts of just war from Cicero and Augustine is difficult to gauge. Certainly, the way in which conflict was justified in both the *Historia ecclesiastica* and the *Vita S. Wilfridi* resembled to an extent the pronouncements of Cicero and Augustine on the matter. However, with no direct quotation or unambiguous paraphrase to guide us, proving a link is not straightforward.

There is no decisive evidence that Stephen of Ripon had ever read anything other than some Horace, the anonymous *Vita S. Cuthberti* ("Life of St Cuthbert") and the Bible,<sup>54</sup> and no particular reason to suppose that he had read Cicero (the circulation of whose work in early Anglo-Saxon England is something of a moot point) first hand. Bede, on the other hand, was much more widely read. There is evidence to suggest that he might have known some Cicero, albeit probably second hand, and not *De officiis* or *De republica*.<sup>55</sup> He had also read Augustine's *Contra Faustum manichaeum*<sup>56</sup> and *De ciuitate Dei*<sup>57</sup> and quoted both directly. However, these are both vast works in which Augustine discussed just war relatively briefly. Although certain conceptual similarities between Augustine's work and Bede's suggest that Bede *might* have sought to justify war within an Augustinian moral framework, it is as well to bear in mind that such parallels by no means constitute conclusive evidence of direct borrowing.

Indeed, in the one instance in which Bede did quote directly from an earlier text discussing just war, he deliberately avoided using the term. Bede knew Gildas's *De excidio* well and included at least 23 quotations or paraphrases from it in his own work.<sup>58</sup> He referred directly to the passage from the *De excidio* in which Gildas used the phrase *bella iniusta*. However, Bede rendered "bella iniusta" as "domesticis motibus" (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1.12; "internal strife"). If Bede saw any

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<sup>54</sup> Rosalind C. Love, "The Sources of Wilfrid's *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*," *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register*, <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/> (last accessed on April 14, 2011).

<sup>55</sup> The extent to which Cicero's work was known in early Anglo-Saxon England is a matter of some debate; on the whole, it seems that knowledge of it was derived second hand from quotations and extracts contained in other texts, such as Isidore's quotation of the *De republica*. See two articles by Roger Ray, "Bede's *Vera Lex Historiae*," *Speculum* 55 (1980): 1–21; and "Bede and Cicero," *Anglo-Saxon England* 16 (1987): 1–16. See also Gabriele Knappe, *Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik im angelsächsischen England*. Anglistische Forschungen, 236 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1996).

<sup>56</sup> Bede only quoted *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* in his commentary on Genesis. See Rosalind C. Love, "The Sources of Bede's *Commentarius in Genesim*," *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register*, <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/> (last accessed on April 14, 2011).

<sup>57</sup> Katharine Scarfe Beckett, "The Sources of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*," *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register*, <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/> (last accessed on April 14, 2011).

<sup>58</sup> Beckett, "The Sources" (see note 57).



significance in the phrase, then, he chose not to weave it into his own account of the episode.

Overall, the evidence linking Bede and Stephen directly with Augustine and Cicero is mixed. While it seems unlikely that Stephen had first-hand experience of Cicero's work, we may be certain that Bede had read the relevant texts in which Augustine discussed just war and that he could, theoretically, have been directly inspired by them. An altogether more promising and direct link between eighth-century England and the heritage of the just war tradition, however, is Isidore's *Etymologiae*. Apparently widely read in Anglo-Saxon England and throughout mediaeval Europe,<sup>59</sup> this text was certainly known to Bede: he quoted it on at least five separate occasions.<sup>60</sup> Although there is no concrete proof that Stephen had read it, it is a great deal more likely that he was familiar with Isidore than that he knew Cicero. Moreover, the *Etymologiae* lies behind the only instance in Anglo-Saxon literature, Latin or vernacular, when the words *iustum* and *bellum* appeared together. Almost 300 years after Bede's death, Ælfric, Abbot of Eynsham, wrote the following in his *Lives of Saints*:

Secgað swa þeah lareowas þæt syndon feower cynna gefeoht: iustum, þæt is rihtlic; iniustum, unrihtlic; ciuile, betwux ceastergewarum; plusquam ciuile, betwux siblungum. Iustum bellum is rihtlic gefeoht wið ða reðan flotmenn, oþþe wið oðre þeoda þe eard willað fordon. Unrihtlic gefeoht is þe of yrrre cymð. Þæt þridde gefeoht is þe of geflite cymð betwux ceastergewarum is swyðe pleolic; & þæt feorðe gefeoht, þe betwux freondum bið, is swiðe earmlic & endeleas sorh. (*Lives of Saints*, "Maccabees")

[Nevertheless, teachers say that there are four kinds of war; *iustum*, that is just; *iniustum*, that is unjust; *civile*, between citizens; *plusquam civile*, between relatives. *Iustum bellum* is just war against the cruel sailors, or against other peoples that wish to destroy our land. Unjust war is that which comes of anger. The third war, which comes of contention between citizens is very dangerous; and the fourth war, that is between friends, is very miserable and of endless sorrow.]<sup>61</sup>

The words *iustum* and *bellum*, here, were clearly more than just an adjective and a noun: although he did not explicitly acknowledge his source, Ælfric, as James Cross realized, was drawing on Isidore, whose work was "obviously a handy summary which lodged in Ælfric's mind."<sup>62</sup> Isidore, in turn, drew directly and

<sup>59</sup> On the enormous popularity of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, see, amongst others, Bernhard Bischoff, "Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla," in his *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1966–1981), I, 171–94.

<sup>60</sup> Beckett, "The Sources" (see note 57).

<sup>61</sup> *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, trans. Gunning and Wilkinson, 4 vols. Early English Texts Society, o. s., 76, 82, 94, 114 (London: N. Trübner, 1881–1900; repr. as 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1890–1900), 2: 114–5.

<sup>62</sup> Cross, "The Ethic of War", 272 (see note 1 above). For more on Ælfric's approach to conflict and violence, see J. W. Earl, "Violence and non-Violence in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric's Passion of

explicitly on Cicero's *De republica*. Thus we may be happy that, by the eleventh century, Isidore's précis of Cicero's theory of just war had entered Anglo-Saxon England even if the full Ciceronian excursus had not. Furthermore, *iustum bellum* had gained appreciation as a concept highly relevant to the Anglo-Saxons' own precipitous situation at the start of the second millennium.

We should not, however, assume that the relevance of Isidore's brief discussion of just war remained unrecognized before the eleventh century. Isidore's *Etymologiae*—including its passage on just war—had been known in Anglo-Saxon England since the seventh century,<sup>63</sup> and there is some evidence to suggest that the relevant section may have been considered significant at an early stage. Firstly, Michael Lapidge has identified and edited an epitome of Isidore's *Etymologiae* with a strong Anglo-Saxon pedigree, in which the part of Book 18 containing the definitions of war was amongst relatively few sections of the work to have been excerpted.<sup>64</sup>

Secondly, the Corpus Glossary, which, if we follow Wallace Martin Lindsay's dating, was compiled in the mid eighth century, at about the same time as Bede and Stephen were at work,<sup>65</sup> defines war in a manner which is strongly reminiscent of Isidore. This text, contained in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 144, constitutes a basic Latin-Old English dictionary that glosses meanings of many Latin words. The pertinent sections read:

Duellium *bellum* dixerunt qui ex utraque parte geritur

[*Duellium* they call a "war" which is brought from another region]<sup>66</sup>

Intestinum domesticum ciuile bellum

[*Intestinum domesticum* or civil war]<sup>67</sup>

Internicium *bellum* dicitur quo nullus remanet

[It is called *internicium bellum* when nobody remains]<sup>68</sup>

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St Edmund", *Philological Quarterly* 78 (1999): 124–49.

<sup>63</sup> Aldhelm of Malmesbury (d. 709/10) famously drew inspiration from it in writing his *Enigmata*. See also Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 309–13 (see note 10).

<sup>64</sup> See M. Lapidge, 'An Isidorian Epitome from Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Romanobarbarica* 10 (1988–1989): 443–83; rpt. in his *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600–899* (London and Rio Grande, OH: The Hambledon Press, 1996), 183–224.

<sup>65</sup> See Wallace M. Lindsay, *The Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt and Leyden Glossaries*, Publications of the Philological Society, 8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921).

<sup>66</sup> *The Corpus Glossary*, ed. W[allace] M[artin] Lindsay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), 60. All references to the Corpus Glossary are from this edition.

<sup>67</sup> *Corpus Glossary*, 25 (see note 66).

<sup>68</sup> *Corpus Glossary*, 101 (see note 66).

The Corpus Glossary's similarities to Isidore are immediately obvious: two of the three kinds of war listed here (the civil war and the war brought from elsewhere) correspond closely to the wars we have observed described by Isidore. Although Isidore's *Etymologiae* has never been explicitly identified as a direct source for the Corpus Glossary itself, research on other Latin-Old English glossaries descended from the same archetype has indicated that Isidore's work had a significant influence on the tradition as a whole.<sup>69</sup>

The Glossary and the epitome, then, suggest that, at an early stage in Anglo-Saxon history, Isidore's brief discussion of the nature of conflict was known in England and, moreover, was relatively widely distributed. The Anglo-Saxons not only read the *Etymologiae*; they copied, excerpted, quoted and paraphrased it. There is every reason to believe that the text was subjected to significant intellectual scrutiny in England throughout the eighth century. Thanks to Isidore (and at some remove, Cicero), war was not simply war: it was a graduated concept that could be portrayed in shades of grey as well as in black and white. The Old English poetry discussed by Cross demonstrates that the Anglo-Saxons were sufficiently sophisticated in their attitudes toward war as to discriminate between different kinds of conflict in their vernacular literature; the evidence in the work of Bede and Stephen of Ripon proves that such a distinction can be dated to the first half of the eighth century, at least, and can be located across a range of genres; and the prevalence of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (complete with its direct quotation from Cicero's *De republica*) in England at the same time would seem to suggest that this text may have been the most readily available and explicit point of reference for an author wishing to address military ethics.

## V. Conclusion

As is so often the case in Medieval Studies, we find ourselves left with few definite facts, but plenty of likely guesses. We may be certain, however, that in the eighth century, the Anglo-Saxons understood that war could exist in many forms, some more worthy than others. Moreover, we may be fairly sure that, while Augustine may have had some influence on Bede's attitude to just war, Isidore's *Etymologiae* constituted an unambiguous and easily accessible link between Anglo-Saxon England and the rich just war heritage of antiquity.

The caveat here, though, is that Isidore does not make a moral judgment about war; he does not lay out a detailed ethical structure sufficient to guide a Christian leader in conducting his wars; he does not even attempt to compose a series of

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<sup>69</sup> See J[oseph] D[onovan] Pheifer, *Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), lv; also Lindsay, *Glossaries*, 2 (see note 66).

moral principles addressing the ethics of warfare. These simple definitions may have inspired Anglo-Saxon thinking about war, or they may have complemented pre-existing concepts in which various conflict scenarios were already identified. At any rate, one can reasonably assume that Isidore's *Etymologiae* was an important conduit carrying the notion of just war to England, albeit as a series of phrases rather than as a coherent philosophical manifesto. Isidore's statement meant enough to Ælfric in the eleventh century that he felt compelled to appropriate it and apply it to his own situation. Perhaps Bede and Stephen felt the same impulse three hundred years earlier.

In sum, while it would be an exaggeration to suggest that the Anglo-Saxons possessed a coherent and fully-formed philosophy of just conflict, it can be inferred that, at an early stage in their history, they at least knew what a just war was. Even though "Just War Theory" did not exist as such, the necessity of justifying conflict certainly did. As historians to a burgeoning national identity, Bede and Stephen were keen to cover their heroes in glory and to condemn their villains forever in eyes of history. Perhaps it was this purpose, above all, that informed their portrayal of the many conflicts that wracked early mediaeval Britain.

## Chapter 3

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### Histories of Violence: The Origins of War in *Beowulf*<sup>1</sup>

#### I. The Power of Violence and the Violence of Power

Force is as pitiless to the man who possesses it, or thinks he does, as it is to its victims; the second it crushes, the first it intoxicates. The human race is not divided up, in the *Iliad*, into conquered persons, slaves, suppliants on the one hand, and conquerors and chiefs on the other. In this poem there is not a single man who does not at one time or another have to bow his neck to force—Simone Weil, *The Iliad, or The Poem of Force*

If fate is the law, is it also subject to the law? At some point we cannot escape naming responsibility—Cormac McCarthy, *All the Pretty Horses*<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to use this space to record debts of gratitude: Ashby Kinch and Christine Rose gave this work close and generous readings. The participants in the 2007 International Congress on Medieval Studies session, “Anti-War Sentiment in the Middle Ages,” including the session organizer Albrecht Classen, prompted further thought and reflection with their responses. Elisa E. Pollack helped with the finer points of German.

<sup>2</sup> The first epigram is taken from *War and The Iliad: Simone Weil and Rachel Bespaloff*, ed. and introduction by Christopher Benfey (New York: New York Review of Books, 2005), 11. Weil’s essay in this English translation by Mary McCarthy was first published in *Politics* (November, 1945). Cormac McCarthy, *All the Pretty Horses* (New York: Vintage, 1993), 241.

*Beowulf* is a violent text: it shows painful death and communal suffering. For some the spectacles of bodily partition, fire, and death are vehicles of entertainment for readers and movie-goers alike; at other times the blood-letting and bone-breaking are seen as objectionable elements in a text that is valued only because it is a unique exemplar of a lost Anglo-Saxon heroic style.<sup>3</sup> We are also attracted to a tension evident in the text between the heroic view of violence and *Beowulf*'s moral compunction against feud and fratricide. His desire to be a force for justice and peace in opposing Grendel and leading his people sits uncomfortably near his participation in the disastrous wars against the Franks with Hygelac, his involvement in the Swedish wars for succession, and his espousal of a heroic ethos of vengeance and willing cooperation in the economy of raid and tribute.

The narrative structure dramatizes this ethical dilemma in its commemoration in the opening lines of the deeds of Scyld Scefing (who forced the surrounding peoples under his dominion), contrasted with the celebration in the final lines of *Beowulf* as "*mannum mildost . . . lofgeornost*" (kindest to men ... with a most powerful yearning for fame). Are these two elements compatible? If one is eager for fame, and fame is won in deeds of war, how does *Beowulf* conduct himself as a benign ruler and man of peace who never took part in murder of kinsmen? How does the poem distinguish just and necessary war from unjust and unnecessary? *Beowulf* may offer us a few clear markers of this difference, but it leaves its readers with no fewer troublesome questions. It is no exaggeration to say that one's reading of *Beowulf* depends on how one reads its violent conflicts.

It may be surprising to note the degree to which a poem that is ostensibly about a hero who fights dragons and demons elicits difficult yet fundamental problems about the origin, prosecution, and consequences of conflict. The exploration of war and its origin in *Beowulf* compels a reexamination of the much discussed sword hilt from the bottom of Grendel's mere (lake, pond), Hrothgar's subsequent discourse on the dangers of pride mixed with violence, and the final conflict with the dragon. My discussion on the sword hilt will look to St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (City of God) with special reference to Book 19 in which Augustine reflects on the origins of war and the special danger faced by men who can, it seems, make

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<sup>3</sup> See Janet Thormann, "Enjoyment of Violence and the Desire for History in *Beowulf*," *The Postmodern Beowulf: A Critical Casebook*, ed. Eileen Joy and Mary K. Ramsay, with the assistance of Bruce D. Gilchrist (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2006), 287–318, and Thomas A. Prendergast, "'Wanton Recollection': The Idolatrous Pleasures of *Beowulf*," *New Literary History* 30 (1999): 129–41. Both authors have offered cogent analyses of the motives and functions of violence in *Beowulf* as narrative elements, as a reader-response mechanism, and as ideological tools. Both of these articles have made great impact upon my own reading of the violence in *Beowulf* and upon my thinking about others' readings of that violence; my debts to their work will be explored below, while certain differences between my analysis and theirs will also become evident.

themselves into monsters. This analysis will also reexamine Hrothgar's (so-called) sermon as a gnomic performance that calls attention to the contradictory interpretations of violence, feud, and heroism available on the hilt's text, and in the text of the poem as a whole. As a gnomic meditation, or sapiential utterance, Hrothgar's reading examines that ways that heroic discourse and heroic action *must* be modulated by ethical norms and considerations. To advance that discussion, I turn my attention to Exeter *Maxims* I (C) for a fuller appreciation of the ethical and moral discourses surrounding violence and weapons in Old English poetry. As in the poem itself, my examination of the histories of violence in *Beowulf* moves to the dragon tale that occupies the final third of the text. That last stand of the hero against a non-human embodiment of war, raid, and feud prompts deep contemplation on the part of the king of the Geats, and causes the readers of this poem to see war and violence in a shifting multi-temporal complex. *Beowulf*, like Hrothgar before him, is forced to interpret his own rulership and its implications in a continuing cycle of violence that he can neither fully master nor fully renounce, however good his intentions.

Jacob Grimm saw a natural correspondence between Old English poetry and the celebration of violence and war, as war was the chief occupation of the ancient Germanic peoples he imagined in *Deutsche Mythologie*, in 1835. *Beowulf*, a prime candidate for curricular excision in the drive for canon reform in the 1960s and '70s, has also been derided as "pointlessly bloodthirsty."<sup>4</sup> James E. Cross noted in 1972 that it was sensible to assume that what he described as "our Germanic pagan ancestors" thought "fighting was as natural as living."<sup>5</sup> He acknowledges nevertheless that the poem defies some of the clichés about heroic poetry. *Beowulf* is a text that complicates moral certainties regarding feud and warfare, and most often references war and internecine struggles as, in the words of Frederick Klaeber, the "two tragic motives of this epic tradition."<sup>6</sup> The *Beowulf*-poet's vision is essentially tragic and mournful and seems to offer few redemptive moments in its assessment of the moral calculus of violence. A number of scholars and critics have noted the *Beowulf*-poet's concern for the ethical claims and problems of warfare and violence, yet none has gone so far as to call it an anti-war text. I will

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<sup>4</sup> Cited in Andy Orchard, *A Critical Companion to Beowulf* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), 238.

<sup>5</sup> James E. Cross, "The Ethic of War in Old English," *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 269–82; here 270. Examining the concept of the Just War in Saint Augustine, Ambrose, the Old English Old Testament, and other texts, Cross offers a nuanced picture of the discourses of violence in Old English literature, concluding that "it is clear that influential Christians held an orthodox view about the necessity of war, yet the right kind of war" (273).

<sup>6</sup> "Introduction," *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburgh*, ed. Frederick Klaeber, 3rd ed. (1922; Boston: Heath, 1950), xxxvi.

suggest that the poem known as *Beowulf* is a restlessly dialogical<sup>7</sup> text that gives prominent place to anti-war discourses. It is not pacifist, or absolutist in any sense, but I believe that the poem's analysis leads us to see that although conflict is a fact of life, it need not be a way of life. While war's origins are often irretrievably obscure, its consequences and costs could not be more plainly shown.

## II. *Sacu restan*: All Quiet on the Northern Front

As Cross and others note, a just war according to St. Augustine must be undertaken with right intention under the aegis of a righteous ruler or prince. A conflict undertaken with proper motives must restore order, and offer defense for the defenseless. Certainly, *Beowulf*'s mission to Denmark to oppose the monsters who terrorize Heorot fits these criteria.<sup>8</sup> But the monsters themselves cannot be easily dispensed with even after they are dead in the moral analysis of the question of the "or . . . *fyrn gewinnes*": the origin (or author) of an ancient strife. The real value of *Beowulf*'s mercenary adventure in Denmark, however, is that it creates a new alliance of peace between two peoples who had previously been at war. As *Beowulf* prepares to depart Denmark, Hrothgar interprets *Beowulf*'s victory over Grendel and the mother thus:

Hafast þu gefered þæt þam folcum sceal,  
Geata leodum ond Gar-Denum  
sib gemæn[u] ond sacu restsan,  
inwitniþas, þe hie ær drugon . . .

(vv. 1855–58)

[You have brought these people, the Geats and the Danes, into mutual peace and have put to rest feuds that they earlier have endured].<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> I use the term here as theorized by Mikhail Bakhtin: "Dialogism is the characteristic epistemological mode of a world dominated by heteroglossia. Everything means, is understood, as part of a greater whole—there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others [. . .] This dialogic imperative, mandated by the pre-existence of the language world relative to any of its current inhabitants, insures that there can be no actual monologue." Bakhtin, "Glossary," *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist, ed. and trans. Caryl Emerson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 426.

<sup>8</sup> I use the term advisedly, as I believe that Grendel's and Grendel's mother's very humanity is at issue in the text, and their monstrosity is persistently called into question. See Paul Acker, "Horror and the Maternal in *Beowulf*," *PMLA* 121 (2006): 702–16.

<sup>9</sup> Translations are my own unless otherwise noted. All citations of *Beowulf* come from Klaeber's *Beowulf*, *Fourth Edition*, ed. R[obert] D. Fulk, Robert Bjork, and John D. Niles (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).



The mission to Denmark takes place against a background of constant reminders of unjust and morally dubious wars, feuds, and fratricidal conflicts. Hrothgar's hall Heorot is described in great detail as the greatest of halls, but its doom is foretold in a future conflict (vv. 82b–85). Upon Beowulf's first appearance at Heorot, Hrothgar also alludes to feud begun by Beowulf's father, which Hrothgar had to settle by payment (vv. 459–70). Hrothgar in fact, sees the visitation of Grendel's mother as a feud that he will pay Beowulf to settle rather than as a divine judgment (v. 1380). All of the so-called digressions, or stories within stories, are allusive narratives on betrayal, feud and conflicts over succession. But the digressions and interpolations are also temporal interpellations: the present is subject to and created by narratives of the past. History in this text is defined by violence, each new instance inevitably raising memories of past conflicts that have either moral, ethical or political similarities. Unferth, who killed his own kinsman, sits ominously nearby during all the discussion and action in the hall as we await the arrival of the cannibal progeny of Cain. The Lay of Sigmund, told after the first encounter with Grendel, foreshadows the dragon and Beowulf's downfall (vv. 874b–915). The account of events at Finnsburh is related as a celebratory tale, but one that the poetic narrative voice re-codifies as a tragic story of feud and its consequence (vv. 1063–1124). Any moment of triumph over adversity is immediately undercut as the narrative voice brings in a cautionary tale of violent defeat or death, or future conflicts. Both historical and mythic narratives reveal the tragic shadows cast by any act of heroism.

Most significantly, Grendel and his mother are described as being from the race of giants mentioned in Genesis 4, who were supposedly wiped out by the flood, and whom Hebrew and Patristic tradition held to be the descendants of Cain, the first fratricide and murderer.<sup>10</sup> But as we shall see, that historical and cultural distance does not insulate Beowulf or anyone else from moral answerability for the violent engagements of the poem's narrative present.

### III. Hrothgar's Hilt: Runes, Floods, and Cycles of Violence

The poem's sustained focus on the origins of war comes at a kind of resting point in the action after Beowulf's battle with Grendel's mother. Beowulf dispatches the mother and decapitates Grendel's lifeless corpse with a sword (found in her lair) described as "enta ær-geweorc" or ancient work of giants. The poisonous blood in the water melts the blade, and Beowulf is able to bring the inscribed hilt back

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<sup>10</sup> David Williams's monograph, *Cain and Beowulf: A Study in Secular Allegory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), is the most complete study of the exegetical and other traditions linking Cain to the mythologies of the *Beowulf* story.

to Heorot for Hrothgar to examine. The hilt episode, which includes Hrothgar's lengthy discourse prompted by its examination, has become a favorite interpretive locus. Most recent readings see the hilt as a self-reflexive image that allows the poem to analyze its own textuality.<sup>11</sup>

Michael Near has read the sword hilt as the poem's meta-critique of the "epistemological foundation underpinning the practice of literacy."<sup>12</sup> Near explains that, in effect, literacy's necessary drive toward psychological interiority and secrecy are a threat to the cultural norms of public practice, primary orality and its structures of social organization. This examination of the sword hilt associates reading with secrecy, interiority, rage ("bolgenmod") and self-involved pride ("oferhygd"). Near takes up the hilt as an object of silent, ominous alterity and of "a history of suffering, estrangement, and violent separation [...] of a world denied human commerce and open air."<sup>13</sup> Allen J. Frantzen, in his pivotal study, *Desire for Origins*, focuses on the apparent countervailing narratives contained in both the hilt and Hrothgar's speech. The Danish king's discourse "counteracts the text on the hilt. The hilt contains only [. . .] one story not about the heroes, but about their enemies."<sup>14</sup>

Similarly to Near, Frantzen sees the exposition on the hilt as a staged confrontation between two competing discourses: orality and literacy. Frantzen concentrates his reading of the hilt episode as a syllepsis or pun on the word "writan." This word and the related "forwritan" (the verb used when Beowulf stabs the dragon) become "a structure joining writing and death in a pun on opposite meanings."<sup>15</sup> The sole occurrence of the verb is in the past participle form *writen* in v. 1688b: "or writen fyrrn gewinnes." Their written story of origins, of which, Frantzen maintains, the Danes and Geats remain unaware, is that of Cain, and it can only be about their enemies and the heroes as sharing a deep connection of common origin. But in the end, as Frantzen's analysis suggests, the sword hilt frustrates any understanding of origin as containing a prescription for containing or ending the endemic violence of feud, fratricide and warfare because the hilt does not in fact portray the death of the race of Cain, "but rather the flood that

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<sup>11</sup> Seth Lerer, "Beowulf and Contemporary Critical Theory," *A Beowulf Handbook*, ed. Robert Bjork and John D. Niles (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 325–339; here 337.

<sup>12</sup> Michael Near, "Anticipating Alienation: Beowulf and the Intrusion of Literacy," *PMLA* 108 (1993): 320–32; here 321. Near's argument could be profitably expanded to some of the Exeter Book poems that reflect upon the nature of writing, such as the Book Moth Riddle, or *The Husband's Message*.

<sup>13</sup> Near, "Anticipating," 324 (see note 12). His complex argument makes a strong link between literacy and exile as well. I will argue similarly below that the sword hilt offers the reader interpretive possibilities that critique the systems of exclusion that form around the concept of the exile.

<sup>14</sup> Allen J. Frantzen, *Desire for Origins: New Language, Old English, and Teaching the Tradition* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 188.

<sup>15</sup> Frantzen, *Desire for Origins*, 184 (see note 14).

tried unsuccessfully to end that race."<sup>16</sup> Seth Lerer is interested in the hilt as a locus "for reflections on the reader's own relationship to texts, to authors and to Christian culture generally." The scene of reading is a "counterpoint" to the song of the creation sung by the scop: orality and literacy. The scene of reading outlines the "pagan credence in the magic of the letter and the Christian faith in the word as symbol."<sup>17</sup>

The sword hilt may perhaps be read as both a story of origins and one presaging almost certain doom for the future. Doom because, despite Hrothgar's best attempt at cautionary explication and exegesis, Heorot will burn, and Beowulf will inevitably, despite his attempt at peaceful and just kingship, die as a result of pride ("oferhygd") and his people will perish as the result of retribution for unnecessary conflicts waged out of pride ("for wlenco"). Any discussion of reading and writing must also attempt to ascertain the moral and ethical claims that writing makes upon the reader. Reading prompts an awareness of the role that narrative plays in assessing and overcoming violence and war. Oral history sometimes occludes or elides violence's origins and ultimate answerability, and textual history tends to frustrate certainty about the origins of war by leading the reader ultimately back to himself.

The object, initially a treasure and instrument of war, becomes a relic of ancient times with a long history, upon which is written the origins of strife. We are first made aware that its possession has a kind of genealogy attached to it:

Da wæs gylden hylt gamelum rince,  
 harum hildfruman on hand gyfen,  
 enta ærgeweorc; hit on æht gehwearf  
 æfter deofla hryre Deniga frean,  
 wundorsmiþa geweorc; ond þa þas worold ofgeaf  
 gromheort guma, Godes andsaca,  
 morðres scyldig, ond his modor eac,  
 on geweald gehwearn woroldcyniga  
 ðæm selestan be sæm tweounum  
 ðara þe on Scedenigge sceattas dælde. (vv. 1677–86)

[Then the golden hilt was given into the hand of the gray-haired warrior, the ancient work of giants; it passed in ownership after the fall of the devils to the lord of the Danes, that work of a magic smith. And then the grim-hearted man, God's adversary, guilty of murders (and his mother too), passed into the power of the best of worldly kings between the two seas of those who gave treasure in Scandinavia].

<sup>16</sup> Frantzen, *Desire for Origins*, 188 (see note 14).

<sup>17</sup> Seth Lerer, "Hrothgar's Hilt and the Reader in *Beowulf*," *Literacy and Power in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1991), 158–94; here 161, analyzes the hilt's text in greater detail, as reflected later in this essay.

This sword hilt is thus described as an object of wonder rather than horror, despite its apparently non-human origins, and its new owner is described as the best of all worldly kings as he receives it. The hilt is clearly an object of rulership, and ownership seems to signify some kind of power. The passing of the hilt—no longer a weapon but a combination of sign and text—from the “devils” to Hrothgar is a transmission of its attendant might from monsters to men. On the one hand, this movement of symbolic capital from Grendel and the mother to Beowulf and Hrothgar could be seen as an expected element of the heroic textures of the poem. The passing of treasure from vanquished to victor is a fundamental aspect of the economy of raid and tribute invoked in the opening lines. But the words describing its passing from Grendelkin to men also suggest a more deliberate handover of control and ownership: “hit on æht gehwearf.” The hilt confers an awful responsibility of reading and interpretation, and also acquires a new function in each subsequent description: a sign of victory—along with the severed head (v. 1654a; “tires to tacne”), an object of wonder (“wundorsmīpa geweorc”), and finally, a text with a troubling story to relate that confers the answerability of reading and interpretation.

... On ðæm wæs or writen  
 fyrngewinnes; syðþan flod ofsloh,  
 gifen geotende giganta cyn,  
 frecne geferdon; þæt wæs fremde þeod  
 ecean dryhtne; him þæs endelea  
 þurh wæteres wylm waldend sealde.  
 Swa wæs on ðæm scennum sciran goldes  
 þurh rune-stafas rihte gemearcod,  
 geseted ond gesæd, hwam þæt sweord gewohrt,  
 irena cyst ærest wære,  
 wreopenhilt ond wrym-fah . . . (vv. 1688b–98a)

[Upon it was written the origin [originator?] of ancient struggle, after the flood decimated the race of giants. They were a foreign people to the eternal God, and he gave them a final doom because of that. Thus was on the pommel of the hilt in pure gold, rightly marked and set, rune-staves telling for whom that sword was first made, the best of iron, with its twisted, dragon-decorated hilt].

Most recent translators of *Beowulf* render vv. 1688b–1689a (“on þæm was or writen fyrngewinnes”) as “Upon it was written the origin of the ancient strife.” The word *or* is often glossed as “beginning” or “origin.” *Caedmon’s Hymn*, shown as an Old English interlinear gloss of Bede’s Latin paraphrase, records a sense missing from

Old English lexical sources: that of author (*auctor*).<sup>18</sup> If we allow for the possibility that what is written is not just a representation of a narrative, but also that *or* can be taken to mean “originator” — that is, the one responsible for the beginning of the ancient feud, several questions are raised. Is this originator or *auctor* the same as the one for whom the sword was made, whose name is written in runes?

We are not told how Grendel and his mother came to possess this ancient sword, but the hilt apparently tells two related stories: the origin of war, and the destruction of the race of giants after the flood. To appreciate further the interrelationship of the sword, mythical and Biblical history, and Grendel’s mother, we should look back at two key passages: the mother’s first foray to Heorot (vv. 1258b ff.), Beowulf’s sighting and use of the sword in battle with the mother (vv. 1557 ff.) and the moment of her death, when the sword melts in Beowulf’s hands (vv. 1605b–10). In vv. 1258b–65a, as Grendel’s mother enters Heorot, she is connected to the Cain’s original crime, described as murder by sword:

... Grendeles modor,  
 ides aglæcwif yrmþe gemunde,  
 se þe wæteregesan wunian scolde,  
 cealde streamas, siþðan Ca[in] wearð  
 to ecgbanan angan breþer,  
 fæderenmæge; he þa fag gewat,  
 morþre gemearcod mandream fleon,  
 westen warode. (vv. 1258b–65a)

[Grendel’s mother, fearsome female, mindful of her misery, *he* who must live in the cold streams since the time Cain was a sword–killer of his only brother, a kinsman by his own father; he then was marked by murder to flee the joys of men, and lived thereafter in the wastelands [emphasis added].

This extraordinary passage, in which Grendel’s mother’s lineage and connection to the race of Cain is mentioned as almost an aside, sets the stage for the discussions of the remarkable sword Beowulf uses to kill the mother and decapitate Grendel’s lifeless body. Her gender identity is highlighted by the slippage of gendered pronouns. She is his mother; Grendel’s father was “unknown” according to Hrothgar. The “ides aglæcwif,” (fearsome woman) significantly referred to by the masculine relative pronoun *se*, in fact substitutes

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<sup>18</sup> We find *miraculum omnium* [...] *auctor exstitit* (“the author established[...] all miracles”) glossed by *wundra gehwæs* [...] or *astelidæ* in the Northumbrian, and *wundra gehwæs* [...] or *onstealde* in the West Saxon versions of Bede’s text. The sense of *or* as “origin, beginning” does predominate across the corpus of Old English.

for Grendel's apparently non-existent male kinsmen.<sup>19</sup> Cain is described as killing his kinsmen by his own father, which seems to elide Eve's equal role in procreation of the first two brothers in the world while also limning male prerogative and male vulnerability to crimes of murder, feud, and fratricide.<sup>20</sup> In the midst of Beowulf's battle with the mother, she attempts to take specific vengeance for Grendel, "her own son" ("wolde hire bearn wrecan, angan eafaran"). But her initial assumption of the male prerogative of vengeance by sword violence makes her — perhaps not monstrous — but somewhat more human and intelligible, even if she violates some of the gender codes on display in the descriptions of two other queens, Wealtheow and Modthryth, earlier in the poem. The sword that Beowulf sees in her lair is remarkable for its enormous size and magical, demonic origins:

Geseah ða on searwum sigeeadig bil,  
ealdsweord eotonisc ecgum þyhtig,  
wigena weorðmynd; þæt [wæs] wæpna cyst, —  
buton hit wæs mare ðonne ænig mon oðer  
to beadulace ætbaran meahte,  
god on geatolic, giganta geweorc. (vv. 157–62)

[vv. 157–62; He saw among the treasures a sword ready for battle, an old giant's blade with a powerful edge, most worthy of war; that was the choicest weapon, except that it was greater than any man's ability to wield in warfare, although good in battle, this work of giants.]

The old giant's sword contains no evil nor demonic qualities in itself, despite its demonic owners and lineage. Perhaps Beowulf's use of it in exigent circumstances shows that weaponry, like other technologies, is neither inherently good nor intrinsically evil but can be *used* for either good or evil. This particular sword, however, is so enormous that only a giant, or Beowulf, could possibly wield it ("his wæs mare ðonne ænig mon oðer/to beadulace ætbaran meahte"). That is to say, only one of the race of giants who created the sword, or a man whose power equals or exceeds that of a giant, could make use of it. Thus the sword is

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<sup>19</sup> Is Grendel monstrous not because he has a mother but because he has no father? He is a sole creation of maternal energy and force embodied in Grendel's mother. His mother may be nameless, but his father is unknown altogether. Or are the men of *Beowulf* his rightful kinsmen? Grendel's lack of a father invites comparisons to the fatherless orphan Scyld Scefing as the progenitor of the Danes, and Beowulf who grows up under the protection of Hygelac because of his own absent/dead father. See Christine Alfano, "The Issue of Feminine Monstrosity: A Reevaluation of Grendel's Mother," *Comitatus* 23 (1992): 1–16.

<sup>20</sup> There is an escalation of feminine or female power and agency in the text: Hildeburh, who weeps somewhat passively as a failed peaceweaver; Wealtheow, who tactfully but forcefully asserts the inheritance rights of her sons; Grendel's mother makes her first appearance immediately thereafter.

something that the Grendelkin and Beowulf have in common. Such commonality<sup>21</sup> constitutes neither the first nor the only mention of the ironic symmetries between hero and monster in this poem.<sup>22</sup>

After the decapitation of Grendel, the sword's blade begins to melt:

... Ða þæt sweord ongan  
 æfter heathoswate hildegecelum,  
 wigbil wanian; þæt wæs wundra sum  
 þæt hit eal gemealt ise gelicost  
 ðonne forstes bend fæder onlæteð,  
 onwindeð wælarþas, se gewæld hafað  
 sæla ond mæla; þæt is soð metod. (vv. 1605b–11)

[Suddenly the sword began, after the battle sweat, to reduce to bloody icicles. That was an amazing thing, that it melted like ice when the Father lets the frost's bonds loose, and unwinds fetters, He who has time and season in his control; that is the true God.]

The melting of the sword blade appears as a kind of unexpected miracle. The blade's disappearance turns the sword from a weapon into an object of commemoration, study, and wonder, and apparently renders the textual history of origins of an old conflict noticeable to its new owners. The blade becomes

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<sup>21</sup> When Beowulf and Grendel fight "they meet in an atmosphere in which the distinctions between man and monster have been deliberately obscured and in a twilight domain where the mark of an assailant is measured as much in terror and anger as in corporeal harm," Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the 'Beowulf'-Manuscript* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 37. This book by Andy Orchard, and his *Critical Companion* (see note 4), have influenced this study considerably.

<sup>22</sup> At the end of the poem, we will again encounter the *enta geweorc* formula in 2717b and Wiglaf's sword described as *eald-sweord etonisc* in 2616a, received from Onela (of the Swedish wars). The dragon slain, Beowulf notices he is not in a mere barrow made by human hands, but a great hall built with stone pillars by giants: "seah on enta geweorc/hu ða stan-bogan stapulum fæste,/ ece eorð-reced innan healde." Beowulf's own hall has been destroyed by the fire of the dragon, as Heorot before it was destroyed by feud-flames. He now finds himself in the lair of an apparently non-human enemy, and as with Grendel's mother, the poet takes pains to describe it in strikingly human terms: as a hall, and a great one at that, more ancient than any work of Geat or Dane. The phrase "work of giants," whether as a figurative name for Roman-era stone works (as in the elegiac poem "The Ruin") or a descriptor for a magical sword forged by giants of Biblical and Northern lore, signals an intrusion of the past that only *seems* lost to the present. The shaping of the present by the past in unexpected ways is a thematic principle of the sword hilt episode, and the dragon episode, as will be discussed below. If the barrow in which the Last Survivor places his treasure is in fact the work of giants, it raises questions about those who accumulated the treasure and built the great underground hall. Are they the same giant folk who made the sword retrieved by Beowulf from the Grendel lair? This recurrence of the formula, along with the characterization of Wiglaf's sword as *eald-sweord etonisc* (assuming *etonisc* means "from giants" and not "Jutish") underlines and strengthens the historic, mythic, and even ethical connections between past and present lives.

"battle icicles" ("hildegicelum"), as though its melting were part of the divine plan as manifest as the seasons of the year. The destruction of this deadly blade requires some kind of divine intervention to render it harmless, and turn it into an object of knowledge if its new owners are ready to understand what it has to teach. The comparison of a blade as merely ephemeral ice formations perhaps signals the possibility that war is not and need not be the permanent state of affairs, but that possibility requires recognition of divine power, or perhaps even divine intervention. The invocation of the "Father," the "true Lord," is perhaps telling in that it signals an end to the line of the giants whose lineage is recorded in the hilt. It definitely signals an end to the line of the great mother of Grendel, whose father was unknown. Although that one feud, at least, will not return, it also perhaps stands for all feuds, whose implications remain to be analyzed. Such is the function the hilt will finally serve. Swords used as weapons continually fail Beowulf in times of need perhaps because they cannot be used to stop the cycles of feud, kin-strife, and fratricide—they are always symbolically tainted by their histories of violence.

The sword hilt's story, then, begins long before it is first shown to Hrothgar in the moment of contemplation following the victory over the monsters. The poem does not give the specific details of the origins of war, and it is not clear that either Beowulf or Hrothgar is able to read the sword hilt's inscribed text. Hrothgar looks at the hilt, but it is clear that he perceives something evidenced by his lengthy discourse on the dangers of pride. The hilt itself, however, remains a puzzle. Does the existence of writing on an object in the possession of the monstrous progeny of Cain suggest a deep connection between men and monsters? Hrothgar describes Grendel as having the shape of a man; Grendel is apparently able to hear and react to the creation song before his first murderous raid upon Heorot; and now we have the monsters' possession of an object of writing and civilization. All of these factors call their monstrosity and alterity into question.<sup>23</sup> The monstrous progeny of Cain are have a culture of some kind, it seems, and that culture makes use of both of the major elements that the poem uses as its objective analyses: language and its power, violence and its power.

According to Seth Lerer, Grendel's possession of the hilt marks his alterity to the world of Heorot because he "cannot participate in the shared experience of verbal oath, poetic history or social discourse."<sup>24</sup> In other words, he cannot understand

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<sup>23</sup> Marijane Osborn, "The Great Feud: Scriptural History and Strife in *Beowulf*," *PMLA* 93 (1978): 973–81, also perceives a tension between the poem's bifurcated perspectives—that of the Christian audience, and of its pagan (and Scandinavian) heroes and villains—Scyld Scefing may have been a "good king" but his ultimate fate is left an open question. As for the sword hilt itself, she rightly notes that the scriptural information it imparts is known to the audience, but left out of the perspective of Hrothgar and Beowulf.

<sup>24</sup> Lerer, "Hrothgar's Hilt," 175 (see note 17).



the text and its implications, nor does he participate in any kind of culture. But perhaps the hilt offers multiple views of the Grendelkin. The monsters' possession of this object of writing means that they are literally written into the textual origin of violence, even if they are a "foreign" to the Christian God. They are participants in their history and the legacy of feud, fratricide and conflict shared by the Danes, Geats, and the race of giants. Not only are the Grendelkin foreign to the God of Christianity at this point, but so are the Danes and Geats, as noted in the lines that make it clear that they did not yet know the true God (vv. 180b-183a). The giant sword—or rather, its hilt and its text—serves notice that the feud is both ancient and present, and potentially continuous: the reader is the one "for whom it was made."

The sword hilt's appearance at this point in the text gives both the characters in the story and the audience a chance to consider the nexus between language and conflict, and their investment in both. It is clear that whoever made or possessed this giant sword could read, and made some use of language. If Beowulf and Hrothgar could read, then, they would understand the connection between themselves, Grendel and the mother, and their shared origins in war and fratricide. If the use of language encoded as writing to determine what is right and wrong, fitting and unfitting, is what distinguishes man from beasts, so too does the use of the artificial technologies of warfare. Both of these defining human characteristics are embodied in the hilt, and Hrothgar's sermon becomes more directly related to the hilt's textual history.

Augustine, in Book 19 of the *De civitate Dei*, speculates on the origins of war. And he interestingly locates it not only with Cain and Abel, but also in what we recognize as the tower of Babel: the fact that man is "separated by the diversity of languages." He speaks of the common tongue of Latin providing a "bond of peace" between people of different cultures, but by no means is this peace permanent due to hostile barbarians and civil wars. Augustine goes on in Book 19 to examine the paradoxical nature of war and peace. War is a desire for peace misdirected. Even the just war must be lamented for the injury it causes. As Augustine notes, any man who wages a just war must also regret it, "if he remembers that he is a man"—that is, if he remembers his humanity and does not make himself into a monster who has "lost human feeling."<sup>25</sup> Such a man becomes dangerous, especially if he becomes powerful through warfare, and plots in secret against those around him. Hrothgar's sermon on the dangers of pride echoes these sentiments through the negative example of Heremod who, as he gained power, became a dangerous king who kills his own thegns (servants) and companions.

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<sup>25</sup> *Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. Henry Bettenson (1972; New York: Penguin. 2003), 862. All quotations from the *De civitate Dei* are taken from this translation, henceforth = "*City of God*."

Such a person seems to be a short distance on a continuum from the true monster like Cacus (Virgil's *Aeneid*, 8: 258–64), whom Augustine describes at length:

Let us, however, suppose such a man as is described in the verse of epic legends, a creature so unsociable and savage that they perhaps preferred to call him a semi-human rather than a human being. Now although his kingdom was the solitude of a dreadful cavern, and although he was unequalled in wickedness that a name was found for him derived from that quality (he was called Cacus, and *kakos* is the Greek word for 'wicked'); . . . although he never gave anything to anyone, but took what he wanted from anyone he could, and removed, when he could, anyone he wished to remove, despite all this, in the very solitude of his cave, the floor of which, in the poet's description 'reeked ever with the blood of recent slaughter' his only desire was for a peace in which no one should disturb him, and no man's violence, or the dread of it, should trouble his repose.<sup>26</sup>

Augustine's description of Cacus reminds us of Grendel as described by the *Beowulf*-poet, both in his propensity for slaughter, and also his solitary nature: exiled, both deprived of and deeply pained by the joys of the hall, venturing out to plunder and kill. But more importantly, both Augustine and the *Beowulf*-poet suggest that such blood-thirst is entirely within the capability of human beings as well. Furthermore, a monster such as Cacus shares a common imperative and desire for peace defined as the freedom from the violence of others; he is, despite his name, evil neither in essence nor even in intent, but rather in circumstance. The poem does not tell us the exact words inscribed on the hilt, nor does it need to. The hilt tells the readers in the poem and the audience for the poem to look first to ourselves for the origins of war and strife. It should come as no surprise that the monstrous enemies of Heorot appear to be joint inheritors with the Danes and Geats of the legacy of Cain: the arts of both civilization (writing)<sup>27</sup> and warfare embodied in the sword hilt.<sup>28</sup> In this one episode the *Beowulf*-poet places at the center of his poem a Christian-Augustinian directive to "take up and read" the

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<sup>26</sup> *City of God*, 867 (see note 25).

<sup>27</sup> We need not trouble ourselves over whether the poet here represents a pre-literate, primary oral culture. The hilt contains *runstafas*, and runic inscriptions were not unknown in migration era Scandinavia, the world that the poet portrays.

<sup>28</sup> Augustine spends anxious ink in *De civitate Dei* wondering if Cain had any descendants (Book 15, ch. 15) and links the City of Man and the City of God as inheritors of Cain and Seth, respectively. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *On Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages*. Medieval Cultures, 17 (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 210, notes that "When northern mythology met Christian epistemology, the resultant clash of meaning systems led to a new systemization belief, one in which the giants and the instantiation of Christian divinity were coincident [ . . . ] The fate of the giants of the Bible was alloyed, like the metal of Beowulf's sword, to the fate of the giants of northern cosmogony: both became part of the symbolic structure that condensed around [ . . . ] a Christian father . . ."

text,<sup>29</sup> and consider the causes and consequences of even the seemingly unavoidable and just conflicts.

In Hrothgar's exposition of that text, that directive becomes a gnomic discourse on the intoxicating mixture of violence, power, and pride. Augustine posits the need for a universal language to prevent the spread of violence. The hilt is a flawed artifact of language and an embodiment of the two practices of civilization (war and peace, writing and weaponry) working together. A universal language would make peace more likely, but universal literacy appears as to be just as important, if we take the text written upon the sword hilt as containing important information for Beowulf and Hrothgar. The hilt itself offers a kind of ironic prophecy of Beowulf's eventual doom in the fight with the dragon. It is described as "wyrn-fah": adorned with serpents.<sup>30</sup> The placement of this phrase at this fulcrum point in the story, extolling Beowulf at the height of his powers, seems also meant to foreshadow his eventual downfall. Hrothgar's words on the deadly arrow of pride, or "oferhyd," forces us to look ahead to the next and final episode in which Beowulf, fifty years later, is overcome by this very pride as he decides to face the deadly "wyrn" alone.

Hrothgar's discourse on the hilt's meaning requires closer examination of the line, "Hrothgar mapelode, hylt sceawode," translated as "Hrothgar spoke, examined the hilt," in two of the most prominent translations.<sup>31</sup> Old English *sceawian*'s etymological relationship to present-day English "show" and German *schauen* leaves us unsatisfied with verbs of looking or vision such as "to gaze" or "to examine." The preponderance of gloss evidence links *sceawian* strongly with *considerare* (to inspect, examine or reflect upon).<sup>32</sup> The connotation of reflection is missing from most current translations of "hylt sceawode."

<sup>29</sup> This is the famous "voice of a child" uttering "*tolle lege*," to Augustine in the garden, causing him to take up and read Paul's Epistle to the Romans 13, and to convert soon thereafter, as recounted in Augustine's *Confessions*, Book 8, ch. 12.

<sup>30</sup> Albert Cooke, "Three Notes on Swords in *Beowulf*," *Medium Ævum* 72.2 (2003): 303–04, notes "*Wyrn-fah* means adorned with one or more serpents, and that is the safest gloss." Note the multiple meanings available for *fah*: adorned, patterned, but also "stained." The latter sense prophetically points to his eventual downfall by the dragon, and also perhaps leaves open the interpretation for Beowulf's ultimate culpability.

<sup>31</sup> In most contexts, "see" or "examine" fits quite well. Sometimes it can be a kind of passive, awe-struck gaze (as when they look at Grendel's arm). Sometimes a more active, searching kind of looking, as in *wong sceawode* (scouted the land). In this latter case it is a very directed kind of vision that involves critical faculty, alertness. Erkki Penttillä, *The Old English Verbs of Vision: A Semantic Study*. Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique, 18.1 (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1956), notes that "*sceawian* is both intentional and perceptual in character, the intentional uses, however, clearly predominating" (107).

<sup>32</sup> Old English Corpus, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/o/oec/> (last accessed on Nov. 1, 2010).

The half-line formula ([noun] + finite form of *sceawian*) occurs elsewhere in *Beowulf*, first in line 204b. The Geats, encouraging Beowulf before he leaves on his mission to Denmark, consult the oracles or auspices, finding them to be favorable: “hæl sceawedon.” Although “hæl” is a word likely used only for good omens,<sup>33</sup> the formula still implies a faculty of interpretation on the part of the observer: omens must be classified and read as good or ill. And any instance of reading implies the possibility of misreading. There is no mere seeing of an omen, it must be interpreted and brought into being by those skilled in such interpretations. It is probable that v. 1687 has “maþelode” and “sceawode” in a rhyming appositive pair, rather than in a sequence of events. Hrothgar is not simply beginning to speak, stopping to examine the hilt, and then launching into his gnomic discourse. Rather, at least in this instance in *Beowulf*, “sceawode” may include simultaneous or quickly coordinated senses of observation, reflection, and lection (variant reading).<sup>34</sup> Hrothgar’s possession of the hilt puts him on the spot, as it were, as the ruler of the Danes, and the one for whom Beowulf settles the terrible feud with the semi-humans of the mere.

Bebeorh þe ðone bealonið, Beowulf leofa,  
 secg bet[e]sta ond þæt þe selre geceos,  
 ece rædas; ofer-hyda ne gym,  
 mæra cempa. Nu is þines mægnes blæd  
 ane hwile [. . .]

semninga bið  
 þæt ðec, dryhtguma, deað oferswyðeð.

(vv. 1758–1761; 1767b–1768)

[Guard against the pernicious enemy, dear Beowulf, best of men; see that you choose better, eternal counsel. Give no room to pride, great victor. Now your power is great. . . but someday it shall be you whom death overcomes.]

Beowulf is warned that it is a short path from Hero to Heremod; the audience is reminded that Christian teaching requires ethical and moral awareness of the consequences of even defensive conflict. Hrothgar’s discourse on the dangers of

<sup>33</sup> The notes to *Klaeber’s Beowulf, Fourth Edition* for v. 204b (see note 9) read: “It is understood that the omens to which the men attend are favorable.” The editors cite Tacitus’s note that the Germans “attend to auspices.” But they also note the Old High German phrase “heil skouwōn.” These lines have been interpreted as “sie hatten das Wirken der Schicksalsmacht geschaut (erkannt)” —that is, they had detected and recognized the working of the power of fate (Fulk, Bjork, and Niles (see note 9), “Commentary,” 131.

<sup>34</sup> The Proto-Indo-European root of *sceawian* and other Germanic verbs of vision (OHG *skawia*, OS *skawōn*, ON *skoðar*) is given as \**sek(u)*: “notice, show, speak.” See *The Indo-European Lexicon* online (<http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/lrc/ielex/PokornyMaster-X.html>) (last accessed on Nov. 1, 2010), which lists the PIE etyma from Julius Pokorny’s *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1959; Bern and Tübingen: Francke, 1989).

violence, power, excessive pride, and the failure to anticipate an inevitable change in fortunes becomes all the more intelligible when set against Beowulf's final moments of life, and his final words spoken on the battle with the dragon and the gold won in that struggle. That speech features the same half-line formula:

... gomel on gιοhðe, golde sceawode:  
 'Ic ðara frætwe frean ealles ðanc,  
 wuldurcyninge wordum secge,  
 ecum dryhtne, þe ic her on starie,  
 þæs ðe ic moste minum leodum  
 ær swyltdæge swylc gestrynan.' (vv. 2793–98)

[... the old one in sorrow considered and spoke of the gold: "I thank the Lord, eternal master, for all this treasure that I stare at now, with my words said to the glory king, and by that I am able to give such treasure to my nation before my death-day."]

Beowulf here offers a reading of the dragon's gold and treasure as the salvation of his people. Although Wiglaf and the remaining Geats mourn their lost leader and speak of him with highest praise, they do not share his interpretation of the treasure. To them it is a burden, a curse, and an invitation to raiders and invaders seeking revenge for grievances incurred in Beowulf's earlier wars with the Franks, Frisians, and Swedes. They leave the treasure in the earth, as useless as it was before. Beowulf, when faced with his own moment of answerability and interpretation, sees only the glory of the treasure rather than the terrible burden of vulnerability it imposes on a people lost without a leader and without a clear line of succession. Both Hrothgar and Beowulf are offering a discourse prompted by meditation upon an object of treasure gained in battle against supernatural foes; the narrator implies that both the hilt and the dragon's gold are objects that carry a great deal of semantic weight, answerability, and dual significations of wealth, power, and the curse that attends them.

Hrothgar, in his counsel to Beowulf, urges him to seek "ece rædas" (v. 1760a), in which the masculine noun signifies counsel, advice, power, while the feminine *ræde* means "reading." No attentive reader or auditor of this poem could fail to miss the homophonies joining words like *ræd*, *ræde*, and the verb *rædan*, which comprises a range of meanings from "to rule or control" and "to scan a written text; to interpret." Hrothgar, whether he is literate in the ordinary sense of being able to read and write, offers a reading of the hilt, exhorting Beowulf not only to guard against excessive pride, and the violence that is its inevitable product, but also to seek better, more ancient or eternal wisdom over the temporary aggrandizements of fame gained by violence, even when performed in a just cause and manner. Fame is determined by the opinions and words of others, but here Hrothgar seems to enjoin Beowulf to choose among possible interpretations of the

present moment, and in so doing choose the best possible future for himself and his people.

After Beowulf's death, his fame will be of no use to his people if he has not ruled wisely. The hilt and the head of Grendel, both of which are objects attention and interpretation, offer two possible views of Beowulf's future: as a just ruler, or as a monster. Hrothgar's sermon allows the Beowulf-poet to imagine him (as Osborn notes) as an Augustinian righteous pagan, "scripturalizing traditional material" until he can imagine a "generous God superior to *wyrd*, a Boethian ruler of the universe."<sup>35</sup> Although he may have recognized God, he may also have recognized his potential enemy standing before him in the person of Beowulf. Yet he cannot see his own impending doom (Heorot's destruction), nor apparently, can Beowulf see his own future embedded in the hilt (*wyrm-fah*). The hilt poses larger questions than the fates of Hrothgar and Beowulf; it asks where to find the origins of war itself, and even tells its reader that war itself is the real enemy. As the Exeter *Maxims* recognize, Cain and Abel are the origin of all enmity; the question becomes whether that feud may be undone, put to rest, or whether we are all doomed to repeat it and be held answerable for it.

#### IV. The Terrible Sword in Exeter *Maxims* I (C)

The gnomic content of the hilt episode leads us to find similar resonances in wisdom poetry. There is a literary and cultural correspondence or relation between Hrothgar's "sermon" (so-called for many years) and the gnomic sayings of wisdom literature that have received too little attention. The oration is a sort of melding of Augustinian speculation on war, pride and violence, and the traditional wisdom expressed in gnomic poetry: the sermon is dense, allusive, often cryptic, as are the Exeter *Maxims*.

*Maxims I* develops a parallel between the exile and the beast. The "Wineleas, wonsælig mon ginimeð wulfas to geferan/. . . ful oft hine se gefera sliteð" (vv. 9–10; The friendless exile has only wolves as his companions, and these beasts will turn upon him and tear him open). This seems a standard gnomic postulation of the theme of exile and community. The theme is revisited soon after this pronouncement, this time examined from the perspective of fratricide. Rather than live alone and wretched, it is better that one live with a brother who can watch out for him, and protect him from such dangerous wild beasts as the boar.

. . . begen hi anes monnes,  
eorles eaforan wæran, gif hi sceoldan efor onginnan

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<sup>35</sup> Osborn, "The Great Feud" (see note 23), 978.

opþe begen beran— biþ þæt sliphende deor.  
 A scyle þa rincas gerædan lædan  
 Ond him ætsomne swefan;  
 næfre hy mon tomælde,  
 ær hy deað todæle.<sup>36</sup>

(vv. 37b–43)

[. . . they are both of one man, they are as sons [*eaforan*] of one earl, if they should encounter the boar [*eofor*] and both protect the other—that is a ferocious animal. Forever should the men take counsel, and sleep at each others' side, never separated by the words of man [*mon tomælde*], before they are separated by death [*deað todæle*].]

This passage, though slightly obscure, makes a clear connection between the ideal of brotherly love and mutual protection. By its use of alliteration and assonance, it connects the treachery of animals (“*eofor*”) and the necessity for trust between men who are sons of the same father (“*eaforan*”). The ideal of brotherly love includes not only refraining from violent action, but also refraining from violent speech (“*tomælde*”), which can lead to untimely death. Here there are no enemies among men, but instead bonds of brotherhood offering mutual protection against the dangers of the non-human, non-civilized world.

Not surprisingly, *Maxims I(C)* finds the origins of war with Cain and Abel, and notes that Cain's crime is ultimately responsible for all warfare, enmity, and indeed the very technologies of warfare, such as the sword. It ends with a notice that the “mean-minded man” (“*þæs heanan hyge*”) will never find his treasure to be large enough. This observation parallels the warnings against greed and rage in Hrothgar's sermon, and perhaps is a similar meditation on the problematical nature of treasure at the center of *Beowulf*'s eventual downfall.

Geara is hwær aræd—<sup>37</sup>  
 wearð fæhþo fyra cynne, siþþan furpum swealg  
 eorðe Abeles blod. Næs þæt andæge nið—  
 of þam wohtdropan wide gesprungon,  
 micel mon ældum, monegum þeodum  
 bealoblonden niþ. Slog his broðor swæsne

<sup>36</sup> All quotations from the Exeter *Maxims* are from Bernard Muir, ed., *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry* Volume I: *Texts* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1994).

<sup>37</sup> I translate this line similarly to Berkhout's 1975 edition: “*geara*” as “long ago,” and “*aræd*” as “established, settled, resolute.” Shippey and others have translated this line as part of the previous section, and taken *geara* as an adjective (ready) modifying “*aræd*”=“a resolute man.” I believe this line speaks as gnomic introduction to the verses on the origin of war and enmity in the Cain and Abel story. I would translate this line, somewhat speculatively as “The past is always exerting influence.” For notes on Berkhout's translation, see Bernard Muir, ed., *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, Vol. II: *Commentary* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1994), 539. See also T[homas] A. Shippey, *Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English* (Cambridge, UK, and Totowa, NJ: D. S. Brewer, 1976), 73, for the more traditional rendition of this line.

Cain, þone cwealm neredē;<sup>38</sup> cūp wæs wide siþþan,  
 þæt ece niþ ældum scod, swa aþolwarum,  
 drugon wæpna gewin wide geond eorþan,  
 ahogodan ond ahyrdon heoro sliþendne. (vv. 54-63)

[The past is settled everywhere. There was always strife among kin, ever since the earth first swallowed Abel's blood. That was not a one-day conflict. That criminal bloodshed spread among men, a pernicious enmity to all nations.

Cain, the one spared from death, slew his dear brother. Afterwards that was widely known; that eternal conflict harmed the age of men, so that throughout the world, dwellers in pestilence endured conflict with weapons; they devised and hardened the terrible sword.]

The exile will have treacherous animals for company that will tear into him ("sliteþ"), and who, without a brother to watch his back (like the solitary exile Cain, or Grendel) has no one to defend him from the sharp ("sliþhende") claw. The legacy of Cain for mankind is the deadly sword ("heoro sliþendne"). The artificial human technologies of war—linked to bestial viciousness by the by alliteration and homophony—paradoxically make us more bestial and monstrous. The result of this spread of the disease (the *aþol* in "aþolwarum") of warfare among men is that we can never rest, never let down our guard for a moment:

Gearo sceal guðbord, gar on sceafte,  
 ecg on sweorde ond ord spere,  
 hyge heardum men. Helm sceal cenum,  
 ond a þæs heanen hyge hord unginnot. (vv. 64-67)

[The shield must be ready, the spear must have a shaft, the sword an edge, a point on the spear, and men firm resolution. The keen man must have a helmet, and for the mean-spirited, the treasure is never great enough.]

These lines, like many gnomic poems, carry the familiar *sceal*-formula, which expresses a variety of meanings, but generally refers to what must be, or what ought to be done. The *sceal* formula can be broadly contrasted with the *bið* formula, which commonly expresses natural states, the way things are as in *Maxims I(B)* 48b–49a: "Ræd bið nyttost; yfel unnyttost" (Good counsel is most useful, evil the least useful). In this and other cases, however, I would suggest that *sceal* here expresses necessity, but not desirability; the way things must be but not the way

<sup>38</sup> Again, following Berkhout, I prefer to preserve the manuscript reading of "nerede" (spared), rather than emending to *serede* (devised). "In this reading ['spared'], the poet seems to allude to the Biblical 'mark of Cain' which protected him from being killed" (Muir, *Commentary*, 539). For an overview of the case for emendation, see John C. Pope "A Supposed Crux: 'aþolwarum' in 'Maxims I,'" *Modern Philology* 93 (1995): 204–13; here 205, n. 4.



things *ought to be*.<sup>39</sup> This passage in fact, seems to link the readiness for war and conflict with the sorrow and pity of “dear” Abel’s murder (Cain’s “swæsne broðor”). Because of this “wohtdropan” (bloody crime), peace is forever imperiled by the constant threat of violence, and therefore “the shield [defensive] must be ready, ...edge on the sword ...[and the] minds of men.” The poem ends by an observation that “for the mean-spirited, the treasure will never be big enough” (“ond a þæs heanen hyge hord unginnost”). That is, greed, married with violence, will never be satisfied with any accumulation of wealth. These sentiments are not mere stoic expressions of courage; I think there is an available reading of these lines, and this section of *Maxims I* (C), which stresses the sorrow of war, and its pestilential and contagious effects.

John C. Pope, in a 1995 article that lays to rest the crux in line 198 (“apolwarum” = “dwellers in pestilence”), offers a more heroic interpretation of these same lines: the narrator of this poem

is content to have looked into the past, uncovered the source of the trouble, traced its ever-widening spread, and compared it to an equally widespread [. . .] and presumably uncontrollable affliction [...] Since hate and hostility cannot be wished away, a brave man must make the best of it [. . .] This is a fighting man’s world, and weapons are useful not only for defense but also for profitable aggression. The humorously negative last line, with its uniquely recorded *unginnost*—literally ‘unvasted’—suggests that valor can pay dividends when the chief divides the spoils.<sup>40</sup>

While it is not to my main purpose to insist on an alternative reading of *Maxims I*(C), I do think that that *hean*’s available senses as “mean, lowly” and its semantic opposition to *heah*, when collated with the apparently ironic litotes *unginnost* offers a picture of a person who seeks enlargement by aggression. The bold man must have a helmet (“Helm sceal cenum”: a defensive but muscular posture) at the ready, but the greedy, low-minded man can never have enough treasure. Cain is directly responsible for the proliferation of weaponry and the paradox of lethal technology: the more refined and “hardened” our instruments of warfare, the less human and more bestial we become. The more treasure gained in violent conflict, the smaller that “hord” feels to the greedy.

To return to the sword hilt, it is at once archive of knowledge and icon for interpretation. *Beowulf* retrieves the hilt at great peril, but does not necessarily understand its archival significance (the runes and the information) and endows it (along with Grendel’s head, the vanquished enemy and the face of the monster

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<sup>39</sup> See Carolynne Larrington, *A Store of Common Sense: Gnostic Theme and Style in Old Icelandic and Old English Wisdom Poetry*, Oxford English Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 7, which cites Nicholas Howe’s suggestion that we can inadvertently rob the texts of their status as poems by insisting on a monological translation of *sceal*.

<sup>40</sup> Pope, “A Supposed Crux” (see note 38), 211–12.

that the hero may always already become) with iconic significance. The narrative on the hilt is new historical information (for the Danes and Geats) about the past, but it becomes an image. This view of the hilt places Hrothgar's "sermon" into a different discursive register. He reads the hilt with a kind of urgency, and it is not at all clear if Beowulf gets the message. Hrothgar's answerability is not the responsibility for all war, but the responsibility to correctly interpret that which is written correctly (*rihte gemearcod*). Hrothgar's discursive intervention appears to be correct, if Beowulf's momentary lapse into vaunting pride in facing the dragon single-handedly, signaled by the line "Oferhogode ða hringa fengel" (v. 2245), should be taken as a critical error. Beowulf's pride—his belief in his own rectitude and its lasting effects—though it did not cause him to take the life of kinsmen, caused him to be a willing participant in Hygelac's war against the Franks and Frisians and involve himself in Swedish wars for succession. And, facing the embodiment of violence driven by greed, Beowulf goes on alone as a hero, rather than as a leader. Wiglaf's remarks upon Beowulf's death clearly show the consequences that flow from single instance of impulsive pride:

Oft sceall eorl monig anes willan  
 wræc adreogan, swa us geworden is. (vv. 3077–78)

[Often many suffer misfortune for the will of one man: so it has happened to us.]

## V. Chasing the Dragon: *orleg* and *ørlog*

The poem's two major episodes that rest upon the figure of the sword hilt are a design portraying and analyzing the two seemingly intractable forms of conflict and war in medieval Northern Europe and pre-Norman England: feud (including fratricide and murder), and warfare between peoples (as raid or confrontations over resources). The Grendel episode (vv. 85–2199) examines the acts of violence that start, perpetuate, and sometimes end feuds. The ultimate origins of violence may either exceed the reach of mortal understanding or surpass the ability of men to remedy. The crime of Cain continues to circulate, but the possibility of relief from the cyclical recursion of conflict remains. While the Grendel sequence examines heroism as the creation of new alliances of mutual peace and protection and the cessation of feud, it also points to the potential for heroic action leading to monstrous blood thirst and greed. Hrothgar's words to Beowulf become an ethical mandate to moderate the inner directive and collective impulse to boast, along with emotions of pride and vengeance which, when profitably employed, can bring peace, but when abused, can lead to ruin. The dragon episode becomes an examination of the consequences of unavoidable wars undertaken with right intentions, of avoidable and unnecessary wars, and conflicts undertaken and

entered with dubious ethical mandates. Finally, the poem examines the inevitability of the past's return to determine the present as the energies unleashed in earlier wars return when they are least expected, and most damaging.

I conclude this examination of the origins of war in *Beowulf* with a discussion of the somewhat obscure Old English term *orleg* ("fight," "warfare"; also "fate") in relation to the dragon episode, and how its deliberate use at that point in the poem points to the possibility that all conflict in *Beowulf* is not only temporally linked, but also how past, and even ancient forgotten battles can be ethically implicated in the prosecution of current, seemingly unavoidable confrontations. Bosworth and Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* defines *or-lege* (n.): as "war, strife, hostility."<sup>41</sup> The word as used in *Beowulf*, however, seems to tell us much about the ethical and temporal dimensions of war, strife and hostility. Hrothgar speaks words of mourning at line 1323b following, talking about the death of Æschere:

... Sorh is geniwod  
 Denigea leodum; dead is Æschere,  
 Yrmenlafes yrltra broþor,  
 min runwita ond min rædbora,  
 eaxelgestella ðonne we on orlege  
 hafelan weredon, þonne hniton feþan,  
 eoforas cnysedon [. . .]  
 Heo þa fæhðe wræc,  
 þe þu gystran niht Grendel cwealdeþ  
 þurh hæstne had heardum clammum,  
 forþan he to lange leode mine  
 wanode and wyrde. He æt wige gecrang  
 ealdres scyldig, ond nu oþer cwom  
 mihtig manscaða, wolde hyre mæg wrecan,  
 ge feor hafað fæhðe gestæled—  
 þæs þe þincean mæg þegne monegum,  
 se þe æfter sinc-gyfan on sefan greoteþ,  
 hreþerbealo hearde . . . . (vv. 1323b–28a; 1333b–43a)

[Sorrow is renewed for the Danish people. Æschere is dead, Yrmenlaf's older brother—my counselor and advisor—shoulder companion when we in former battles protected [our] heads, when soldiers on foot clashed, and struck the boar helmets [. . .] She [the mother of Grendel] took vengeance, because you killed Grendel through the force of a hard grip last night because he had too long decimated and destroyed my people. He fell in battle, guilty of murder, and now another has come, mighty in crimes, and she would avenge her kinsman, but has gone far in pursuing [or

<sup>41</sup> Joseph Bosworth and T[homas] Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882–98; rpt. Oxford University Press, 1972).

establishing]<sup>42</sup> the feud, as it may seem to many of these thegns, who mourn deeply in their souls for the giver of treasure—a grievous heart wound . . .]

Hrothgar looks back fondly upon his dead friend and recounts briefly their shared history. This is the first appearance of “orleg” in *Beowulf*, and it comes in this specific moment of insight and remembrance. Æschere was a friend and counselor to Hrothgar not only for what we assume was his wisdom but also for their mutual experience of battle. Throughout the poem war, feud, and violence are constantly historicized. Present strife is almost never without an apposed historical precedent, analogue, or point of origin. Violence and memory create the entire structure upon which the poem is built, and each memory of violence prompts new conflict, but also reflection on the meaning of new and former struggles. As with the sword hilt that motivates Hrothgar’s reflection on Heremod and the perils of violent, unethical rule, the death of Æschere brings to mind the facts of his own reign: that power is won and wielded in war; that Æschere, his shoulder companion (*eaxelgestella*, perhaps implying a kind of equality) can die at the hands of a feud pursued by a monstrous mother means that Hrothgar may meet a comparable fate.

Perhaps conscious of his own fallibility for the first time in his reign, Hrothgar and his people experience a rude awakening in the feud with Grendel. The episode calls not only Hrothgar’s power and rule into question, but also prompts an existential crisis for those who live within the walls of Heorot. The monsters’ raids have not only killed warriors, but Hrothgar feels the very being of his entire people to be reduced (“wanode”) by the experience. What appeared to be a conflict between the Danes and a single adversary has turned into an unexpected blood feud with the kinswoman of his original foe (despite his hearing rumors and reports of two border-stalkers).

Hrothgar links the death of Æschere quite logically to the events of the immediate past, and says that the mother has pushed the conflict to a new level because of the actions of Beowulf. Hrothgar lays out a clear cause-and-effect relationship between the current crisis and prior actions, placing it in an immediate temporal and relational context. The formula “[noun] is geniwod” is used here, as it was at line 1303b to describe the night time raid of the mother and will be at 2287b to announce the awakening of the dragon. The use of the verb (*ge*)*niwian* (to make new, to start again) perhaps suggests that these instances of

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<sup>42</sup> The line “ge feor hafað fæhðe gestæled” (v. 1340) poses a translational crux. Is Grendel’s mother establishing feud (*fæhðo*) or pursuing it? The verb “stellan” (put, place, establish?) here is not quite the same as “onstellan” (to institute, give rise to); the line perhaps calls to mind the issue that will be explored throughout the poem—the difficulty of understanding where and when one act of violence gives rise to another, and the difficulty of separating proximate and ultimate causes of conflict.

conflict cannot be separated from one another, and that feud and warfare exist in a kind of temporal continuum: never ceasing entirely, only to be renewed from time to time. Words such as “sorh” and phrases that characterize the pain of mourning that accompanies conflict (“bealo hearde”) that occurs in the heart and mind of the warrior (“on sefan”) dramatizes the collapse of past upon present experienced by the individual who is or who feels answerable for the present irruption of conflict, and who intensely feels the baleful effects of violence upon a community (“Denigea leodum”). It is possible that Hrothgar, in losing Æschere, senses a connection between history and conflict—perhaps for the first time—outside of the realm of narratives woven by the *scop* (bard) within the safety of the hall, and instead senses the cold reality of feud and its immediate consequences for those who are connected to him not only by blood and kinship, but also by voluntary affiliation and shared experience. The death of Æschere, linked to the past by deliberate use of “orleg,” creates an awareness of continuities of violence in past and present. *Orleg*, then, appears to denote war or conflict in historicized terms.<sup>43</sup> This term and the compound *orlegwhile* become a defining semantic trope for the remainder of the poem, present from the coming of the dragon until Beowulf’s death, and in the dire predictions of the messenger and Geatish woman at the poem’s conclusion.

Beowulf is told how the dragon was awakened, and is shown the cup that the thief took from its lair. The thief is described as “se ðæs orleges or onstealde” (v. 2407), the one who first caused the conflict. Here “orleg” is used in a sense that denotes the thief’s ethical responsibility for the current crisis, and places it in an immediate temporal context. The poem will come to refine this first impression of the both the history and ethical dimensions of the dragon’s wrath, his treasure, and the Geats’ ethical answerability as the inheritors of the dragon’s hoard. The taking of the cup from the hoard implicates the thief in the immediate assignment of blame for the dragon’s wrath, but the so-called “Last Survivor’s speech/lay” offers a different perspective—one that, as with the sword-hilt, seems to offer a countervailing narrative of the significance of the treasure that Beowulf wins in battle with the dragon.

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<sup>43</sup> At least it is in *Beowulf*, perhaps. Comparative linguistic and etymological evidence suggests that while the OE word can have a general sense of “hostility” or “war,” the word appears to be a compound construction from Germanic “\*lagja” (rest, peace) and a negative prefix: the cessation of peace, which may point to its context within *Beowulf*, as the renewal of a past or historical conflict. This view of *orleg*, first discussed by Francis A. Wood, however, does not note or develop the possible connection to ON *ørlog* and the difference, if any, between OE *orleg*, OE *orlæg*, and its other Germanic cognates; more on this below. See Francis A. Wood, “Germanic Etymologies,” *Modern Language Notes* 34 (1919): 203–08; here 205. Further philological evidence for this word will be discussed below.

In lines 2247–66, the poem recounts the dragon-treasure’s prehistory. The Last Survivor’s speech is an event that has no apparent direct relationship to the present. But because the Geats, like the other northern peoples, participate in the economy of feud and raid characterizing Beowulf’s time (and since the days of the forgotten hoard), they are connected. The dragon is the embodiment of that seemingly endless desire for accumulation and hoarding of wealth. It is awakened inadvertently, as the thief steals it to pay a debt or win favor with an angry lord. The long-forgotten world of the Last Survivor’s people is forced into temporal collision with Beowulf’s historical present connected by a nearly unbroken chain of violence (reified in the episodes of the last Frankish and Swedish conflicts) that makes up Beowulf’s history of his own life and of the Geats.

Howell D. Chickering Jr., in his justly influential edition and translation, notes:

[t]he imaginative pressure behind the Lay [of the Survivor] is [. . .] [to] show that a man cannot hold the present securely against the uncertainties of *wyrd*, the poet will now develop the themes of Hygelac’s Frisian raid and the complicated feuds of the Swedish-Geatish wars. His perspective on the past will be as something supremely valuable but already irrevocably lost [. . .].<sup>44</sup>

On the contrary, however, one can argue that this episode attests not that the past is “irrevocably lost” but instead demonstrates that, because of the connection it makes to the Frisian and Swedish wars, the past returns when it is least expected, and it is unavoidable. Even Chickering himself goes on to say, in a mini-essay on “The Narrative Method in Part II,” that the temporal structure of the poem changes radically from this point onward, moving from standard narrative chronology into what he characterizes as “cyclical time”:

The past is continuously overlapping into the present as the reader goes between the dragon fight and its complex elegiac setting drawn from the Geats’ past [. . .] this tidal method enlarges the significance of the relationship between setting and action in a unique way [. . .] It gives a hypostasized continuity to the lost past and the lost present. The slow waves of narrative advance in the dragon fight are balanced against the increasing regression toward darkness in the interspersed memories of battles . . .<sup>45</sup>

The past not only exerts its inexorable influence on the present, it constitutes the present. Just as Beowulf is preparing to face the dragon and meet his eventual demise, the narrative voice shifts away from the action of the immediate story into a flashback on the death of Beowulf’s former lord Hygelac in a war of aggression undertaken for pride against the Frisians. Beowulf is forced to retreat into

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<sup>44</sup> Howell D. Chickering, Jr., trans. and ed., *Beowulf: A Dual Language Edition* (1977; Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 2006), 358–59.

<sup>45</sup> Chickering, *Beowulf* (see note 44), 359.

Geatland after the death of his lord. As it continues its meditation on violence and history at the moment of the dragon crisis, the poem offers further refinements of the ethical dimensions of conflict that attach to memories of war. While *orlegwhil* refers to either a coming or past time of struggle in the context of a conflict, *orleg* signifies the consciousness of a historical relationship between instances of war and violence, as in these lines: “Fela ic on giogoðe guðræsa genæs / orlegwhila; ic þæt eall gemon” (v. 2427; Many times I survived the rush of battle in wartime in my youth. I remember all that).

Beowulf is near his moment of death. This is his “death song” as characterized by Joseph Harris.<sup>46</sup> Beowulf summarizes all that has happened to him as a man, warrior and ruler; his life story begins and will end in violence.<sup>47</sup> As Beowulf recounts his own personal history of violence, he confronts the symmetries between his own career and that of Hrothgar, whom Beowulf rescued from the certain destruction created by Grendel, only for Hrothgar die at the hands of his own kinsman Hrothulf. And Beowulf, like Hrothgar before him, perceives some connection between his own past involvement in warfare and feud and his present situation. Beowulf himself recounts the story of the Geatish king Hrethel who found himself in an untenable position: one of his sons, Hæthcyn, killed another son, Herebald, by an errant shot with an arrow. Unable to avenge the death of one son upon another, he dies of grief. The shot by Hæthcyn was not a deliberate act of fratricide, like that of Cain. Rather, it is a “feales gefoht” — a feud that cannot be expiated by revenge or *wergild* (money paid in compensation for a killing). The fight with Grendel, as Beowulf himself recounts, was one he could take on with a clear moral mandate. But the looming conflict with the dragon, like the war against the Frisians, and the Swedish feuds of succession, demands a bit more analysis. Must the dragon be stopped? Yes. But Beowulf is a hero of rare reflection who does not join a battle without a sense of its ethical dimensions. Who is at fault? The thief who stole the cup? Beowulf’s leadership? Will his entire kingdom face annihilation by a sequence of events flowing from a petty theft? Or is the theft merely a precipitant activating and re-energizing a longer history of conflict? Cross

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<sup>46</sup> Joseph Harris, “Beowulf’s Last Words,” *Speculum* 67 (1992): 1–32.

<sup>47</sup> Stanley Greenfield, “Geatish History: Poetic Art and Epic Quality in *Beowulf*,” *Neophilologus* 47 (1963): 211–17; rpt. in *Interpretations of Beowulf: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Robert Dennis Fulk (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 120–26; here 125, notes the shifting temporalities of the dragon episode as shifts in narrative perspective: that of the poet, that of Beowulf, and that of the Messenger. Each has a different take on the Swedish feuds and Frankish raids that are the prehistory of violence to Beowulf’s (and the Geats’) demise. Beowulf’s account tends to place the blame for the Swedish hostilities on Ongentheow’s kinsmen, and, where Beowulf emphasizes his own survival and vengeance for Hygelac’s death in the Frisian campaign, the Messenger emphasizes the collective consequences the Geats will face as a delayed result of Beowulf’s participation in both conflicts: “[W]e are presented with refractions of historical truth seen through the prisms of the speaker’s perspectives and states of mind.”

concludes that Beowulf has “no individual guilt” for his participation in the questionable wars of his lord Hygelac’s past.<sup>48</sup> It may be that the Geats see it somewhat differently.

After the both Beowulf and the dragon meet their fate, lines 2910b–15 recount the words of a messenger:

... Nu is leodum wen  
 orlegwhile, syððan under[ne]  
 Froncum ond Frysum fyll cyninges  
 wide weorðeð. Wæs sio wroth scepen  
 heard wið Hugas, syððan Higelac cwom  
 faran flotherge on Fresna land . . . (vv. 2910b–15)

[It will now likely be a time of war for our people, once the fall of the king becomes known to the Franks and Frisians. That hard hatred was made against that Hugas, after Hygelac came traveling with warships to the land of the Frisians.]

The messenger then narrates (from a new perspective) the crucial history of Geatish involvement in the Swedish succession feuds involving Ongentheow and Hygelac, and concludes that the Geats may expect no peace from the Swedes. Translating “orlegwhile” as “a time of war” is definitely correct, but does not capture the sense of temporal and causal relation implicit here. The time of war to come is in the future, and it will be directly traceable to the raid of Hygelac on the Franks and Frisians, and the Swedish conflicts. If *orleg* is war in a historical context, then *orlegwhile* specifically seems to connote the consciousness of war and conflict with its causes, long-term consequences, and answerability in mind. The conflation and collision of past and present violence at work in this term, and in this section of *Beowulf*, we need to look to some of the linguistic evidence for *orleg*, and its (and *Beowulf*’s) possible connection to Old Norse poetry.

Philologists and translators from Jacob Grimm onward have pored over the evidence for *orleg* and its cognates. Because the words occur only in the stylized confines of poetry, we assume them to be part of a rich word-hoard the Old English poets deployed for the examination of warfare and conflicts. Grimm, Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, Richard Jente, and others have noted a close semantic association between “orleg” and its related form *orlæg* as terms joining conflict with the idea of fate, or destiny. Grimm believed that *orleg* was originally a term for the idea of a destiny “fixed from the first,” because of the Old Norse (henceforth: ON) roots *ör* + *lög* (ancient or original laws). The term was later generalized to mean “war” in ON, Old English (OE), and other Germanic languages because, according to Grimm “the most momentous issue of fate for the

<sup>48</sup> Cross, “The Ethic of War in Old English” (see note 5), 278.



heathen was that of war."<sup>49</sup> Jente develops this notion further, positing that *orleg* and *orlæg* are reflexes of two distinct Proto-Germanic concepts and words: the idea of Fate as a kind of first or original decree of the gods (*orlæg*), and the idea of war as a kind of lawless condition, or as a state that exists outside of the normal laws governing human behavior (*orleg*). These two separate but related notions were mixed at a very early date, according to Jente.<sup>50</sup>

If we view the powerful poetic and mythic notion of fate (*wyrd*, for example) as it appears in *Beowulf* and other Old English texts as the hold or the pressure that the past exerts upon the present (in James W. Earl's memorable phrase),<sup>51</sup> we see that a poetic discussion of violence that invokes a term like *orleg* must include a historicizing impulse as well as a mythologizing one. Consciousness of time, of the past and present, and of war's connection to past conflicts is encoded in the language; it is so deeply woven into *Beowulf*'s poetic fabric that the poet need not explain what seem to modern readers to be his abrupt temporal cross-cuts in the last part of the poem. Any examination of a present conflict not only compels examination of the past, such examinations are in fact assumed. In poetry, whatever the actual practice of Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia, the prospect of a new conflict prompts reflection on the part of those warriors and heroes—men of action all—and some dearly bought awareness of true causes and consequences of violence. The semantic connection between war (or death) and fate has been long established in the study of Old English language and literature. The word *wyrd* expresses multiple functions, including fate as an abstraction, the cycle of events, and the moment of death. The words *orleg* and *orlegwhile*, however, derive from a poetic and mythic background perhaps nearly as rich as that of *wyrd*.

Grimm's emphasis on—even celebration of—war in the "heathen" or pre-Christian Germanic world imagined in *Beowulf* and other poems still profoundly influences modern discussions of the text among scholars and in the classroom. *Deutsche Mythologie* remains an invaluable resource more than a century after its initial publication, but more recent scholarship has recognized the complexities of conflict and warfare that are also on display in *Beowulf*. Thomas Prendergast offers

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<sup>49</sup> *Deutsche Mythologie*, cited from its landmark English version: *Teutonic Mythology*, ed. and trans. James Steven Stallybrass, 4 vols. (London: George Bell, 1882–1888), 2: 854.

<sup>50</sup> Richard Jente, *Die mythologischen Ausdrücke im altenglischen Wortschatz: Eine kulturgeschichtliche-etymologische Untersuchung*. Anglistische Forschungen, 50 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1921), 215: "Vielleicht muß man in dieser Gruppe zwei Bedeutungen unterscheiden, die der Wurzelformen beigelegt wurden, erstens 'Zustand außerhalb des Gesetzes, gesetzloser Zustand, Krieg' und zweitens 'anfängliches Gesetz, Schicksal'. Für uns käme also nur diese letzte Bedeutung in Betracht" (Perhaps one must differentiate two meanings that were established in the root forms, first 'a status outside of the law, a lawless state, war.' And second, 'an original law, Fate.' Only this last meaning seems to be relevant).

<sup>51</sup> James W. Earl, *Thinking About Beowulf* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), 40.

an analysis of violence and memory that emphasizes not the mere importance of war to the world of *Beowulf*, but rather the conflicting needs of “idolization” of past violence and productive and positive recollection of past conflict to inform the present. The idolatrous pleasurable memory and spectacle of violence in *Beowulf* is often embodied in treasure and objects of war: swords, jewelry, and the hoard of the dragon all have the potential to foster a kind of “obsessive remembering [of conflict] that led to the disastrous cycle of vengeance that plagued that Anglo-Saxon world.”<sup>52</sup>

Hrothgar’s discourse upon the crimes of Heremod prompted by the sword hilt, and the Geats’ reburial of the dragon’s treasure offer an alternative means of creating constructive lessons from the past and ways to disclaim the violence of the past and therefore abate future conflict. In a similar mode, Janet Thormann offers an analysis of the remembrance of past conflicts as a critique of epic heroism and evidence of a “desire for a discourse of history under an authority that would control the seemingly continuous repetition of violence.”<sup>53</sup> Stanley Greenfield also notes a startling tension produced by the attempt to fashion a historical consciousness out of mythic/epic signifiers. He distinguishes *Beowulf* as epic from classical texts like the *Aeneid* (and we could say the same regarding the difference between *Beowulf* and Norse myths): the gods play no role in the achievement of “epic effect [. . .] Wyrd and God may be repeatedly mentioned but their force is less personal [. . .] *Beowulf*’s is a historic destiny, as are all the doom-laden movements of the poem.”<sup>54</sup> *Beowulf* is not a classical epic, and even if the *Beowulf*-poet did know his Virgil and other Latin authors, the struggle toward a discourse of history (in Thormann’s terms) still moves us, without pre-empting our search for mythic origins of violence. The poem seems to recognize what Anglo-Saxonists began to realize only recently: historicize though we must, all points of origin must remain mythic. Some of the best sources for the mythology that informs *Beowulf* are in Norse poetry, such as the Poetic *Edda*.

*Völuspá* is an Icelandic poem of mythic prophecy, part of the poetic *Edda*, in many respects as unlike *Beowulf* as is T. S. Eliot’s *The Waste Land*. Opaquely allusive, even cryptic, and punctuated by the refrain “Vitoð ér enn, eða hvat?” (Do you still seek to know, and what?), *Völuspá* is the vision of a sybil (ON: *völva*) who narrates the mythic creation of the world, the first war between the two factions of Norse gods (Aesir and Vanir), and the end of days for the Aesir and their middle earth. It is generally accepted the poems in the MSS of the *Poetic Edda* represent an older tradition than the manuscripts, preserved by scribes with antiquarian interests. The oldest manuscript, Codex Regius, is dated ca. 1270 by

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<sup>52</sup> Prendergast, “Wanton Recollection” (see note 3), 131.

<sup>53</sup> Thormann, “Enjoyment of Violence” (see note 3), 289.

<sup>54</sup> Greenfield, “Geatish History” (see note 47), 125.

some estimates. So the text of *Völuspá* that we have today post-dates that of *Beowulf* by at least 250 years. Any contact or source/analogue relationships will be difficult if not impossible to posit persuasively. Nevertheless, both poems exhibit an interest in the mythic origins of war, violence, and conflict, and both are concerned with genealogies and endings. *Völuspá* portrays the gods as subject to the decrees of the Norns, and provides a chilling portrait of their end in Ragnarök. *Beowulf* shows the end of the Geatish people, and the death of their seemingly invincible hero. Both have dragons as signifiers of the End of Days. Earl has discussed the similarities between these two poems as meditations on the “death of civilization,” noting that *Beowulf*’s “vision is as total and self-enclosed as that of *Völuspá*, though it is less mythical and more historical.”<sup>55</sup> Ursula Dronke also examines the two texts together, finding a number of structural and incidental similarities between *Beowulf* and the Norse mythological poems. Most salient for this analysis is her observation that *Völuspá* portends the coming of “disharmony, war, and grief.”<sup>56</sup> Also as in *Beowulf*, the later epic’s term *ørlog* signals the both the approach of war and its historical relationships and origins.

*Ørlog* in *Völuspá* is the first law inscribed by the Norns upon the World Tree (Yggdrasill).<sup>57</sup> This first creation is described in stanza 17 as “*ørloglausr*”: “without destiny.” Its invocation in *Völuspá* [stanzas 20–21] prompts the *Völva* to remember the first war in the world:

Þaðan koma meýjar	From there came maidens
margs vitandi,	deep in knowledge,
þriar, ór þeim sæ,	three from the lake
er und þolli stendr.	that lies under the tree.
Urð hétu eina,	Urðr they called one, ‘Had to be,’
aðra Verðandi	the second Verðandi, ‘Coming to be’
— skáro á skíði —	— they incised the slip of wood —
Skuld ena þriðio.	Skuld the third, ‘Has to be’.
Þær lög lögðo,	They laid down laws,
Þær líf kuro	they chose out lives
alda bǫrnum	for mankind’s children,
ørlogø seggia.	men’s destinies.
Þat man hón folkvíg	She remembers the war,
fyrst í heimi . . .	the first in the world . . . <sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Earl, *Thinking About Beowulf* (see note 51), 46–47.

<sup>56</sup> Ursula Dronke, “Beowulf and Ragnarök,” eadem, *Myth and Fiction in Early Norse Lands*. Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS 524 (Aldershot, Hampshire, and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996), 308.

<sup>57</sup> The Norns are the three fates of Norse myth: *Urðr* (“what was”—the ON cognate of OE *wyrd*), *Verðandi* (“what is”) and *Skuld* (“what shall be”).

<sup>58</sup> Ursula Dronke, ed. and trans., *The Poetic Edda, II: The Mythological Poems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 12.

The sober assessment of the messenger and the cries of Geatish women in *Beowulf*'s final lines become "orlegwhile": a time of both violence and world-changing fate.

## VI. War and Remembrance

In *Beowulf*, there is no war without remembrance. The narrative of the dragon asks whether the violence that underwrites and drives the raiding and tribute economy makes unnecessary enemies of peoples, and whether wealth accumulated in raid and warfare carries the curse of its violent acquisition, even beyond the memories of those who "find" treasure. The Last Survivor's Speech (vv. 2247–2267) exploits elegiac poetry to show that although the acquisition of treasure in war may lead to personal aggrandizement and communal wealth, it can also lead to communal destruction. Some key elements give depth and context to the seemingly elemental story of a non-human monster. The dragon signifies a number of things simultaneously: the greed of the lord or other who hoards wealth, and refuses to make use of it in strengthening a community; the horror of raid and plunder is also evoked in the descriptions of the homes of the Geats burning from the firedrake's wrath, perhaps depicting an imagined description of a village burned to the ground by the deliberate destruction of Viking raiders; and finally, the dragon acts a commonly recognized harbinger of the pestilence of war.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, describing the initial Norse raids on Northumbria in 793 notes that "fiery dragons" were seen flying in the air in the days prior to the destruction of Lindisfarne. *Voluspá* too concludes with a "shadowy dragon flying" (*dimmi dreki fliúgandi*) over the destruction of middle earth, after a time of war and fratricide.<sup>59</sup>

*Beowulf*'s closing lines make clear that the Geats understand what Beowulf may have failed to realize: violent energies unleashed in prior conflicts are never banished, but only held temporarily in abeyance. Eventually those destructive powers return to their place of origin. In that sense, we may conclude that *Beowulf*'s ideas on the origin of war, embodied in the figuration of the hilt, tells us that, whatever the mythic import of Cain, Abel, giants, and floods, conflict originates within each person at each moment, we are each answerable for the conflicts in which we participate, and those around us, and those who depend upon us (in the case of kings such as Hrothgar or Beowulf) pay the price. The message is the same in all texts about war and monstrous enemies from *Beowulf* to *The Monster at the End of This Book*: you have met the enemy and he is you, no

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<sup>59</sup> Stanza 62; Dronke, ed., *Poetic Edda* (see note 58), 24.

matter how hard you try to dehumanize him; we are jointly and severally inheritors of Cain. *Beowulf* examines the question of war and its origins without offering any facile solution based on religion or ideology—since it sees war *as* the problem itself.



## Chapter 4

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### Warlords and Diplomats in the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*

#### I. The Nature of the Text

The Welsh *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* are twelfth-century romances of magic and adventure, occurring with seven other tales in a collection known in modern times as *The Mabinogion*. But the *Four Branches* are the finest of the eleven, and have been celebrated and admired since the early years of Queen Victoria's reign, when they were first translated from Welsh by Charlotte Guest (1812–1895), daughter of an English earl and wife of a Welsh industrialist.<sup>1</sup> Naturally, there have been different approaches to these classic stories of wonders and love, remarkable for their strangeness and splendor. There is romantic idealism with earlier commentators, casting its spell until quite lately; more rigorous interpretations by twentieth-century writers like Kenneth Jackson (1909–1991) of Edinburgh University, who had expert knowledge of the Celtic languages and modern popular tradition; and more recent debates on power and gender, which gain special interest if (as argued below) the stories are the work of a woman author. As regards the first, some commentators have followed the nineteenth-century critic Matthew Arnold in finding tantalizing hints of Celtic paganism and mythology. The leader here was William John Gruffydd (1881–1954) of the University of Wales, Cardiff.<sup>2</sup> He

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Breeze, "Some Critics of the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*," *Constructing Nations, Reconstructing Myth: Essays in Honour of T. A. Shippey*, ed. Andrew Wawn (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 155–66.

<sup>2</sup> William John Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy: An Inquiry into the Origins and Development of the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi with the Text and a Translation* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1928).

swallowed Arnold's view that the stories are the reassembled debris, not fully understood by their author, of lost Celtic pagan myths, which might yet be recovered in their ancient glory by analysis of the text. He maintained this conception throughout his career, for it appears (with slight concessions to critics vocal even during his lifetime) in a final study published shortly before his death.<sup>3</sup> Gruffydd unfortunately founded a school; and a school is always a bad thing, as A. E. Housman observed.<sup>4</sup> Bewildering speculation on the unknown sources of the *Four Branches* thus appears in collected essays by his student, Roger Sherman Loomis of Columbia University.<sup>5</sup> Their last stand may be found in the writings of the late Proinsias Mac Cana of Dublin.<sup>6</sup>

Others, however, had come to suspect or realize that the quest for old mythologies led nowhere. The Chadwicks pointed out early on that the hero Manawydan (of the third branch) and Lleu (of the fourth), whose names are associated with the Irish god Mannanán and Gaulish god Lugus, nevertheless have little or nothing in common with them.<sup>7</sup> Kenneth Jackson likewise refused to be enticed into Celtic mists. He used his first-hand knowledge of Irish and Gaelic storytelling in the West of Ireland, Nova Scotia, and the Scottish Highlands to demolish many of Gruffydd's suppositions on Celtic traditions.<sup>8</sup>

Welsh scholars also followed wiser councils. Alfred Owen Hughes Jarman of Cardiff (1911–1998), in a dispassionate survey of scholarship on the subject, observed that delving for pagan mythologies in the *Four Branches* had ceased to be fashionable.<sup>9</sup> He has been echoed by Brynley Roberts, moving on from a profitless and often self-deceiving search for mythologies to consideration of the stories as they are.<sup>10</sup> He has made further advances on that path, rejecting (for example) flimsy attempts to divide the four tales amongst two or more authors. He stresses that they have the "hand and voice" of a single author. He also notes how unusual they are in devoting attention to, and showing knowledge of, more than one part of Wales. There is nothing else like that in other medieval Welsh prose, where

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<sup>3</sup> W. J. Gruffydd, *Rhiannon: An Inquiry into the Origins of the First and Third Branches of the Mabinogi* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1953).

<sup>4</sup> David Butterfield, "Housman's Public Use of Reproof," *The Housman Society Journal* 36 (2010): 158–70.

<sup>5</sup> R. S. Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1956).

<sup>6</sup> Proinsias Mac Cana, *Writers of Wales: The Mabinogi* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977).

<sup>7</sup> H. M. Chadwick and Nora Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature: The Ancient Literatures of Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), 226.

<sup>8</sup> K. H. Jackson, *The International Popular Tale and Early Welsh Tradition* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1961).

<sup>9</sup> A. O. H. Jarman, "Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi," *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol*, ed. Geraint Bowen (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1974), 83–142.

<sup>10</sup> Brynley F. Roberts, *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature* (Lewiston, Queenston, and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1992), 95–113.



Gwynedd, Powys (east-central Wales), Gwent (in the south-east), or the like monopolize the affections and loyalties of one author or another.<sup>11</sup> It would be pleasant to think that such careful reasoning from the text has marked the coming of the dawn in *Mabinogi* studies. But it has not. Here one may quote Housman again. In editing the poet Lucan, he remarked that the art of understanding him “makes no steady and continuous progress, and relapse accompanies advance.”<sup>12</sup>

What holds for Lucan holds for recent work on the *Four Branches* from Harvard University, Aberystwyth, or Oxford. Some of this is merely ephemeral.<sup>13</sup> But some of it is perverse, as in pressing the claims of Clynnog Fawr in Gwynedd for the provenance of the text, and a cleric of the ancient religious community there as its author. This suffers from the disadvantages (a) that Clynnog is never mentioned in the stories, and (b) there is not a shred of evidence to attribute them to a cleric.<sup>14</sup> Three new books, widely differing in their conclusions on the text, have now appeared.<sup>15</sup> Besides them are other studies choosing between different kinds of error. One merely ignores what has taken place in *Mabinogi* Studies.<sup>16</sup> Another is in denial.<sup>17</sup> The present generation and future ones will, therefore, have a splendid opportunity of judging which of the works mentioned above show evidence of cogent thought and consecutive reasoning, and which do not.

Let us turn from commentary on the tales to the four tales themselves. For all the talk of mythology, we hear nothing of gods in heaven, but much of fighting men on earth. We also hear (which we do not expect) of how warfare is resolved by diplomacy and political negotiation. The author of the stories thought (in Churchill's expression) that jaw-jaw is better than war-war. In addition, they are set in real Welsh geography; the society shown in them, although nominally of an

<sup>11</sup> B. F. Roberts, “Where Were the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* Written?,” *The Individual in Celtic Literatures*, ed. Joseph F. Nagy (Dublin: Four Courts, 2001), 61–75.

<sup>12</sup> *M. Annaei Lucani Belli Civilis Libri Decem*, ed. A. E. Housman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1926), vi.

<sup>13</sup> Catherine McKenna, “Learning Lordship: The Education of Manawydan,” *Ildánach Ildírech: A Festschrift for Proinsias Mac Cana*, ed. John Carey, J. T. Koch, and P.-Y. Lambert (Andover: Celtic Studies Publications, 1999), 101–20.

<sup>14</sup> Patrick Sims-Williams, “Clas Beuno and the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*,” *150 Jahre “Mabinogion”: Deutsch-Walisische Kulturbeziehungen*, ed. Bernhard Maier and Stefan Zimmer (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2001), 111–27.

<sup>15</sup> Andrew Breeze, *The Origins of the “Four Branches of the Mabinogi”* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2009); Nikolai Tolstoy, *The Oldest British Prose Literature* (Lewiston, Queenston, and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2009); Patrick Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>16</sup> Thomas Charles-Edwards, “The Date of *Culhwch ac Olwen*,” *Bile ós Chrannaibh: A Festschrift for William Gillies*, ed. Wilson McLeod, Abigail Burnyeat, D. U. Stiùbhart, T. O. Clancy, and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh (Ceann Drochaid: Clann Tuirc, 2010), 45–56.

<sup>17</sup> Anon., “Gwenllian ferch Gruffudd ap Cynan,” *The Welsh Academy Encyclopaedia of Wales*, ed. John Davies, Nigel Jenkins, Menna Baines, and Peredur Lynch (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), 342–43.

ancient past, is clearly that of early medieval Wales. They hence offer information on the policies and ordering of royal administration in twelfth-century Gwynedd (north-west Wales) and Dyfed (south-west Wales), including war and the resolution of war. The second and fourth branches, respectively the tales of Branwen and of Math, say much on that.<sup>18</sup> Let us look at each in turn, seeing what they tell us on conflict and its resolution, and what that implies as regards provenance and authorship of the narratives.

## II. The Second Branch, the Tale of Branwen

The second branch is the story of Branwen, whose brother Bendigeidfran is ruler of the Isle of the Mighty (= Britain), although the seat of his power is Gwynedd, where most of the action takes place. Matholwch, King of Ireland, comes there with a fleet to seek Branwen's hand. They marry, the bride and groom go to Ireland, and Branwen has a son, but matters turn sour when the Irish people begin murmuring against her, a foreigner in their midst. Branwen is banished to the royal kitchen, where she works as a drudge and where each day the butcher (his hands smeared with blood after cutting up meat) boxes her on the ear. Yet she is resourceful. A starling comes to the end of her kneading-trough, she teaches it language, and sends it with a message for Bendigeidfran in Britain. The bird lands on his shoulder while he is in council at Caernarfon, the letter is taken, read, and he at once prepares an invasion of Ireland. He and his forces cross the sea, he advances on Dublin, and the Irish sue for peace. But all ends in disaster. Ireland is devastated and only Branwen and seven others escape, bearing the head of Bendigeidfran with them to Britain. When Branwen reaches the river Alaw in Gwynedd, she mourns for the sorrow she has brought about.

"Oy a uab Duw," heb hi, "guae ui o'm ganedigaeth. Da a dwy ynys a diffeithwyt o'm achaws i." A dodi ucheneit uawr, a thorri y chalon ar hynny. A gwneuthur bed petruall idi, a'e chladu yno yGlan Alaw.<sup>19</sup>

["Alas, Son of God," said she, "woe is me that ever I was born: two good islands have been laid waste because of me!" And she heaved a great sigh, and with that broke her heart. And a four-sided grave was made for her, and she was buried there on the bank of the Alaw.<sup>20</sup>]

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<sup>18</sup> *The Mabinogion*, trans. Sioned Davies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 22–34 and 47–64.

<sup>19</sup> *Branwen Uerch Lyr*, ed. D. S. Thomson (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1961), 15.

<sup>20</sup> *The Mabinogion*, trans. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones (New York: Dutton, 1949), 38.

The tale closes bleakly, with the population of Ireland reduced to five pregnant women in the wilderness, and Britain in the hands of a usurper who conquered the island while the British were on campaign.

### III. The Fourth Branch, the Tale of Math

When we go on from the second to the fourth branch, we find new actors. Math son of Mathonwy is king of Gwynedd. His nephew is Gilfaethwy, who falls in love with Goewin, a maiden in the service of Math, and seeks to gain her by force and guile. He and his brother Gwydion (a sorcerer) go to the court of Dyfed, where through supernatural powers they obtain the magic swine of Pryderi, prince of Dyfed. When Pryderi finds how his guests have tricked him, he pursues them with an army. The hosts of Gwynedd and Dyfed clash on the southern fringe of Snowdonia, the men of Dyfed are defeated, and Pryderi is killed in single combat with Gwydion.

E gwyr hynny a neilltuwyt, ac a dechreuwyd gwisaw amdanunt, ac ymlad a wnaethant. Ac o nerth grym ac angerd, a hut a lledrith, Guydyon a oruu, a Phryderi a las, ac y Maen Tyuyawc, uch y Uelen Ryd, y cladwyt, ac yno y may y ued.<sup>21</sup>

[Those men were set apart and the equipping of them begun, and they fought. And by dint of strength and valor and by magic and enchantment Gwydion conquered, and Pryderi was slain. And at Maen Tyriawg, above Y Felenrhyd, was he buried, and his grave is there.<sup>22</sup>]

Math, in control of the situation, returns to his court, hears from Goewin's own lips how she has been raped by his nephew Gilfaethwy, and punishes those responsible in a novel way, by transforming them into animals. He marries Goewin. The last part of the narrative tells how Math makes provision for Llew (son of Goewin's would-be successor), who governs south Gwynedd with justice and order. The tale closes when Llew, who has undergone some interesting experiences, including betrayal by his wife, attempted murder by her lover, and transformation into an eagle, follows Math as ruler of Gwynedd and governs it prosperously.

These are the outlines of narratives which combine lucidity in their prose style with complexity in their plots, especially in the fourth branch. Let us now look at details of each story, and bring out what is singular in their representation of war and the ending of war.

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<sup>21</sup> *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, ed. Ifor Williams (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1930), 73.

<sup>22</sup> *The Mabinogion*, trans. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones, 60 (see note 20).

#### IV. How the Tales Represent War and Diplomacy

One might say paradoxically that, as regards fighting, the author of these stories knew a great deal and almost nothing. As a political matter, war has towering importance. But the author is almost completely silent on individual combat, swords, shields, spears, knives, arrows, and all the paraphernalia necessary to battle and sudden death. There are no descriptions of weapons or accounts of how they are used. No weapon is given a name. We are never told anything of their history. Even the poisoned spear with which Lleu is nearly killed by his wife's lover is a mere prop. There is hence a striking contrast between fighting in the *Four Branches*, and fighting as dwelt on by, for example, Homer, Anglo-Saxon and Old French heroic poets, Layamon, or Malory. The implication must be that the author had no direct experience of combat, and was not interested in this age-old male pursuit. For readers whose interest in weaponry and bloodshed is of the faintest, this adds to the narrative charm.

#### V. Conflict in the Tale of Branwen

In bold contrast to that are the politics and organization of war, and the diplomacy by which war is avoided. Both are seen and understood with an expert eye. Here, for example, is what happens in the second branch after grave insult is done to King Matholwch when he is in Wales and has married Branwen. Her quarrelsome brother Efnysien sees the king's horses and hears that his sister has wed without his knowledge. He shows his wrath in a singular manner, going to the horses and cutting their lips to the teeth, their ears down to their heads, their tails to their backs, and, where he could get a grip on the eyelids, slicing them to the bone, so that the horses are good for nothing.

Matholwch learns of the insult and prepares an immediate return home. Bendigeidfran hears that he is leaving without permission. He sends messengers, and we are given the discourse between them and the Irish king. They explain that the insult was not done with the approval of Bendigeidfran or any of his council, and that the disgrace is worse for him than for the Irish party. Matholwch admits that that may be so, but the insult remains. The messengers return. Bendigeidfran states that Matholwch's going away angry does no good to him, Bendigeidfran, and he will not allow it. Here we may note an interesting touch of political realism. The Irish cannot leave if the British (who outnumber them) do not allow it. Bendigeidfran sends further messengers who offer compensation: a sound horse for each one maimed, a silver rod as long as Matholwch is tall, and a plate of gold as broad as his face, together with the explanation that the crime was committed by Bendigeidfran's half-brother on his mother's side, whom he cannot easily kill

or destroy. He invites Matholwch to parley, and Matholwch takes council. They decided that, were they to refuse the offer, they would be more likely to get further shame than further compensation. (Again, the note of realism and awareness of one's best interests is striking.) A deal is struck; nevertheless, even as the two kings feast together, Bendigeidfran notices that Matholwch is listless. The compensation has not been enough. So he offers him something more, a cauldron of rebirth. A dead warrior thrown into it will come out the next day as good as ever, except that he will be unable to speak. On receipt of so remarkable and useful a gift, Matholwch cheers up. And their conversation on the history of the cauldron provides us with further material on social violence and civil unrest.

Bendigeidfran obtained it from an Irish giant called Llasar. He and his wife were known to Matholwch. He had met them in Ireland and maintained them for a year without incident. But the people came to resent them. Matholwch explains why. Within sixteen months they were causing people to hate and loathe them throughout the land, where they were insulting, harassing, and tormenting lords and ladies. His people rose against him, asking him to get rid of them, and giving him a choice between his kingdom or those people.

Various things are implicit here. Ireland is a place where trouble is to be expected. The author sees it, not as an isle of saints and scholars, but of violence and political unrest. The Irish king is portrayed as weak. A truculent nobility threatens to depose him if he can offer no solution to the oppression that they suffer from these oversized and overmighty subjects. (In the first branch, Pwyll of Dyfed is also menaced by the magnates of his realm, because his wife Rhiannon has had no child after three years of marriage, but by careful choice of words he manages to buy time from them.) One notices as well that the only people who count politically in these tales are those of royal or noble blood, but that the kings and princes often suffer hostility from their magnates. Trouble comes not from rightful monarchs, but from their magnates. The author not only shared the views of a ruling class, as is common in medieval and other literature, but also apparently belonged to that class at its very highest level, which is less common.

Matholwch's weakness is implicit when he then states that he left it to the council of his country to decide what should be done about them. In this respect he differs from Bendigeidfran, who regularly takes council, but obviously bears a natural authority. The giants would not leave freely, and could not be forced to go, because they were able to fight. But the Council of Ireland thinks up a secret weapon: a chamber of iron into which the giants are lured, and which, with them trapped inside, is then heated by a team of smiths with charcoal and bellows until it is white-hot. Within this iron house, the family of giants takes counsel in their crisis, consultation and meetings of councils being a constant feature of these stories. The father decides to charge the wall with his shoulder and, with his wife,

is able to break through it and escape, even though the rest of the family, overcome by the heat, perishes in a chamber of death.

Llasar comes to Britain, gives Bendigeidfran the cauldron, and there settles peacefully with his people. With the cauldron, horses, gold, silver, and Branwen his new wife, Matholwch and his party sail home from near Caernarfon, on good terms with their hosts. As for the cauldron, this is to have a dramatic function in the battle of Irish and British near the end of the tale. When the Irish use it to restore life to slain warriors, Efnysien enters it secretly and destroys it by breaking it apart, even though the effort of doing that costs him his life.

The two stories of the horses and the giants show contrasting ways of dealing with violence. As regards the maiming of Matholwch's horses, an ugly situation is righted peacefully by an appropriate combination of gifts and negotiation. The Irish realize that leaving in high dudgeon does them no good; they are offered favourable terms; and Bendigeidfran is in a position to prevent their departure. The crisis brought about by the Irish giants is solved by altogether more drastic and sinister means, which nevertheless are effective. The politics of Gwynedd is presented in positive terms through these stories, where Bendigeidfran is firmly in control. Ireland is seen in negative terms, with a weak king and a turbulent, untrustworthy aristocracy.

So, despite the unpleasantness brought about by Efnysien, the first part of the tale ends with excellent relations between Britain and Ireland, and a cheering scene of the Irish departure from Gwynedd in thirteen ships. But, in the second year of her marriage, there is a murmuring against Branwen. Matholwch's foster-brothers and those closest to him taunt him for the insult that he received in Wales. Hence the oppression of Branwen, and the consequent British invasion. While the incident of the horses shows Bendigeidfran as a conciliator, the offence done to his sister shows him as a man of action. What is required now is force, not gifts, or more precisely the ability to negotiate from a position of strength:

A phan darllewyd y llythyr, doluryaw a wnaeth o glybot y poen oed ar Uranwen, a dechreu o'r lle hwnnw peri anuon kennadeu y dygyuoryaw yr ynys honn y gyt. Ac yna y peris ef dyuot llwyr wys pedeir degwlat a seithugeint hyt attaw, ac e hun cwynaw wrth hynny, bot y poen a oed ar y chwaer. Ac yna kymryt kynghor. Sef kynghor a gahat, kyrchu Iwerdon, ac adaw seithwyr y dywyssogyon yma, a Chradawc uab Bran y benhaf, ac eu seith marchawc.<sup>23</sup>

[And when the letter was read he [Bendigeidfran] grieved to hear of the affliction that was upon Branwen. And there and then he began to have messengers dispatched, to muster the whole of this Island. Then then he had come to him the full levy of sevenscore districts and fourteen, and he complained to them in person that the

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<sup>23</sup> *Branwen Uerch Lyr*, 9 (see note 19).

affliction there was should be on his sister. And then they took counsel. The counsel that was determined on was to set out for Ireland, and leave seven men as overlords here, and Cradawg son of Brân as their chief, and their seven knights.<sup>24</sup>]

Bendigeidfran (who bears a curious resemblance to Gruffudd ap Cynan, king of Gwynedd in the earlier twelfth century) is a practical, decisive man. He raises troops from his whole realm, where the figure of 154 districts is close to that of the 156 commots or regions into which medieval Wales was divided. The figure suggests that whoever wrote the tales had precise knowledge of Welsh politics and government. Bendigeidfran describes the crisis to those assembled. Like a good general, he realizes that his officers and men will be better soldiers if they know what they are fighting for. He also takes counsel. Whether or not he is obliged constitutionally to gain consent from his advisers, he knows it would be unwise to go against their recommendations. He observes norms of consultation, like a good medieval ruler. Yet the author of the tales is not so interested in those advisers as to give us their names. Bendigeidfran is the dominant figure. Once he has authority for action, he shows prudence in leaving seven men behind him to act as stewards for his territories while he is overseas. Again, the author's practical interest in the procedures of government is remarkable, adding to the narrative's sense of conviction in ways reminiscent of the fictions of Sir Thomas More and Jonathan Swift (writers who, like the Welsh author, possessed much political experience).

After the making of war, the making of peace. Here again is a wealth of circumstantial detail, pointing to an author with expert knowledge of governance and diplomatic negotiation. When Bendigeidfran invades Ireland, the Irish sue for peace without meeting him in battle. His army by the Liffey is enough to show his power. A lesser writer would have described full-scale battle between British and Irish, with a crushing defeat of the latter, but our author is more subtle and less violent. Many armies have occupied foreign territory and achieved their aims without discharging a shot, and this nearly occurs here. Once Bendigeidfran and his forces have crossed the Liffey, the Irish realize that all is lost, and emissaries come from their king Matholwch, Bendigeidfran's brother-in-law.

Matholwch's messengers approached him, and greeted him, and addressed him on behalf of Matholwch his kinsman, who, they said, wished nothing but good to come Bendigeidfran's way. They tell him that Matholwch was giving the kingship of Ireland to Gwern, his nephew, his sister's son, and would invest him in his presence, to make up for the injustice and injury done to Branwen. They also ask him to make provision for Matholwch wherever he liked, either there or in the Isle of the Mighty [= Britain]. Bendigeidfran replies with courtesy but firmly, saying

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<sup>24</sup> *The Mabinogion*, trans. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones, 32–3 (see note 20).

that he expects a better answer. The Irish take counsel, and decide to make a house where Matholwch will place his kingdom at the disposal of Bendigeidfran and do homage to him.

Such details of diplomatic negotiation have the ring of truth. Since the author must have had knowledge of international conflict-resolution at the highest level, what is said deserves minute attention. It underlines the author's realism and skill in narration, and informs us on power-dealing in twelfth-century Wales and Ireland.

Let us go back to the Irish envoys. They are civil, assuring Bendigeidfran that Matholwch wishes nothing but good to him. But they are suing for peace. Bendigeidfran's nephew is to be invested as king of Ireland in his uncle's presence. Matholwch is to be dealt with as Bendigeidfran desires, either in Ireland or Britain. Now, such terms as these are extraordinary. They are beyond the dreams of any invader of Ireland through the centuries. Naturally, they flatter the patriotism of the story's Welsh author and Welsh readers. Yet we remain in contact with reality. Bendigeidfran's reply had hinted as his expecting himself to be king of Ireland (the classic gambit of initially claiming more than one expects?), and refers to taking advice. His further comment shows that, now his army has crossed the Liffey, he knows that he is in a position of strength.

"O hyn hyt ban del amgen, ny cheffwch y genhyf i attep." "Ie," heb wynteu, "yr atteb goreu a gaffom ninheu. attat ti y down ac ef, ac aro ditheu yn kennadwri ninheu." "Arhoaf," heb ef, "o dowch yn ehegyr."<sup>25</sup>

[“From now on until different terms come, no answer will you get from me.” “Why,” they replied, “the best answer we receive, we will bring it thee, and do thou await our message.” “I will,” said he, “if you come quickly.”<sup>26</sup>]

The excellence of this dialogue deserves the highest praise. On the one hand we may note the blandness and smoothness of the Irish emissaries; on the other, the somewhat menacing authority of Bendigeidfran, who will not tolerate the tactics of delay, yet does not resort to mere threats. The author's skill in characterization and creating dialogue is of the first order.

The Irish think again, and decide to build the house for Bendigeidfran, where Matholwch will place the kingship of Ireland at his disposal and pay him homage. So the terms are better. This time, Matholwch will not give the kingship of Ireland to his son Gwern. He instead places it in the hands of Bendigeidfran, to do with as he wills. At the same time, Matholwch does not merely place himself for the British king to make provision of, but promises to do him homage. Matholwch will thereby become Bendigeidfran's vassal. Although the precision and realism of this

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<sup>25</sup> *Branwen Uerch Lyr*, 11–12 (see note 19).

<sup>26</sup> *The Mabinogion*, trans. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones, 35 (see note 20).



are remarkable enough, what comes next is still more extraordinary. Bendigeidfran takes advice and decides to accept, and we are told that this was all done on Branwen's advice, because she feared that the country would be laid waste. For all his strength of character, the British king makes decisions advisedly. Again and again in these tales we hear how rulers take counsel. They are not dictators; the welfare of their realms is a constant concern, and they know that they would be foolish to ignore the opinion of their magnates. However, the detail that Branwen took part in the negotiations deserves special consideration, because it is so strange. The author wished to stress that a woman had a part in international power-bargaining, yet, even now, the implications of what the author was here so careful to mention have not been fully understood. One notices, too, that Branwen helped peace to come between British and Irish by means of compromise, that prosaic virtue.

All begins well when the British come to the house prepared for Bendigeidfran, but matters end in catastrophe, in part through the treachery of the Irish, who have concealed an armed warrior in a leather bag on each of the house's hundred pillars. Despite Branwen's attempts to restore harmony, the tale finishes in disaster for both Britain and Ireland. Even when the few British survivors arrive home with Bendigeidfran's head, they find that their island has been lost thanks to an enemy's secret weapon.

Ac ar hynny, kerdet a wnaeth y seithwyr parth a Hardlech, a'r penn ganthunt. Val y bydant y kerdet, llyma gyweithyd yn kyuaruot ac wynt, o wyr a gwraged. "A oes gennwch chwi chwedleu?" heb y Manawydan. "Nac oes", heb wynt, "onyt goresgyn o Gaswallawn uab Beli Ynys y Kedyrn, a'y uot yn urenhin coronawc yn Llundain." "Pa daruu," hen wynteu, "y Gradawc uab Bran, a'r seithwyr a edewit y gyt ac ef yn yr ynys honn?" "Dyuot Caswallawn am eu penn, a llad y chwegwyr, a thorri ohonaw ynteu Gradawc y galon o aniuget, am welet y cledyf yn llad y wyr, ac na wydat pwy a'e lladei. Caswallawn a daroed idaw wiscaw llen hut amdanaw, ac ny welei neb ef yn llad y gwyr, namyn y cledyf . . ."<sup>27</sup>

[And thereupon the seven men made their way towards Harddlech [Harlech, on the Gwynedd coast], and the head with them. As they journeyed, lo, there met them a troop of men and women. "Have you tidings?" said Manawydan [Bendigeidfran's brother]. "We have not," said they, "save that Caswallawn son of Beli has conquered the Island of the Mighty and is a crowned king in London." "What has befallen Cradawg son of Brân," they asked, "and the seven men who were left with him in this Island?" "Caswallawn fell upon them and slew the six men; and Cradawg broke his heart with consternation at sight of the sword slaying his men, and he not knowing

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<sup>27</sup> *Branwen Uerch Lyr*, 15–16 (see note 19).

who slew them. Caswallawn had appalled him in a magic mantle, and no one could see him slay the men, but only the sword."<sup>28</sup>]

This second branch is hence a Welsh tragedy, the only one of the four to end in pessimism. Yet the author later relieves this gloom. The third branch, the story of Manawydan, begins with provision made for him by Pryderi, who had managed to escape the bloodbath perpetrated by Caswallawn. Manawydan will rule over the seven cantref of Dyfed, and will marry Pryderi's widowed mother, Rhiannon. As regards Caswallawn, Pryderi comes to terms. He goes to pay homage to Caswallawn in Oxford, where he receives a great welcome and is thanked for paying homage.

There are two implications here. First is the whole historical question of the Loss of Britain, one of incalculable importance, with enduring consequences for Welsh and English self-perception to this day. All Welsh historiography, including Gildas in the sixth century, *Historia Brittonum* in the ninth, the *Four Branches* in the twelfth, and native historians from the sixteenth to the twenty-first centuries, is bound up with the conception that Britain was once united under the rule of the Britons, a unity destroyed by the invasions of the Saxons, who robbed the British of their rightful domains. Age-old Welsh feelings of insecurity and national neurosis were exacerbated by the coming of the Normans. Their vigorous incursions into Wales add point to the story of Caswallawn. In the 1120s or so, when the tales were composed, the Norman Conquest of England was a recent and disturbing memory. The Conqueror's own son, Henry I, kept a tight grip on Wales. Hence the negative impression in these stories of news from London and its region.

The second point concerns the political realism of Pryderi's rendering homage to Caswallawn, mentioned at the beginning of the third branch. Caswallawn is a usurper. He has no color of right to the crown of London. When Bendigeidfran was in Ireland to seek justice for his sister, Caswallawn seized his opportunity and stabbed the British in the back. Yet the author has the wisdom to make the best of a bad situation. Wales remains in possession of legitimate rulers. Pryderi goes from Dyfed to Oxford, becomes Caswallawn's vassal, and thereby receives recognition and protection from him. Once again, the political wisdom of the author, surely born of experience, deserves note.

The reference to Oxford, incidentally, helps us to date these stories, since the town had little importance in the decades after the Norman Conquest. Domesday Book shows that in 1086 much of it was derelict, and it regained importance only in the 1120s. It was then that Henry I, who bears a resemblance to Caswallawn, began issuing charters from Oxford, where he built Beaumont Palace. It was located between the later Worcester College and Ashmolean Museum; it was at

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<sup>28</sup> *The Mabinogion*, trans. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones, 38 (see note 20).

Beaumont Palace in 1157 that Richard the Lionheart was born, as a modern inscription tells passers-by. This interesting allusion to Oxford implies that the stories were composed later than about 1120 (before which Oxford lacked political prestige), while their total lack of reference to King Arthur and his men points to a date before about 1136, when Geoffrey of Monmouth published *Historia Regum Britanniae*, pushing Arthurian epic onto the European stage, but also having immediate effect on writing back in Wales. So the story of Branwen and opening of that of Manawydan offer much material on the tragedy of war, and the difficult negotiations that are war's inevitable consequence, whether to achieve success or mitigate failure.

## VI. Conflict in the Tale of Math

The last of the four narratives, the story of Math, describes another armed conflict, this time between Gwynedd and Dyfed. Again, the sensitivity and tact of the author come out with the worst of all wars, a civil one, as we shall see from the text. Gwydion and Gilfaethwy provoke the conflict by going in disguise to the court of Pryderi in Dyfed, where they use sorcery to trick him out of magic pigs that he possesses (their meat tasting better than beef). When Pryderi discovers his loss, he and his men march northward after the rustlers, but Math comes against him with an army. The author describes military operations thus. When Gwydion and Gilfaethwy reach Gwynedd with the swine of Pryderi, they find a stir at the court of Math. Levies are coming together, trumpets are sounding. They hear that Pryderi is mustering the twenty-one cantrefs or hundreds of Dyfed. They go on to where Math is with the main part of his army. When they arrive, the men are about to take counsel on where they will await Pryderi and the forces of Dyfed. They take position in the strongest part of Gwynedd in Arfon, on the west fringe of Snowdonia. Pryderi attacks them there, there is a great massacre on each side, the men of Dyfed are forced to retreat to Nant Call (six miles south of Caernarfon), and there is further immeasurable slaughter. Then they flee south to Dôl Benmaen, rallying and attempting to make peace, with Pryderi giving Gwrgi Gwastra and twenty-three sons of noblemen as hostages.

They travel south again to Y Traeth Mawr, but when they reach Y Felenrhyd the infantry cannot be restrained from shooting at one another. Pryderi sends messengers requesting that both armies be called off, and that the matter be left to him and Gwydion son of Dôn, since Gwydion had brought about the war. The decision to resolve matters through single combat is accepted by Math, and Gwydion (as mentioned above) by his strength and magic is able to kill Pryderi. The authorial comments that follow are, once again, extraordinary. We hear that the men of Dyfed set off for their land lamenting bitterly, and it was no wonder,

because they had lost their lord, many of their best men, their horses, and most of their weapons. The men of Gwynedd returned home elated and rejoicing. Gwydion asks Math whether they should not release to the men of Dyfed their nobleman, the one they gave as hostage for peace, adding that they should not imprison him. Math gives orders that he should be set free. The young man, and the hostages who were with him, were thus released to follow after the men of Dyfed.

The passage deserves scrutiny for what it says and what it does not say, where we may draw attention to four points. First is the singular regard paid to both sides. The men of Dyfed, who have been robbed by guests to whom they gave hospitality, are no cowards and fight bravely, as the author of the text makes clear. Second, the battles are yet passed over in a perfunctory way, without any mention of conspicuous acts of valor, or accounts of fighting blow by blow. The contrast with authors from Homer to Malory and beyond is made plain by the duel of Gwydion and Pryderi, which is over in three lines, even through victory in the war depends on it. Third is the way that matters are presented to us as if from the general's tent, not from the ranks. Counsel is taken there; peace terms are agreed on. Matters are ruined, not by the high command, but by the infantry when their discipline breaks down and they begin skirmishing. Fourth is the remarkable consideration paid in the aftermath of war to the enemy, the men of Dyfed. Even though their cause was just, they were defeated, and we hear of their sorrow, their prince and many of their best men having died in vain. The author mentions not only the grief of the vanquished but also the magnanimity of the victors. They were not obliged to release the hostages, but chose to do so, and let them return home.

To give an account of events from an enemy's point of view is a rare feature even in the best writers, given the natural prejudices of most human beings on such matters. Yet one can offer a reason for the tenderness shown to the defeated at this point, which is nothing to do with simple humanity. There is a contrast between the fourth branch's attitudes to Dyfed and the second branch's attitudes to Ireland. The men of Dyfed are dealt with generously, but not so the Irish, who are made out as greedy, cowardly (they fear to offer Bendigeidfran battle, when Pryderi fights bravely), and treacherous; even so, Branwen laments the destruction of Ireland, when she had tried to make peace between Briton and Irishman.

## VII. Conclusion

Analysis of the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* points to a clear and, one might think, unshakeable implication. The stories have one author only. That author had direct knowledge of royal politics in Gwynedd and Dyfed alike, both in war and in

peace. A concern for good government is a constant theme of the narratives; the attempts to resolve or avoid conflict by Bendigeidfran and Math (to say nothing of Branwen's quiet diplomacy) are presented for admiration. While the tale of Branwen ends in universal destruction, that of Math ends with Lleu as the prosperous and successful ruler of Gwynedd. (A repeated theme in the tales, not discussed here, is the love and regard that good rulers receive from those whom they govern.) Like a Shakespearean tragedy, despite terrible things that have happened, the *Four Branches* end with the state's continuance and stability. What kind of author might have presented medieval Wales in this way?

Some readers will know that the author of this essay offers a sensational answer here, proposing that the author of the tales was not merely a member of the royal house of Gwynedd and then, by marriage, of the house of Dyfed, but was a woman. She can be identified as Princess Gwenllïan (d. 1136), daughter of Gruffudd ap Cynan (d. 1137), king of Gwynedd, and wife of Gruffydd ap Rhys (d. 1137), prince of Dyfed. Although this hypothesis has been put forward by him over many years, it has been resisted, as is often the case with new ideas.

Analysis of war and peace in the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* thus possesses more than usual interest. It aids understanding of a perennial and tragic aspect of the human condition, but has another function as well. These classic stories have much to say about family life, marriage, child-rearing, fosterage, justice, landscape, the relation of Wales to neighboring countries, food, jewels and other luxuries, the ceremonies of court life, decision-making, horses, hunting, agriculture, adultery, the manufacture of shoes, shields, and saddles, story-telling, giants as a political problem, provision for young lords, magic, rape, the unity of British sovereignty, law and the punishment of offenders, how to get rid of an unsuitable boyfriend, the dominance by Dyfed of all South Wales, the technology of iron-smelting, the organization of a fleet, and so on. Analysis of these and other matters points to composition by an author who was a great literary artist. All will agree on that. Yet it adds to our appreciation of that art if we can be sure that the author of the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* was a king's daughter, a wife, mother, and patriot, who paid for her love of country with her blood, when she was executed by the Norman invader in January 1136, at Kidwelly in South Wales.



## Chapter 5

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### Origins of Medieval Public Opinion in the Peace of God Movement

#### Peace and Public Opinion

Peace! Peace! Peace! So went, reported Radolphus Glaber, the cries of the masses attending numerous peace councils in the Midi (southern France) in the late tenth century.<sup>1</sup> “Splendid is the name of peace!” declared a conciliar decree issued by bishops at a synod held at Poitiers near the year 1000.<sup>2</sup> These bishops stated that they were meeting “for the restoration of peace and justice,” as did those assembled for similar meetings that trace their origins at least back to a precursor gathering convened by the Bishop of Le Puy in 975. Councils followed regularly at Charroux in 989, again at both Le Puy and Limoges in 994, and at least a half dozen other places from Narbonne to Burgundy in the decade from 989 to 1000. Then there was apparently a hiatus until the 1020s when a revival of regularly-held councils occurred and lasted through the 1030s, before tapering off, though

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<sup>1</sup> Rodolphus Glaber, *Historiarum*, IV.v.16, quoted in Tomaz Mastnak, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 35. For discussion of the development of the Peace of God and the Truce of God up to the time of the first crusade, see Mastnak, ch. 1. Mastnak relies heavily in his overview on the research reported in the collection of essays edited by Thomas Head and Richard Landes, *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response Around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1992). Henceforth, “Head and Landes.”

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Head, “The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine (970–1005),” *Speculum* 74.3 (1999): 656–86; here 656.

continuing through the 1040s and 1050s.<sup>3</sup> Following the more celebrated council at Arles in 1041, the peace movement went through some significant changes, moving from the more regional councils to ones proclaiming a broader peace and attempting to end fighting altogether, at least on the weekends, and guaranteeing it by oaths taken to enforce pacts of the so-called Truce of God.

Although these events are known through limited documentation, the literary sources are consistent about the fact that the councils were attended by a great variety of individuals who came in large numbers to participate. Thus, Loren MacKinney, as early as 1930, suggested that these Peace councils mark the beginnings of medieval public opinion.<sup>4</sup> Later, R.I. Moore (1979) remarked that the eleventh century marked the “appearance of the crowd on the stage of public events;”<sup>5</sup> while numerous others who have focused a renewed interest of study on the peace movement in the past twenty years have not really contested these opinions.<sup>6</sup> Regarding the potential connection between these mass assemblies and their influence on contemporary events, Sophia Menache noted in her 1990 study of medieval communication: “The success of mass movements such as the Peace of God . . . ultimately depended on the Church’s capability to achieve massive identification among large social strata with the goals it propagated.”<sup>7</sup> However, medieval scholars have not really explored these assertions to the point of more clearly defining the existence and operation of “public opinion” in the Middle Ages, or tried to test or understand the claims of MacKinney that the Peace Movement should be seen as the origins of medieval public opinion. The purpose of this essay is to suggest some implications of pursuing that line of inquiry.

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<sup>3</sup> For a list of the councils, see Hans-Werner Goetz, “Protection of the Church, Defense of the Law and Reform: On the Purposes and Character of the Peace of God, 989–1038,” *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, 259–79; here 262 (see note 1). Henceforth, “Goetz.”

<sup>4</sup> Loren MacKinney, “The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh-Century Peace Movement,” *Speculum* 5 (1930): 181–206.

<sup>5</sup> R. I. Moore, paper read at the Royal Historical Society, 11 May 1979, and published as “Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 30 (1980): 49–69; here 49.

<sup>6</sup> Head and Landes, “Introduction,” 18 (see note 1), citing Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*. Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte, 6 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1935), 66, who referred to the Peace of God as the first mass religious movement. Similarly, see Bernhard Töpfer, *Volk und Kirche zur Zeit der beginnenden Gottesfriedensbewegung in Frankreich*. Neue Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 1 (Berlin: Rütten & Löning, 1957), 105. See also the broader historiographical overview provided by Frederick S. Paxton, “History, Historians, and the Peace of God,” *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, 21–40 (see note 1).

<sup>7</sup> Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei: Communication in the Middle Ages*. Communication and Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 3.



## Issues of Public Opinion

Numerous issues must be addressed in order to pursue this study, with perhaps the most difficult being the notion of what we mean by public opinion in the medieval context. In this article, even the definition of what we mean by “peace” must be confronted, at least briefly.<sup>8</sup> Thus, there are some assumptions that guide this particular essay. First, public opinion is a complex matter. Even in the modern social science and historical literature, there is no generally accepted definition of the term. Public opinion is dynamic, and it is not simply the so-called scientific notion of what one can measure in a poll of whatever sort. Public opinion exists whether we measure it or not. It is not uniform; it is volatile, and there are numerous publics, not one mass public, to consider in discussing the operations of public opinion.<sup>9</sup> Given these issues, how might one read the Middle Ages without meaningless anachronism?

One of the more recent theories of the operation and role of public opinion offers a hypothesis that may allow us to transcend that barrier of time and culture. In the 1970s Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann began to develop a concept of public opinion she called the “spiral of silence,” which has been singled out by Splichal as the “first integrated model of opinion formation in the empirical sociological tradition.”<sup>10</sup> In the era of medieval Church reform, religious enthusiasm, and heresy, Noelle-Neumann’s model offers potential insight in its assumptions that “society threatens deviant individuals with isolation,” which leads individuals to fear isolation, to be more willing to listen to other opinions, and constantly to “assess the climate of opinion.”<sup>11</sup> In this model the fear of isolation leads many into silence and the mass opinion to gain momentum. As individuals interact with their

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<sup>8</sup> This essay is a prelude to a broader book-length study of medieval public opinion in which the issues of definition will be explored at greater length.

<sup>9</sup> There has been a resurgence of studies on public opinion in the past twenty years or so. One of the most recent overviews is found in Jacob and Michal Shamir, *The Anatomy of Public Opinion* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000). See also Slavko Splichal, *Public Opinion: Developments and Controversies in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Rowan & Littlefield, 1999). Joseph Strayer, “The Historian’s Concept of Public Opinion,” *Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences*, ed. Mirra Komarovsky (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1957), 263, long ago pointed out the difficulties for historians seeking to study the phenomenon of public opinion in the Middle Ages, which he likened to the task of “astronomers trying to prove the existence of a new heavenly body which they have not yet seen.”

<sup>10</sup> Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion—Our Social Skin* (1980; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Splichal, *Public Opinion*, 169 (see note 9).

<sup>11</sup> Summary of some of Noelle-Neumann’s views by Splichal, *Public Opinion*, 171 (see note 9). Though Splichal (169–219) is quite critical of Noelle-Neumann as applied in modern public opinion research, the general concept deserves consideration in the medieval context.

environment and assess the climate of opinion, they decide whether to join the masses or remain silent.

In Noelle-Neumann's assessment, "there are indeed good historical reasons to adopt a concept of public opinion which is based on fear of isolation and its result, the spiral of silence." For, as she continues, "societies [may] differ in the degree to which its[sic] members fear isolation, but all societies contain pressures to conform, the fear of isolation makes those pressures effective."<sup>12</sup> This model therefore becomes one wherein public opinion operates as a means of social control. So the research question here might be: did medieval public opinion come into being as a result of the need for late-tenth century society in the Midi to control violence and institute peace? Did peace motivate the first public opinion agenda in the Middle Ages?

If our understanding of the medieval public may not be as far removed from the modern as we might think, how do we understand its operations? For example, what constituted a "public" in the Middle Ages? We begin with the term *populus*, a term which was used often in the tenth and eleventh century in such a way as to infer the general masses. In Jerome and Augustine, the authorities most often cited, the term had denoted a group whose dominant characteristic was "unity," a unity which derived either from law or "some sort of political responsibility."<sup>13</sup> Based on the study by Jeremy Adams, Augustine's concept was derived from Scipio who saw the *populus* most simply as a "gathering united in fellowship by a common sense of right and a community of interest."<sup>14</sup> Augustine regarded the *populus* as cutting across and embracing social classes as well, and he almost never used the term to refer to just the "common people."<sup>15</sup>

In the eleventh century there appeared at least two views of the role of the *populus*, both of which involved the common people acting as part of a broad-based community. Ademar of Chabannes, for example, saw the need for human beings to work together "in concert with the saints and other supernatural patrons to solve their problems."<sup>16</sup> In contrast, Andrew of Fleury, envisioned a lesser role for the *populus*. It was permissible for the people to discuss their common problems, but it was not for the purpose of common action; rather it was their

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<sup>12</sup> Noelle-Neumann, *Spiral of Silence*, 88 (see note 10).

<sup>13</sup> Jeremy du Quesnay Adams, *The Populus of Augustine and Jerome: a Study in the Patristic Sense of Community* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1971), 70. Cf. the discussion of *populus* by Janet Nelson in her review of *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (see note 1), *Speculum* 69 (1994): 163–69.

<sup>14</sup> Adams, *The Populus*, 17 (see note 13).

<sup>15</sup> Adams, *The Populus*, 28 (see note 13).

<sup>16</sup> Thomas Head, "The Judgment of God: Andrew of Fleury's Account of the Peace League of Bourges," *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (see note 1), 235. Henceforth Head, "Judgment,"

"prayerful dedication of themselves to the saints which offered a solution."<sup>17</sup> Andrew and Ademar also disagreed over the need to connect natural disasters, such as the outbreak of the pestilence which ruined the crops in southern France in the early eleventh century, to the rationale for the renewal of the peace movement in that period. In each case, however, the notion of community and collective action of some sort appears more and more important in conjunction with the developing peace movement.<sup>18</sup> To cite Thomas Head's apt summary:

As organized by the bishops of Aquitaine and Burgundy, the Peace at times allowed the *populus*—that ill-defined collection of members of the lower orders who had no independent voice in public affairs—to become involved in political events as a collective actor.<sup>19</sup>

To compare with the modern again, I use the example found in the work of Tamotsu Shibutani, who wrote that a "public" consists of "people who regard themselves as likely to be involved in the consequences of an event and are sufficiently concerned to interest themselves in the possibility of control."<sup>20</sup> He further noted that the reactions of those who make up a public are not uniform and that they are highly sensitive to "news." Thus, public opinion may be seen as the expression or perceived understanding of and potential expression of the views of publics that are involved in the consequences of events. It is, as Jacob and Michal Shamir argued as late as 2000, "a social system that mediates and accommodates social integration and social change." And, moreover, it serves as a bridge between the value system of a society and public events.<sup>21</sup> In the medieval world wherein the peace movement arose, there appears to be sufficient evidence to suggest that a public consciousness was arising wherein a hypothesis using this model of public opinion might be tested.

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<sup>17</sup> Head, "Judgment," 234–35 (see note 16).

<sup>18</sup> Regarding the rise of communal and/or collective action, see Head, *ibid.*, 235–37, who draws attention to the work of Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

<sup>19</sup> Head, "Judgment," 236 (see note 16). Head relies to a great extent here on the earlier work by R.I. Moore (see note 5), esp. the discussion of the *populus* by Moore, 49–53 of his article, which focuses more on the revolutionary potential of the *populus* and the developing fear of such. Janet Nelson, in her review of Head and Landes (see note 12), cites the weakness of the articles in *The Peace of God* as not developing more analysis of the degree to which the "lower classes" played an active role in the social and religious changes of the era. For example, there is only one passing reference to Marxist historiography in the volume (28–29), even though as Nelson points out (166–67), "much of the book assumes a direct causal relationship between deteriorating social conditions for the peasantry and religious change."

<sup>20</sup> Tamotsu Shibutani, *Improvvised News: A Sociological Study of Rumor. An Advanced Study in Sociology* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966), 38.

<sup>21</sup> Shamir, *The Anatomy of Public Opinion* (see note 9), 2–3.

## Toward a Definition of Peace

Peace is also difficult to define, much less to achieve, in either the modern or the medieval worlds. In today's world, we often think of achieving peace in the context of a hope for "world peace," or the prevention of large-scale warfare, especially nuclear warfare. In the medieval world, the notion was also broadly conceived, and, if one follows Augustine, even thought not possible in the earthly city.<sup>22</sup> More specifically, Augustine conceived of peace as the "right order" of things, i.e., each part of the Order (man, God) having a place and keeping in that place, with man obeying God, and citizens ruling and obeying according to their station in this life.<sup>23</sup> Amy Remensnyder points out that Augustine was being called upon more and more in the context of an "anxiety about purity . . . [that] shimmered in the sources relating to peace," and used to describe what historians now prefer to call the eleventh century "ecclesiastical reform rather than as Gregorian reform."<sup>24</sup> Many medieval churchmen thought of peace as the "ultimate Christian life," perhaps attainable in the earthly city of Augustine, but more likely not until unity was achieved with the Savior in the heavenly city. Peasants likely

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<sup>22</sup> Thomas Renna, "The Idea of Peace in the West," *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980): 143–67, describes three dimensions of the peace tradition, namely the monastic, the ecclesiastical, and the imperial. In the period under consideration in this essay, Renna sees Cluny being called upon to make peace in the monastic tradition where the goal was to achieve the "eternal silence of God" in the midst of the early tenth century feudal warfare, and this led many to monastic vocations. In contrast, he sees the late tenth and early eleventh century as being dominated by the ecclesiastical tradition where the bishops are viewed as responding to lay attempts to seize church property. Here, he relies upon the earlier work of H. E. J. Cowdrey, "The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century," *Past and Present* 46 (1970): 42–67; Hartmut Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 20 (Stuttgart: A Hiersemann, 1964); Lubomir Gleiman, "Some Remarks on the Origin of the Treuga Dei," *Université de Montréal : Publications de l'institut d'études médiévales* 16 (1961), 117–37; and Roger Bonnaud-Delamare, "Fondement des institutions de paix au XIe siècle," *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, préf. de Charles-Edmond Perrin (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951), 19–26.

<sup>23</sup> For Augustine on peace, see *The City of God*, translation by Henry Bettenson, ed. David Knowles Pelican Classics Series (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, UK: Penguin Books, 1972), Book 19, ch. 13; esp. 19.11–12, 14, 15, and 27, in which Augustine emphasizes the unlikelihood of achieving peace on this earth, and that ultimate peace is the achievement of the Supreme Good. See also Amy G. Remensnyder, "Pollution, Purity, and Peace: An Aspect of Social Reform between the Late Tenth Century and 1076," *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, 280–307 (see note 16). Remensnyder prefers not to capitalize the term "peace" or use terms like "the Peace of God" as do most who discuss the activities of the so-called Peace councils of the late tenth and eleventh centuries prior to the calling of the first crusade in 1076. She does not even refer to these events as a "movement," because "such usages create falsely an image of one unified, coherent movement (280 n. 2)." For this essay, I will not engage in this debate.

<sup>24</sup> Remensnyder, "Pollution. . . and Peace," 282–83 (see note 23). Also see, Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, "The Enemies of the Peace: Reflections on a Vocabulary, 500–1100," *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, 58–79 (see note 16).

thought of it as the absence of violence on their person or the safety to work in the fields. In the case of the medieval Peace councils, however, peace had a narrower connotation. Modern scholars have interpreted it sometimes more specifically as “containment of the feud,”<sup>25</sup> or more romantically in the nineteenth century as saving medieval Europe from the “*barbarie feodale* (feudal barbarians).”<sup>26</sup> Focused reading by the scholars of the past two decades, though seemingly more in agreement that the Peace movement was much more important than believed in the late nineteenth century, still has not reached a consensus on the origins and significance of the Peace movement. These more recent scholars most completely agree on the details of various councils, but not on who was really responsible for the movement. Was it the secular lords, the ecclesiastical lords, or the “public” at large –even God, as some of the conveners thought who received “heavenly letters” instructing them to convene the councils?<sup>27</sup>

To clarify for the purposes of this essay, we are not talking about “peace” as meaning the achievement of the absence or prevention of large-scale warfare among nations, though we can speak of a proclamation against “all violence among Christians” at the Council of Clermont in 1095 when Urban II proclaimed a general Truce of God so as to encourage widespread participation in the First Crusade. In this essay, I will try to illustrate what “peace” meant in the context of the Peace movement and something about the role of Peace councils in the development of medieval public opinion.<sup>28</sup>

### First Stage of the Peace Movement (975–1020s)

Current research indicates that the earliest Peace councils up to about the year 1000 were focused on achieving the protection of Church property, Church personnel, and the poor from unfair plundering. Prior to the late tenth century, especially in the height of the Carolingian era, the peacekeeping function had been in the hands of the king. However, it is still debatable whether the Church was actually taking on a new role in the peace-keeping function or simply resuming an

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<sup>25</sup> August Kluckhohn, *Geschichte des Gottesfriedens* (Leipzig: Hahn, 1857; rpt. Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1966), 37–42. For further discussion of this historiography, see Paxton, “History, Historians,” 21–25 (see note 6).

<sup>26</sup> Ernest Semichon, *La paix et la trêve de Dieu: Histoire des premiers développements du tiers-état par l'Église et les associations* (Paris: Didier, 1857), 356–55. For further discussion, see Paxton, “History, Historians,” 22–25.

<sup>27</sup> See Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, 35 (see note 1), for the initiators of peace councils receiving letters from the heavens.

<sup>28</sup> For a list of Peace of God councils from 989–1038, see Goetz, 259–79; here 262 (see note 3).

earlier assigned role, as the research of Karl-Ferdinand Werner would suggest.<sup>29</sup> Although the degree of post-Carolingian chaos has also been more recently debated,<sup>30</sup> the role of Cluny has not. As the role of the knight became more clearly defined as armed warrior, issues of violence became more contested by churchmen seeking more independence from any form of lay authority. In the early stages this fight was led by Cluny. Abbot Odo, for example, framed the issue as one of resistance to those in power who "lay waste the belongings of the church or the poor." Apparently, for Odo at least, the "poor" were any of those deemed powerless in that society.<sup>31</sup>

In fact, Rosenwein and Little argued as early as 1974 that "Cluniac spirituality may be seen as an outgrowth of this attitude against the violence of the lay knight."<sup>32</sup> Thus, to view the peace councils more squarely in the context of feudal custom seems correct as we see the church trying to be "free" to exercise its rights over church property independent of unjust interference from the secular realm. In particular the canons of these early peace councils address the issue of pillage of Church property. Custom recognized the right of the soldiers to requisition goods and food from the fields as the king collected armies, or as the local lords visited their estates (i.e., hospitality), but the custom maintained that the goods

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<sup>29</sup> Karl-Ferdinand Werner, "Observations sur le rôle des évêques dans le mouvement de la paix au Xe et XIe siècles," *Mediaevalia Christiana: XI–XIII siècles: Hommage à Raymonde Foreville*, ed. Colomoan Étienne Viola (Tournai: Éditions Universitaires, 1989), 155–95, concludes that the exercise of public power was more shared among secular and ecclesiastical lords in the Carolingian era, and that the tradition was subject to renewal in the late tenth and early eleventh century, especially since the distinction among lay and clerical was then not so clear. However, that changed as the contest between rulers and popes evolved, especially during the propaganda campaigns surrounding the Investiture Contest.

<sup>30</sup> Highlights of the debate are captured briefly in Paxton's review of the historiography of the Peace movement, in *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, 38–40. In particular, he points out that Hans-Werner Goetz, "Kirchenschutz, Rechtswahrung und Reform: zu den Zielen und zum Wesen der frühen Gottesfriedensbewegung in Frankreich," *Francia* 2 (1983): 193–239, argues that the peace movement was not a response to chaos, but rather just part of what Duby calls the emergence of the three orders (= "those who fight, those who pray, and those who work"). Thus, for Goetz, the peace movement was an attempt by the new groups to protect their property. For an English version of this article, see *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, (see note 1), 259–79. Cf. Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (first print; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), who saw the peace movement as being linked to the monastic reform movement and the opposition to heresy which led, in Duby's view, to the lines being drawn more sharply among the Three Orders, and especially between the clergy and the laity in medieval society.

<sup>31</sup> Odo, *Collationes*, iii, 34 (Patrologia Latina 133, cols. 616–17; ii 16, col. 563), as cited in Barbara H. Rosenwein and Lester K. Little, "Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities," *Past and Present* 63 (1974): 4–32; here 11, and 11 n. 26.

<sup>32</sup> Odo, cited in Rosenwein and Little, 12 (see note 31).

should come from one's own fields and be paid for; and not from other fields or in amounts beyond the customary allotments, even on one's own estates.

Perhaps the best model of the Peace council as a way of rallying the *populus* is found in the Council of Limoges in 994. Landes has described the council and our sources of knowledge for it in an essay on the role of popular participation in the Peace of God.<sup>33</sup> There are two basic types of sources for our reading of the peace movement and its impact. Charters, chronicles, and other legal documents provide the core of one form, while miracle stories provide the other, and the latter are the ones that provide the greatest affirmation of the presence of crowds at these events.

In his analysis, Landes indicates that the Council of Limoges of 994 came as the result of a natural disaster, a plague that had attacked the Limousin, and prompted the calling of a council, which was to be preceded by a three-day fast and the gathering of relics from the region to be brought to Limoges for the council. This process emulated the ecclesiastical tradition of dealing with natural disasters by holding public ceremonies that would seek to appease God. Yet, and this is significant for our understanding of the growing role of public opinion, the use of relics as a means to draw large crowds was in the words of Landes, a "relatively new technique—pioneered in the Auvergne and mobilized on such a grand scale at Charroux five years earlier—of drawing massive crowds of inspired people to Peace councils by gathering relics in open fields."<sup>34</sup>

Landes sees connection and overlapping influence among three of earliest councils—Charroux(989), Limoges (994), and Poitiers (ca. 1000)—in that the canons of subsequent councils seem to draw directly from those of Charroux in calling for "peace and justice." The evidence for this is drawn from the works of both Andrew of Fleury and Ademar of Chabannes.<sup>35</sup> The validity of Ademar's account, which has long served as a major source for the Council of Limoges, has been challenged. However, his testimony regarding the presence of large numbers of people at this council has been "largely confirmed by an unusual number of independent hagiographical accounts."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Richard Landes, "Between Aristocracy and Heresy: Popular Participation in the Limousin Peace of God, 994–1033," *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, 184–218. Henceforth, Landes, "Popular Participation."

<sup>34</sup> Landes, "Popular Participation," 187 (see note 33).

<sup>35</sup> Landes, "Popular Participation," 187, esp. nn. 12 and 13 (see note 33).

<sup>36</sup> Landes, "Popular Participation," 186, and 186 nn. 10 and 11 (see note 33). Even charter evidence contributes to this testimony. See the foundation charter from Charroux, which indicates a "multitude" of relics and people at the council. Full citation in Landes, "Popular Participation," 186 n. 11. Landes has dealt at length with the purpose and role of Ademar's various writings, as well as the political climate in which he operated, in his *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

Using this example, and those like it in other early peace councils, the operation of public opinion may be seen as being based on a public whose common interests were identified as “peace” and whose influence is measured in the outcomes of those councils. In most cases, the lay *milites* (soldiers) were taking oaths forswearing to protect the Church, its property, and the poor. Those who broke the peace would have to witness to the influence of that same public, because they would be marked by interdict and excommunication as being excluded from that community. From this we may draw a parallel with Noelle-Neuman’s notion of the role of fear in the “spiral of silence.”

In stage one of the post-Carolingian peace movement, the focus was on protecting the unarmed from the armed *milites*, not on prohibiting all warfare or even warfare among the armed knights themselves.<sup>37</sup> Whereas in Carolingian times, the ecclesiastical lords themselves had often been armed and thus better enforcers of the Peace,<sup>38</sup> the Church’s aggressive reform to prohibit clergy from bearing arms meant they had to shift the military burden onto the laity. For this transition, the Church found aid in the force of public opinion. The councils were called by churchmen to protect churchmen and Church property first and foremost, but the addition to the canons of the references to the “poor” may contribute to our earliest insight regarding the developing role of public opinion. For example, reports indicate that many people, both men and women, attended these councils from all sectors of the social structure. In addition, we learn that the means of enforcing the oaths taken by the lay *milites* was excommunication, a very public act, which placed more pressure on the violators.<sup>39</sup>

By 1025 Peace decrees were common in Auvergne, Burgundy, the Narbonne, and Catalonia, and even northward into Flemish and Norman dioceses, as well as imperial Germany prior to Clermont in 1095.<sup>40</sup> Interestingly, though the words *pax et iustitia* (peace and justice) appear regularly throughout the canons and descriptions of these councils, the phrase *Pax Dei* (Peace of God) only begins to appear rather late in the developing movement, that is, in the year 1033, when the movement was already in stage two and becoming an integral part of the overall church reform first initiated by Cluny.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Rosenwein and Little, 10. See also Georges Duby, “Les Laïcs et la Paix de Dieu,” *I Laici nella società Christiana*: Atti della terza Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 21–27 agosto, 1965, Università cattolica del Sacro cuore, Contributi. Serie 3, Varia: Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Mediovali, 5 (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1968), 448–61; here 453.

<sup>38</sup> See Werner, “Observations,” 170–72 (see note 29).

<sup>39</sup> Regarding the role of excommunication and interdict, see the insightful study by Elisabeth Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

<sup>40</sup> See the useful summary of the spreading of the Peace in Dolorosa Kennelly, “Medieval Towns and the Peace of God,” *Medievalia et Humanistica* 15 (1963): 35–53; here 35.

<sup>41</sup> Landes, “Popular Participation,” 201 (see note 33).



## Stage Two of the Peace Movement (ca. 1020 to ca. 1070)

During the 1020s and 1030s the Peace movement underwent significant changes, from which time there is evidence of about twenty different councils occurring. In this phase the Peace of God became much more penitential in nature, yet it also became more influenced by lay lords with more of a “peace ideology” to the extent that it moved to impose a “universal peace” via the proclamation of the Truce of God. Regarding its expansion and greater inclusiveness, in Aquitaine in 1033 Radolphus Glaber remarked that:

. . . bishops, abbots, and other men devoted to holy religion first began to gather councils of the whole people (*populus*). At these gatherings the bodies of many saints and shrines containing holy relics were assembled . . . it was proclaimed in the farthest corners of Frankland, it was proclaimed in every diocese that councils would be summoned in fixed places by bishops and by the magnates of the whole land for the purpose of reforming both the peace and the institutions of the holy faith.<sup>42</sup>

In 1038, impatient adherents of the movement even took up arms to enforce the Peace, and monastic reformers began to attack heretics as part of the effort to protect monastic property. Moreover, the propaganda in this attack revealed another shift in the attempt to respond to the growing influence of public opinion, namely a growing distrust of the religious enthusiasm of the laity.<sup>43</sup>

Some of the more recent research suggests that the monks sought to use their growing popularity to persuade the *populus* to focus more on the attainment of their own ultimate heavenly peace, rather than to become involved in trying to influence the political structure of this world. Bernhard Töpfer, for example, has considered the question of how the medieval Church was able to “implant its ideology among the masses and secure control over them.”<sup>44</sup> His study focused on the late tenth and early eleventh century, and upon the development of the cults of saints that sprung from the base of religious enthusiasm that also generated support for Church reform, pilgrimage and the Peace of God movement. The veneration of relics was not new; feast days of the patron saints had been celebrated before large crowds as early as the eighth century.<sup>45</sup> In addition,

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<sup>42</sup> Glaber, *Historiarum*, 4.5.14, as quoted and translated by Head and Landes, “Introduction,” 6–7 (see note 1).

<sup>43</sup> Head and Landes, “Introduction,” 7 (see note 1). For an analysis of these developments, see Head, “Judgment,” regarding the taking of arms; and, Guy Lobrichon, “The Chiaroscuro of Heresy: Early Eleventh-Century Aquitaine as Seen from Auxerre,” *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, 80–143 (see note 1).

<sup>44</sup> See Bernhard Töpfer, “The Cult of Relics and Pilgrimage in Burgundy and Aquitaine at the Time of the Monastic Reform,” *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, 41–57 (see note 1).

<sup>45</sup> Töpfer, “Cult of Relics,” 43–45 (see note 44).

according to Töpfer, the popularity of pilgrimage centers with cult relics grew rapidly in the early eleventh century.

To a great extent, he attributes this to the manner in which abbots became aware of ways to publicize their relics in order to attract the masses. Töpfer cites the example of the monastery at Angely whose monks, through the "spread of the news and the good advertising" were able to draw even fellow monks from St. Martial of Limoges, who brought their own relics "accompanied by nobles and *innumerabilis populus* in procession to Angely."<sup>46</sup> Landes has conducted an even more detailed study of the cult of St. Martial and established an even more direct connection of the rapid growth of these cults to the Peace movement and the growth of the power of public opinion.<sup>47</sup> He argues, that before the Peace Council at Limoges in 994, the cult of Martial had been very obscure, that is, confined to the parish or the diocese at best. Using the testimony of Ademar of Chabannes, who wrote an account of the Council in 1028 that turns out to be a major piece of propaganda itself, Landes describes how Limoges was an example of a "sanctified" Peace council, "one in which large crowds, miracles, and great spiritual enthusiasm played a major role."<sup>48</sup> What is more important here, however, is the fact that, as the second stage of the Peace movement proceeded, and the anxiety over control of the *populus* grew, such monks as Ademar helped to shift the attention of the masses away from direct involvement in the Peace movement to the celebration of the saintly cults.

This tells us something about the operation of medieval public opinion. The Peace Council at Limoges in 994 had attracted crowds by displaying relics in the open fields. If one lessens the displays at such councils it lessens the involvement of the lay *populus*. The work of both Landes and Töpfer indicate how, as Töpfer put it:

the display of relics and saints kept and displayed in the abbey churches drew visitors to the monasteries from all levels of society; the reports are unanimous in telling about the lay crowds attending the abbey churches, which grew in number and importance during this period.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Töpfer, "Cult of Relics," 49 (see note 44).

<sup>47</sup> Landes, "Popular Participation," 184–218 (see note 33).

<sup>48</sup> Landes, "Popular Participation," 187 (see note 33), cites the work of Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede* (see note 22), 30, and indicates that two accounts from the Martial scriptorium predate Ademar and verify his accounts of the Council at Limoges. Landes, "Popular Participation," 186–87 nn. 10 and 11 (see note 33), also notes that many hagiographic accounts, a foundation charter from Charroux, a miracle story, and another account of relics being brought to Limoges to "strengthen the peace" all testify to the presence of large crowds of people in attendance at these events.

<sup>49</sup> Töpfer, "Cult of Relics," 49 (see note 44).

Moreover, these lessons regarding the nature of public opinion were not lost on the bishops. As the monks sought to move public support toward the relic cults at the monasteries, the bishops worked to expand the influence of their regional conciliar actions so as to include all of France in the attempt to curb the lay violence.

As early as 1027 at the council of Elne, there were attempts to prevent all fighting whatsoever on days of religious significance. According to the canons of this council, "the aforesaid bishops (along with the clergy and faithful people) established that no one dwelling in the aforesaid county and diocese would assail any enemy of his from the ninth hour on Saturday to the first hour on Monday, so that everyone would render the honor owed to the Lord's day."<sup>50</sup> Very soon thereafter, this one-day prohibition was expanded to include the entire weekend, from dusk on Wednesday to dawn on Monday, as witness the actions of the synod of Arles in 1041. This produced a greater tendency to use the Truce of God as an attempt to curb violence for longer periods of time and including all persons in its purview. Nonetheless, these various attempts to attract public attention had their downside.

In the early to mid-eleventh century, there was a growing awareness of the dangers of the power of the masses, which led lay and ecclesiastical leaders to withdraw the use of relics at these Peace councils in order to lessen the attraction for crowds.<sup>51</sup> Apparently the anxiety of the leadership was well-founded, for religious enthusiasm of the masses during that period led a significant number of people to see heretical alternatives to the hierarchical leadership as better models for them to follow in pursuit of the ultimate peace.<sup>52</sup> Here the unintended consequences of public opinion, namely the difficulties of "social control," were fully exposed.

In another direction, the peace movement tried to expand the attack on the bearing of arms, first by prohibiting any clergy from bearing arms, and then by exerting the pressure of imposing a more severe penance for killing by the lay *milites*. At Narbonne in 1054, a canon declared that "No Christian should kill another Christian, since whoever kills a Christian doubtless sheds the blood of Christ."<sup>53</sup> This notion of peace fit well within the Augustinian definition as the "ordered concord between men,"<sup>54</sup> and social ordering became more of a theme in the peace councils. This attempt at limiting all violence, at least against fellow

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<sup>50</sup> Acts of the Council of Elne-Toulouges (1027). Mansi 19: 483–84, trans. Philippe Buc, in *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, Appendix A, Document 7, p. 334.

<sup>51</sup> Head and Landes, "Introduction," 7 (see note 1).

<sup>52</sup> See Lobrichon, "The Chiaroscuro of Heresy," 180–203 (see note 43); Landes, "Popular Participation," 207–13 (see note 33).

<sup>53</sup> Mansi, 19: 827, as quoted in Head and Landes, "Introduction," 8 (see note 1).

<sup>54</sup> Remensnyder, "Pollution . . . and Peace," 282 (see note 23).

Christians, made the work of the papacy somewhat easier as it turned its attention to the problem of the Holy Land in the last quarter of the eleventh century.

To summarize briefly, in this second stage of the Peace movement, public opinion shifted from participation and support for actions of the Peace councils, to support for relic cults at monasteries, and then turned more attention to heresy as a popular alternative in the quest for peace. However, despite this dynamic of a volatile public opinion, there remained constant both the desire for some form of peace and the involvement of large numbers of the populace.

### Stage Three of the Peace Movement

In the third stage of the peace movement, Pope Urban II completed the logical extension of ecclesiastical control by ordering the maintenance of the Truce of God throughout all of Christendom in order that peace might be maintained to allow fighting men to go to the Holy Land on the First Crusade. This theme was repeated in all of the ecumenical councils (i.e., Lateran IV, Lyons I and II) during the thirteenth century as well. The councils of 1215 and 1241 also continued the ban on tournaments, another form of killing fellow Christians, and Lyons II in 1274 extended the peace at home to a six-year period.<sup>55</sup>

However, it is clear that the attention of the Church had shifted from cries for peace to cries of war. The attempt to draw support for the crusades was another way in which the role of medieval public opinion can be demonstrated, but that discussion must be left for another time.

### Peace Councils and Public Opinion

This brief overview of the research on the peace councils of the tenth and eleventh centuries suggests a number of implications regarding the operation of public opinion in the Middle Ages. The cry of peace was persistent and long-standing: It might even be argued that "peace and justice" was the very first "bumper sticker," on the carts of the poor as well as in the courts of the lords, both ecclesiastical and lay. As simplistic as this may sound, it is perhaps a really fitting metaphor that

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<sup>55</sup> Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy: the Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre, 1244–1291* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 29. Also, see, Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, 143 (see note 1), for discussion of the degree to which peace was seen as a necessary precondition for a crusade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with one decree (*Ad liberandam*) of Innocent III at Lateran IV (1215) stating that princes of the Christian people must keep peace with one another.

links medieval public opinion to our understanding of the operations of the modern.

First, the observations herein are not totally new, but they do extend beyond the assertion of MacKinney and others that date from almost one hundred years ago now. Most of the earlier research regarding the Peace councils accepts the testimony of medieval contemporaries regarding the presence of the masses, and asserts some rather vague connection to political action, but does not tease out a particular interplay between the masses and the use of public opinion to exercise a role in social control. Nor does that research suggest any nuances in the nature of our understanding of medieval publics. Rather it still seems more caught up in the notion that we must measure only the opinion of the masses *per se*, and look for its influence in very concrete terms. Let us compare, via some specific examples, these approaches at work.

Landes most recently headlines one of the sections of his article on the role of the *populus* in the Peace of God as the "Power of Public Opinion."<sup>56</sup> He argues in the tradition of earlier scholars that "large public arenas" were created at the Peace councils and served to exercise influence by offering approval for the actions of those lords who took the oaths to enforce the Peace, and in contrast, offered disapproval of those who continued to break the peace or would not take the oaths. In so doing, however, he undermines the potential impact of public opinion, by rightfully noting the lack of evidence to dutifully quantify the size and extent of the numbers of people involved in those "masses" or "crowds." He also points out that the crowds did not last long, and that the number of councils held after Charroux or Limoges were few and far between, at least until the 1020s and 30s. Furthermore, Landes notes that by the 1040s the commoners were being "pushed to the margins," that is, barred from participation in the councils.<sup>57</sup> Until recently, public opinion researchers might simply dismiss this set of examples as an insufficient measure of public opinion because of modern measurement techniques that exclude "unscientific samples." Landes himself does not take up the issue of definition or measurement *per se*.

However, it is my contention that the Peace movement did not only establish the forums for staging the developing role of medieval publics, but it helped to establish more clearly who the publics were, i.e., who had interests to define and defend, namely the more clear distinction was made between lay and ecclesiastical, between poor and rich, and between *milites* and the unarmed, in particular. Moreover, the peace movement helped to define more clearly the means by which public opinion was known, the media through which it was communicated, and the ways in which it was made effective. The Church first

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<sup>56</sup> Landes, "Popular Participation," 194 (see note 33).

<sup>57</sup> Landes, "Popular Participation," 194–95 (see note 33).

controlled the public opinion network, developed its symbols, its rhetoric, and its goals. Yet, by the mid-eleventh century the lay propagandists also understood the value of its manipulation and challenged the leadership role of the Church in the control of public opinion.<sup>58</sup> Into the thirteenth century, the Church continued to hold the high ground, at least in relationship to the issue of “peace,” but the secular world began to resume its role as “keeper of the peace” and eventually recaptured that role as the prestige of the Church declined in the eyes of the medieval public.

Another aspect of the growing medieval understanding of the nature and use of public opinion is revealed when we consider that councils and synods were not needed to keep the peace. Other means, chiefly negotiation and mediation, had been well entrenched in the customary ways of settling conflict, feuds, or disputes over property.<sup>59</sup> So why choose a more public council? The answer may lie in the notion of the synods and councils as extensions of local/regional communities. “Communities” are a place to verify and/or influence the climate of opinion. The past value of the tribal communities in solving disputes with greater recognition of the need for participation by the members of the community was not lost, and the breakdown of central authority or at least its greater loss of presence in the tenth century had created a vacuum. Synods and councils provided *fora* in which to build a sense of the “public good.” Masses of people, apparently feeling this need, attended these peace synods and councils. As the galvanizing of issues—peace and justice to overcome rampant unjust pillage—gradually pervaded a large spectrum of the social network; a climate of opinion and a set of values was emerging.

Also, these public spaces provided a means for control of the symbolism needed to connect the Church to the issue of peace. In using saints’ relics to attract the masses, the Church recognized the religious enthusiasm building around issues of sin and the penance for sin. At Limoges in 994, for example, saints’ relics were displayed in open fields—a very public spectacle. Regardless of whether the events occurred exactly as portrayed, one of the saints, Martial, whose relics were allegedly displayed, did become a very popular saint over the next several decades. His legend grew to the point where he was put forth by Ademar as one of the apostles of Christ himself. In the diocese of Limoges, semiannual synods

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<sup>58</sup> Obviously, peace councils were not the only battleground for public opinion in the eleventh century. The Investiture Contest also provided training and opportunities for propagandists who sought to master better techniques for influencing and controlling the social order. See, for example, I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: the Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978); and R.I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1977).

<sup>59</sup> Goetz, “Protection of the Church,” 259–79 (see note 3), provides an overview and reference to appropriate literature regarding the study of feuds.

were conducted with sermons about peace, the reception of violators of the peace as penitents, accompanied by the singing of the appropriate psalms.<sup>60</sup> All of these and many more such events provide evidence of the role of public opinion in a modern sense: the collective expression of large numbers of people acting on behalf of a belief, a value, in an attempt to influence a political outcome.

Another key to understanding public opinion is to examine the use of symbols in highly-charged emotional situations. This period exhibits plenty of evidence of a high degree of religious enthusiasm, much of which was tied to the year 1000 and the expectations surrounding the second coming of Christ. Thus the use of relics by the clergy to mobilize popular enthusiasm in its fight to protect its property and persons against the lay aristocracy demonstrated a sophisticated insight, as did the use of the tool of excommunication against the violators of the peace. Landes suggests that Ademar's description of the clergy and the *populus* as allies in a work of "social justice" seems very modern.<sup>61</sup>

A further example of the growing medieval sophistication in the understanding of the value of controlling the *populus* is the notion that the boundary between private and public was being crossed in the Peace movement. Feuds were private matters, but pillage was a public one. The Church seized the public ground by declaring, if only by not so subtle inference, that what was good for the Church, namely protection of Church property and Church persons, was also good for the public (in this case Christian society). However, it was not only the poor who were defined as "protected" by the canons of the early peace councils, but also the *milites*, who were being given the opportunity to improve their chances for salvation by doing penance and taking oaths to lessen the unintended consequences of their fighting. The canons of these councils in effect defined the class distinctions as well as those of virtue—"good guys" and "bad guys"—in society, in a very public way, while allowing their "equality" as Christians and thus as accepted members in the broadest possible public, the *populus Christianus*. The Church thereby tapped into the then current climate of opinion.

This realization by the Church was an important first step for peacekeeping. By seizing the high ground, the Church apparently recognized that Church freedom from secular control, as well as Church self-reform in accordance with the Cluniac ideals, could be promulgated as "peace and justice," bringing the *populus* together under Church leadership in a common quest: to insure the ultimate peace in

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<sup>60</sup> Landes, "Popular Participation," 189–90 (see note 33). Also, for use of similar practices in the North, see Geoffrey Koziol, "Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace in Eleventh-Century Flanders," *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, 239–258 (see note 1).

<sup>61</sup> Landes, "Popular Participation," 196–97 (see note 33). Also, see Töpfer, *Volk und Kirche* (see note 6), 90–99; and, Edward B. Krehbiel, *The Interdict: Its History and Its Operation* (Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 1909; rpt. Merrick, NY: Richwood, 1977).

heaven. As Landes has pointed out, the rhetoric of the Peace was significant, but his ascribing it to the role of public opinion is not quite so clear. The rhetoric of Peace was based on the medieval reading of Exodus, the prophets, and the Apocalypse. It was thus messianic in tone, which unfortunately became dangerous as the *populus* began to see the eminence of the second coming as perhaps an indication that the role of the Church hierarchy was not so critical. Thus, mass thinking responded to the rhetoric by gravitating more toward the *vita apostolica* and less toward a new social order under tighter control of the clergy. Here the medieval world learned something about the fickle nature of public opinion.

One other possible lesson learned emerges in the process of oath-taking at the Peace councils. Oaths had to be acceptable to both the oath-giver and the oath-taker, while still recognizing the need for popular support in order to better enforce the oaths through the process of excommunication.<sup>62</sup> Witness the proposed Peace oath by Bishop Warin of Beauvais to King Robert the Pious in 1023: "I will not invade a church for any reason. Nor will I invade the storehouses of the premises of a church . . . unless to catch [someone who has committed] a homicide, or a wrongdoer who broke the peace."<sup>63</sup> Here the balance of justice and peace is laid bare and must be accepted by both parties. So the role of public opinion, its impact, can be measured by the examination of such evidence. We do not need a poll here. We can examine the words and the behavior to detect the climate of opinion. Within the charged atmosphere of the Peace councils, the relic cults, and the millenarian rhetoric, one can also see a common ground to unite several components of public opinion in the medieval context. Laity and clergy, rich and poor, were all interested in the peace of eternal salvation. As the atmosphere became more charged with those ideals of the *vita apostolica*, however, the role of public opinion as an agent of social control would have become diminished.

In sum, the peace movement had an influence on several aspects of medieval public opinion. It created and solidified the importance of public gatherings in public space, such as councils and synods, which resulted in public proclamations spread widely by means of highly visible processes, like interdict and excommunication, to enforce the conciliar decrees and maneuver public opinion to support those responsible for enforcing the penalties imposed upon peace-breakers. We have also noted how the movement developed a powerful symbolism through other more benign rituals, such as displaying relics to attract crowds, and later, the "kiss of peace" in signing peace pacts.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> See the discussion in Landes, "Popular Participation," 202–03 (see note 33).

<sup>63</sup> Vatican. Reg. lat. 566, f. 38v, trans. by Landes, *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, 332.

<sup>64</sup> See Timothy Reuter, in a collection of his articles, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), esp. 182–83, who focuses on the dispute



In 994, the climate of opinion was recorded by Ademar of Chabannes as one of “popular religious enthusiasm,”<sup>65</sup> as the assembly at Limoges attracted “massive crowds.” The atmosphere reflected religious revival in response to a natural disaster, namely an outbreak of the “fire plague,” i.e., ergotism, or rotting of the wheat crops. The council itself was preceded by a three-day fast to which was drawn “vast throngs of people” who were attracted by relics displayed in open fields.<sup>66</sup> As Richard Landes’ detailed analysis of this event reveals, there is a pattern for these councils which include public and communal acts of penitence: “a mass miracle producing euphoria among those gathered,” and, an “alliance of peace and justice sworn by all lords present.”<sup>67</sup> I would add here that one of the keys to the successful manipulation of public opinion lay in capturing the emotional mood of the public. Limoges seemed to do just that.

In Ademar’s description of the events, Landes argues that we may see millenarian rhetoric, that is, in the terms of Isaiah’s “messianic vision of peace.” Peace, in effect has become a vision of the next world, and peace for all of the masses assembled, a fulfillment of the true Christian life as *l’an mil* (the year 1000) approached. Even after the specific year passed, the hopes and expectations did not. However, as Landes points out, this 994 event was not followed by additional councils in Limoges for some time thereafter. So was this the exaggerated creation of a myth by a single individual (Ademar), and how can we see it as an expression of public opinion?

Part of the answer lies in the rapid development of the cult of Saint Martial mentioned above. After 994 pilgrims flocked to see his relics throughout the ensuing decades. Moreover, though there may not have been many synods immediately thereafter, there was an extended effort according to Landes to promote the Peace oaths taken at Limoges in 994. Moreover, the fact that there were no recorded councils in the period from ca. 1000 to the 1020s perhaps indicates a positive impact of public opinion, namely that the public shame of excommunication was in fact upholding the terms of the peace oaths. Thus, additional Peace councils were not needed for a while. We can place the council of Limoges into a context of popular religious enthusiasm; in particular it seems related to penitential anxiety, and pilgrimage. All of these are aspects of the creation of public *fora* for the expression of public opinion—i.e., a significantly large-scale climate of opinion in which prevailing values of that society are being both represented and influenced, in this case primarily by the Church as the

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of Becket and Henry II and suggests that by the twelfth century, without the kiss of peace, “no peace agreement between contesting parties could ever be concluded (183).”

<sup>65</sup> For a full discussion, see Landes, “Popular Participation,” 184–218 (see note 33).

<sup>66</sup> Landes, “Popular Participation,” 186–87 (see note 33).

<sup>67</sup> Landes, “Popular Participation,” 189 (see note 33).

opinion leader. Even though the “crowds” may have been “pushed to the margins by the 1040s,”<sup>68</sup> medieval publics per se did not disappear.

In continuation of the development of an ongoing public support for the notion of peace, we earlier noted the spread of synods and councils for peace throughout Western Europe. Geoffrey Koziol’s study of the Peace of God in eleventh century Flanders, for example, indicates that the ideals of the Peace may have been “fairly common at local assemblies in Flanders.”<sup>69</sup> He similarly observes that other regions of France were regularly affirming the Peace, with public damnations of peace-breakers. In Aire-sur-la-Lys, around the time of the preaching of the First Crusade, the burghers there negotiated an agreement to confirm their communal organization and customs with the local count, Robert II. They referred to this as an *amicitia*, with the obligations of the members to aid each other, especially in the activity of peace-making, in this case the control of feuds. To Koziol, this infers the broadening and ongoing influence of the Peace movement.<sup>70</sup>

The question of such influences brings us to the second example, the Council of Clermont in 1095. Koziol affirms that one should not be surprised that Urban’s proclamation of the Truce of God in 1095 received widespread support, especially in France.<sup>71</sup> Hartmut Hoffmann, in his study entitled *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei* (On the Peace of God and Truce of God), has stated that Urban did not “reintroduce the Truce after a long hiatus” as some had suggested, but rather that he simply reaffirmed the longstanding French custom traceable to Carolingian times.<sup>72</sup> It is likely that Urban was well acquainted with the climate of opinion, not only in southern France, but in other regions of Europe as well. Presumably then, he used the language of earlier Peace councils in developing the canons at Clermont. Although the atmosphere was perhaps not as warmly positive in the latter instance, the message was well-received, even perhaps viewed, as reported in some accounts, as “God’s will,” by a public well accustomed to the message of Peace, even if peace itself remained elusive and subject to much local variation.

Equally important to the context of this essay is the need to remember the apparent existence of a longstanding relationship between peace and the *populus* that began in the late tenth century and continued well into the thirteenth. When one tries to measure the impact of public opinion, one could interpret its outcome as a failure, meaning that the elimination of violence among the *milites* or by the *milites* against the person and property of the Church was not accomplished. But this kind of analysis only looks at the more modern connotations of the term

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<sup>68</sup> Landes, “Popular Participation,” 194–97 (see note 33).

<sup>69</sup> Koziol, “Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace,” 256 (see note 60).

<sup>70</sup> Koziol, “Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace,” 257–58 (see note 60).

<sup>71</sup> Koziol, “Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace,” 257 (see note 60).

<sup>72</sup> Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, esp. 195; see also, 146–52, 169–75, 186–89, 195–205, 219 (see note 22).

public opinion in attempting to “measure” the opinion of the masses, and then looks to see if that opinion had any impact on political decisions. However, as indicated above in the discussion of the medieval meaning of the concept of peace, there were several aspects of that meaning, among which the “public” focus was shifting during each phase under consideration. First, there was the more simple “peace,” meaning the absence of violence against a segment of the population and their property. Then, the idea of an apocalyptic peace: a unity with the divine at the second coming. Thirdly, by the time of the crusade, peace was constructed as the necessary outcome of war. In each case, one could argue that the public accomplished its objectives, at least for some period of time. During the first hiatus of peace councils, for example, the absence of evidence to the contrary allows us to argue that there was a period when the violence ceased or was significantly mitigated.

## Conclusion

At this point in tracing the research on the relationship between the Peace of God movement and the development of medieval public opinion, a few tentative conclusions seem warranted. In several ways the medieval *populus* seems to have functioned in ways that fit the Noelle-Neumann model of the functions of public opinion. For example, it was dynamic, it responded best in a highly-charged emotional environment: public opinion responded en masse in an effort to affect a common political outcome, and it was subject to manipulation in fear-laden situations to affect social control. Finally, it was also fickle and vulnerable to the production of unintended consequences. In the case of the peace movement, we also see a rather sophisticated understanding of the nature of public opinion.

We see the deliberate use of mass gatherings in an attempt to influence a political objective, in this case “peace.” We see the use of symbols and rhetoric designed to exploit the emotions of the “publics,” both lay and ecclesiastical, and including male and female members, to accomplish those objectives. We see the use of fear (à la Noelle-Neumann’s concept of the spiral of silence) to enforce the outcomes of those many Peace councils, namely the interdict and excommunication, both of which require an understanding of the psychology of public influence. Finally, we are able to observe from a considerable distance the dynamic of that medieval public opinion, as it shifted its focus and objectives over a period of about a century.

Thomas Bisson has commented on this dynamic as follows: “It has often been suggested that the religious peace was secularized in the twelfth century, yet it may prove instructive to think of pacification as a persistently clerical—and

cultural—influence on the remodeling of justice in the twelfth century.”<sup>73</sup> In the dynamics of the emotionally-charged Peace movement, because of a crisis of values and norms, attempts at peace had to oppose the norms of violence, and as Stephen Jaeger observes, “The norms dominate either in public opinion, or in the mechanisms of enforcement, or both.” In this sense, we can see why the advocates for Peace did not ultimately succeed. Again, in Jaeger’s words, “If the vital interests of a social group [*populus*] depend on or are perceived as depending on enforcement through revenge, then the advocate for peace is asking for trouble.”<sup>74</sup>

In all, the concept of peace had some unique connotations in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Peace first meant protection of Church property and persons, as well as the poor, from unfair pillage. It did not mean the end of all fighting until the 1040s when the attempt was made through the creation of the Truce of God to prevent this problem, at least during prescribed periods of the week and/or the liturgical year. The frequent invocation of terms like *pax et justitia* or *pax Dei*, indicates that perhaps these functioned more as slogans, or as signs of hope, or even of resignation, that peace was not in the hands of men at all. Longstanding customs (e.g., feud and hospitality) readily lent themselves to peace-breaking practices or abuses. By the late eleventh century, if “peace and justice” was only a ready-made slogan in the hands of both secular and ecclesiastical lords, it was likely still a hope in the minds of many. Regardless of whether peace was really attainable or not, the Peace movement had done much to form the essence and initial operations of medieval public opinion.

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<sup>73</sup> *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas Bisson. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), “Conclusion,” 330.

<sup>74</sup> C. Stephen Jaeger, “Courtliness and Social Change,” *Cultures of Power*, ed. Bisson, 287–309; here 304–05 (see note 73).

## Chapter 6

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### “A Compulsory and Burdensome Imposition”: Billeting Troops in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland<sup>1</sup>

In their Declaration of Independence of 1776, American colonists who sought to repudiate their allegiance to George III drew up a long list of grievances, among which was his supposed consent to acts of legislation “for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: for protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states.”<sup>2</sup> The colonists’ complaints regarding the practice of quartering/billeting and its attendant abuses were far from novel and echo grievances articulated by their medieval and early modern forbearers, particularly in Ireland. Quartering or billeting, the practice of lodging troops or servants in the dwellings (and at the expense) of non-combatants, was part of larger military-socio-economic systems that operated in both the Gaelic and Anglo-Irish controlled areas of medieval Ireland and appears to have antecedents in the period before the late twelfth-century English invasion of that island. These complex and often ill-defined systems incorporated ideas of charity, loyalty, taxation, and transactional arrangements and were frequently open to abuse. Kings’ or lords’ claims to the right to billet troops upon any given section of the population often lay in the morally ambiguous margins between legitimate exaction and arbitrary extortion,

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<sup>1</sup> The quotation is taken from a letter by Octavian de Palatio (dated 1495), a native of Florence who was Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland (1479–1513). For a text and translation of this letter, see Fr. Columcille, “Seven Documents from the old Abbey of Mellifont,” *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society* 13.1 (1953): 35–67; here 56 (text) and 58 (translation).

<sup>2</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration:  
[http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration\\_transcript.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html) (last accessed on March 30, 2011).

which Kenneth Nicholls has described as “a borderline area in which elements of compulsion, social pressure, and voluntary hospitality come together.”<sup>3</sup> In this article possible factors in the origins and development of billeting in the period prior to the late-twelfth-century English invasion will be investigated, before focusing upon issues of consent and dissent, firstly as seen in that same period and then in evidence emanating from post-invasion Gaelic and Anglo-Irish territories.

### Billeting in Pre-Invasion Ireland

The early history of billeting in medieval Ireland is shrouded in uncertainty and it is unclear how widespread the practice was (or even what forms it took) during the first millennium. Scattered sources testify to its possible presence, such as an Old Irish legal commentary (dating ca. 700–ca. 900), which states that a client must provide *congbáil* (maintenance) for men his king has assembled for impending armed service,<sup>4</sup> but even the nature of this maintenance is unclear and it is not until the eleventh and twelfth centuries that references to billeting become more common.<sup>5</sup> The reasons for the relative silence from the earlier period may be due partially to loss of earlier source materials or may suggest that Irish society was less militarized (or rather that its military resources were organized along different lines). It has long been suspected (though difficult to trace) that the organization of medieval Irish society may have changed substantially in the immediate post-millennium period and historians of medieval Ireland have noted that by the eleventh- and twelfth-centuries a small handful of strong Irish kings had maneuvered themselves into a position in which they were vying for power on a Ireland-wide scale. The development of a nascent national kingship, to which these men aspired, was facilitated by increased military action; the claimants to the

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<sup>3</sup> Kenneth W. Nicholls, “Gaelic Society and Economy,” *A New History of Ireland 2: Medieval Ireland, 1169–1534*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 397–438; here 426.

<sup>4</sup> Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*. Early Irish Law Series, 3 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1988), 31.

<sup>5</sup> A substantial number of terms exist to denote billeting or related exactions in medieval Ireland. Fortunately, two useful glossaries exist: C. A. Empey and Katharine Simms, “The Ordinances of the White Earl and the Problem of Coign in the Later Middle Ages,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 75C (1975): 161–87; here 183–85 and Katharine Simms, *From Kings to Warlords: the Changing Political Structure of Gaelic Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*. Studies in Celtic History, 7 (Woodbridge and Wolfeboro, NH: Boydell and Brewer, 1987), 170–78. For a further discussion of two of these words, *coinneamh* and *coinne*, see Thomas F. O’Rahilly, “Varia II,” *Celtica* 1 (1950): 328–86; here 370–75. Definitions may also be found in Ernest G. Quin, *Dictionary of the Irish Language Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials: Compact Edition*, orig. ed. by Carl J. S. Marstrander (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1983). This latter resource is now available at <http://www.dil.ie> (last accessed on March 30, 2011).

kingship of Ireland raised large armies, maintained those armies in the field for extended periods and engaged in military campaigns at greater distances from their political and military heartlands than heretofore.

In the early medieval period armies appear to have been drawn from the agricultural population who, often in their capacity as contractually obliged clients, provided their lords/kings with limited military service, during fixed campaigning seasons.<sup>6</sup> In later centuries, however, the increased use of mercenaries (particularly gallowglass)<sup>7</sup> and development of standing armies<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> In early medieval Ireland it appears that fighting was an obligation of status for almost all lay, free individuals in society, not simply the job of professional soldiers: Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, "Irish Warfare before 1100," *A Military History of Ireland*, ed. Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 26–51; here 26.

<sup>7</sup> Although mercenaries were almost certainly employed in earlier centuries, frequent contemporary references to mercenaries and mercenary activity are only recorded in the annals from the late tenth century onwards. A number of annalistic texts will be cited throughout this discussion, which will be cited by siglum, year and entry number where applicable (for example, AI 968.1). The following sigla and editions will be used. ALC: William M. Hennessy, *The Annals of Loch Cé: a Chronicle of Irish Affairs from A.D. 1014 to A.D. 1590*. Rolls Series, 54, 2 volumes (London, Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin: Longman and Co., 1871). AU: Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill, *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131). Part 1 Text and Translation* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1983). AI: Seán Mac Airt, *The Annals of Inisfallen (MS. Rawlinson B. 503)* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1944). AFM: John O'Donovan, *Annala Rioghachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1616*, 7 volumes 2nd ed. (Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Co., 1856). ATig: Whitley Stokes, "Annals of Tigernach," *Revue Celtique* 16 (1895): 374–419; *Revue Celtique* 17 (1896): 6–33, 119–263, and 337–420 and *Revue Celtique* 18 (1897): 9–59, 150–97, and 267–303. Reprinted in two volumes (Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers, 1993). CS: Gearóid Mac Niocaill, *Chronicon Scotorum* <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/G100016/index.html> (edition), <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100016/index.html> (translation) (last accessed on March 27, 2010). ACon: Alexander Martin Freeman, *Annála Connacht: The Annals of Connacht A.D. 1224–1544* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1944). References to mercenaries may be found at AI 968.1, 983.2, and 985.2; CS 1030; ATig 1030 and 1158 (twice); AFM 1154. Katharine Simms has argued that "during the high Middle Ages in Ireland the single most important development in warfare was a constantly increasing reliance on mercenaries, men who made soldiering their sole occupation in life": Katharine Simms, "Gaelic Warfare in the Middle Ages," *A Military History of Ireland*, ed. Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 99–115; here 99. Galloglass (mercenaries from the Hebrides) are first mentioned in the Irish annals in the second half of the thirteenth century, but their "prehistory" may stretch back to a century earlier: Seán Duffy, "The prehistory of the Galloglass," *The World of the Galloglass: Kings, Warlords and Warriors in Ireland and Scotland, 1200–1600*, ed. Seán Duffy (Dublin and Portland: Four Courts Press, 2007), 1–23.

<sup>8</sup> Permanent fighting forces based around the king's household (*lucht tigh, teaghlach*) appear in the sources from the eleventh century onwards: Simms, "Gaelic Warfare in the Middle Ages," 99 (see note 7). In addition, the annals also suggest an increase in the use of fortifications during the eleventh and twelfth centuries (for example, AI 995.6 and 1012.5; AU 1013.11 and 1129.5; ATig 1115, 1124 and 1164; CS 1115) (see note 7). In the twelfth century alone the annals testify to the construction of thirteen fortified structures by Uí Chonchobair kings of Connacht: Marie Therese

required that these new troops had to be catered for; unless they were provided with lands to cultivate themselves they would have to be supported through measures such as billeting them in the homes of individuals or upon churches.

### Increased Military Necessity and the Development of Billeting

It is reasonable to assume that in a society where the majority of the soldiery was drawn from the agricultural population (and in early medieval Ireland great lords were also great farmers), there was little need for organized billeting systems. Such soldiers would have been self sustaining; larger standing armies, however, would have proved more difficult to support. Billeting was probably originally employed in extraordinary circumstances, for example when external troops, such as exiled aristocratic forces in temporary alliance with a given kingdom, needed to be accommodated. A literary example may be seen in the opening of the first recension of the medieval Irish epic *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (The Cattle Raid of Cooley), where the rulers of Connacht, Medb and Ailill, are portrayed spending time gathering a large force to invade Ulaid, including the exiled Ulaid warrior *Cormac Cond Longas mac Conchobair cona thríb cétaib boí for condmiud la Connachta* (Cormac Conn Longas the son of Conchobor, who was billeted with his three hundred men in Connacht).<sup>9</sup> Exceptional circumstances, in which emergency military exactions were necessary, may have provided precedence for further, regular exactions. Along these lines, it may be speculated that the right of *congbáil* for a king's troops (as described in the aforementioned Old Irish legal commentary), which appears to have been originally intended for use in times of dire military necessity, may have developed into a customary due. Indeed the jurists' outlining of specific circumstances in which a king might claim *congbáil* may be indicative of an increase in that practice and resulting anxiety on the part of medieval lawyers who wished to restrict it.

Regular billeting, if it occurred, probably only became necessary when kings needed to find a means to support non-food producing fighters, i.e., professional soldiers. Exiles, mercenaries, or professional soldiers would have required support while not engaged in active service and billeting them upon the general populace may have proved logistically easier than establishing centralized systems for the

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Flanagan, "Irish and Anglo-Norman Warfare in twelfth-century Ireland," *A Military History of Ireland*, ed. Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 52–75; here 61.

<sup>9</sup> Cecile O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge: Recension 1* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1976), 1 (text) and 125 (translation).



provision of accommodation and supplies. Such a practice, however, may not just have been limited to simply supporting professional warriors who were not on active service. It may be hypothesized that billeting may have had an important role to play during the mustering of forces, although admittedly we know little of mustering processes and what follows must needs be speculative.<sup>10</sup> Careful planning would have been required to assemble all troops at a given place and time before beginning an expedition and it is possible that men from outlying areas heading to assembly points would have been billeted while waiting for men from other areas to arrive; this may partially explain the obligation to provide *congbáil*, described above. Billeting, as a means of facilitating impending attacks, appears to have been practiced by Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair (*ob.* 1118), king of Connacht, when he billeted Cenél nEógain and Cenél Conaill forces under Domnall Mac Lochlainn, between two attacks on Munster, in 1088.<sup>11</sup> Likewise, the seventeenth-century Annals of the Four Masters claim that Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn (Domnall's grandson) billeted the army of his Munster client Tairdelbach Ua Briain on his subordinates in Mide, Bréifne, Airgialla, Ulaid, Cenél Conaill and Cenél nEógain. This was presumably an expedient measure due to Tairdelbach's sudden illness, as the latter appears to have recovered later in the year and marched his forces to Munster.<sup>12</sup>

It is most likely that incidents of billeting reported in the annals were noteworthy for being outside the norm, whether in form or extent.<sup>13</sup> Although billeting has generally been seen as an Irish institution which was later employed in the English-controlled areas of Ireland, it is arguable that its "Irishness" has been overstated and not enough consideration has been given to English influence, direct and indirect, on the development and expansion of the institution. The pre-invasion period sources in which we might expect billeting references to occur are surprisingly silent about the topic. A notable example is *Lebor na Cert* (The Book of Rights), a text associated with the late-eleventh-/early-twelfth-century Uí Briain kings of Munster and Ireland, which contains a local and national schema for the reciprocal rights and dues of the kings of Ireland.<sup>14</sup> Although it would be an

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<sup>10</sup> Brief references may be found in the late-eleventh/twelfth-century Munster text *Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh*: James H. Todd, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: the War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or the Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen*. Rolls Series, 48 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867), 104–05. Flanagan, "Irish and Anglo-Norman Warfare," 53 (see note 8).

<sup>11</sup> CS 1088 (see note 7).

<sup>12</sup> AFM 1153 (see note 7).

<sup>13</sup> This is reinforced by the use of terms such as *coinnmheadh éicne* and *trén coinnmheadh* (forcible guesting): Simms, *From Kings to Warlords*, 132 (see note 5).

<sup>14</sup> Myles Dillon, *Lebor na Cert: the Book of Rights*. Irish Texts Society, 46 (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1962).

*argumentum ex silencio* to claim that the absence of billeting in *Lebor na Cert* is evidence for its absence in society, it is certainly puzzling, considering descriptions of billeting are present in other Uí Briain texts, such as *Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh* (The War of the Irish with the Foreigners).<sup>15</sup> Is billeting absent from *Lebor na Cert* because it was a limited practice or because the text was an ideological statement as opposed to a factual catalogue?

In the post-invasion period billeting may have become more widespread, owing to the increased employment of galloglass. In the thirteenth century these mercenaries, imported from the western isles of Scotland, were frequently employed to combat English encroachment or Irish kings reliant on English support, such as Cathal Crobderg Ua Conchobair.<sup>16</sup> Seán Duffy has suggested that increased access to such mercenaries may have resulted from the fractioning of power in post-invasion Ireland, as smaller rulers gained greater freedom of access to the sea lanes, following the demise of the great kingships that had hitherto monopolized access to the Isles.<sup>17</sup> In terms of direct English influence on billeting it ought to be noted that the earliest records of widespread, continuous, systematic billeting of troops, relate not to an Irish king but to the then most powerful English lord in Ireland. Richard de Burgh, second earl of Ulster (The Red Earl), formalized the service that various Irish kings owed him and essentially created a standing army known as the *bonnacht* of Ulster, which he billeted upon the lands of these kings. With the demise (in all but name) of the earldom of Ulster in the early fourteenth century, Uí Néill (Ó Néill/O'Neill) of Tír Eógain stepped into the power vacuum and adopted the *bonnacht* wholesale and their kingdom subsequently remained one of the most powerful military forces in Ireland, until the early seventeenth century.

## Social Customs and the Development of Billeting

The most influential investigation of the social origins of billeting to date is that performed by Katharine Simms, in her discussion of the concepts of "guesting" and "feasting" in medieval Ireland.<sup>18</sup> According to her definitions, "guesting" is

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<sup>15</sup> See below for a discussion of the passage referring to billeting in *Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh*.

<sup>16</sup> For the use of galloglass in the dynastic politics of Connacht, see Duffy, "The Prehistory of the Galloglass," 8–10 (see note 7).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Katharine Simms, "Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 108 (1978): 67–100. In particular, billeting is discussed here 82–86. It set the tone for future important works on related areas, such as Catherine M. O'Sullivan, *Hospitality in Medieval Ireland, 900–1500* (Dublin and Portland: Four Courts Press, 2004).

intend “to convey the idea of going to someone’s house and exacting or demanding hospitality,” whereas “feasting” “refers to entertainments where the host has voluntarily issued invitations.” Billeting, she suggested, was part of the larger social concept of “guesting”, which also encompassed the right of general travellers to food and lodging and the right of a lord (lay or ecclesiastical) to be entertained by his subordinates. “Guesting” was shaped by aspects of Christian teaching and social custom but was open to abuse by the mighty and Simms notes that it became:

an extraordinarily sensitive topic in the medieval period, evoking deep and confused emotions. On the one hand there was a genuine idealism . . . nevertheless in practice the character and demands of the guest entertained might change a scene of generosity or charity into something more sinister.<sup>19</sup>

The ambiguity was encapsulated in a poem ascribed to the fifteenth-century poet Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn, in his praise of Órlaidh, a princess of Uí Mhaine. In that poem, Tadhg claims that Órlaidh’s provision for billeted soldiers will result in a concomitant reward in the afterlife:

Bean re cobhair na gcoinneamh,  
teagh fa a gcomhair do cumadh;  
teagh Dé do uair ón aingeal  
ainnear Cé an uair bhus ullamh.<sup>20</sup>

[She helps those on coigny [i.e., billeted]; a hall has been built for them; (and so) this lady of Cé has an assurance from her angel of God’s hall when her time comes].

Similar to the extension of *congbáil* mentioned above, billeting in pre-invasion Ireland may also have partially derived from the common practice of providing hospitality to notable figures, for example, kings, leading churchmen and poets who were all entitled to be accompanied by retinues (whose size was dependent upon their leader’s rank), while on official circuits of their jurisdictions/areas of practice. Even in the earliest of sources it is apparent that concerted efforts were made to limit the extent to which high status figures might obtain entertainment. *Críth Gablach* (Branched Purchase), an Old Irish legal text concerning status (dated to ca. 700 C.E. ), prescribes that a kingdom need only support a limited retinue for kings and bishops, *ar ní rucai túath dāmrad rí gocus epscuip diam do gréss fosngelat* (for

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<sup>19</sup> Simms, “Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland,” 68 (see note 18). O’Sullivan has suggested that “there seems to have been a clear distinction, however narrow, between the solicitation of hospitality in the case of charity and an overlord’s claim to billeting rights for his servant”: O’Sullivan, *Hospitality in Medieval Ireland*, 60 (see note 18).

<sup>20</sup> Lambert McKenna, *Aithdioghluim Dána: A Miscellany of Irish Bardic Poetry, Historical and Religious, including the Historical Poems of the Duanaire in the Yellow Book of Lecan*. Irish Texts Society, 37 and 40 (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1939–40), text volume 37, 43; translation volume 40, 27. (Poem 11).

a kingdom cannot bear the retinue of a king and bishop if they are constantly grazing on it).<sup>21</sup>

Similarly, a possibly ninth-century poem detailing an alliance between Uí Néill and Airgíalla states that the five royal kindreds of Uí Néill were entitled to entertainment by the Airgíalla, except for a king's retinue, as its size was too great to support.<sup>22</sup> Entertainments of the type that involved lay/ecclesiastical lords visiting their tenants for fixed periods at a time were called *cóe* in the Old Irish period and *cuid oidhche* (cuddy, cudihie) or *cóisir* (cosher, coshery) in later periods.<sup>23</sup> Katharine Simms has observed that these entertainments were mainly due from certain individuals who held offices/privileges from their lord or were relatively well to do.<sup>24</sup> It is probable, however, that such individuals were not always able to entertain large retinues under one roof and therefore unloaded much of the burden onto their subordinates.

This is hinted at in the Middle Irish tale *Bórama* (The Cattle Tribute), in which the followers of a king's son, engaged upon an unruly *saerchuaire maccáemnachta* (free circuit of youth), were billeted upon the population.<sup>25</sup> It is made explicit in the early fourteenth-century Uí Briain text *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh* (The Battle Triumphs of Tairdelbach), where the Anglo-Irish lord Edmund Butler is said to have billeted the soldiers of his Uí Briain guests upon his Anglo-Irish tenants during Christmas 1313.<sup>26</sup> Following the evidence of these tales, it is possible to speculate that the right to billet soldiers originated in the rights of entertainment or renders a king claimed from his subordinates (either by virtue of his office or

<sup>21</sup> Daniel A. Binchy, *Críth Gablach*. Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series, 11 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1941), 24 (my translation). The use of the verb *fo-geil* (grazes, feeds, battens on) was probably chosen to emphasize the animalistic, destructive nature of such consumption, just as one might use the verb *fressen* instead of *essen*, in modern German.

<sup>22</sup> Edel Bhreathnach and Kevin Murray, "The Airgíalla Charter Poem: Edition," *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara*, ed. Edel Bhreathnach (Dublin and Portland: Four Courts Press, 2005), 124–58; here 132–33. For a discussion of the date of this poem, see Denis Casey, "Review of *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara* (Dublin, 2005)," *Early Medieval Europe* 17.3 (2009): 344–47; here 345.

<sup>23</sup> The Old Irish evidence has been discussed in Daniel A. Binchy, "Aimser Chue," *Féil-sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill .i. Tráctais Léigheanta i n-onóir do'n ollamhain Eóin Mac Néill*, D.Litt. do sgríobh cáirde d'á cháirdibh i n-am a dheichmhadh bliadhna agus trí fichid, an cúigmhadh lá déag de mhí na Bealtaine, 1938, ed. John Ryan (Dublin: Sign of the Three Candles, 1940), 18–22.

<sup>24</sup> Simms, "Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland," 80–82 (see note 18).

<sup>25</sup> Whitley Stokes, "The Borama," *Revue Celtique* 13 (1892): 32–124 and 299–300; here 54–57. In this instance, however, it is the king upon whom the band will be billeted who suggests they should be billeted (in order to kill them). This riotous *saerchuaire maccáemnachta* is remarkably similar to the *coimmhede rioghdhamhna* (royal heir's feasting visitation) made by Níall, the son of the king of Ireland, Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, in which Níall engaged in a similar cross between a "grand tour" and a *chevachee*: AFM 1163 (see note 7).

<sup>26</sup> Standish H. O'Grady, *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh: the Triumphs of Turlough*. Irish Texts Society, 26 and 27 (London: Irish Texts Society, 1929), text volume 26, 77; translation volume 27, 69.

as a direct patron of clients) and that these rights were then transferred to his troops or guests.<sup>27</sup>

## Consent and Abuse in Pre-Invasion Ireland

The earliest extended narratives concerning billeting are dominated by a theme that recurs throughout the history of the institution: the forcible taking of lodging and provisions by billeted soldiers against the will and to the detriment of the providers. Probably the earliest lengthy description of billeting is found in *Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh*, the twelfth-century encomiastic biography of Brian Bóroma (*ob.* 1014):

Ba he so, dna, truma canach ocus cisa nagall for Erind uli co forlethan ocus co cotcend .i. ri for cach tir uathib, ocus toeseach for cach tuaith, ocus abb for cach cill, ocus maeir for cach mbali, ocus suartleach cach tigi, conach rabi commuis ic duni deraib Erend cet blegon a bó, na comeis lini oen chirci dugaib do din, no do digrais da sinser no donamcairt, acht a marthain do maeir, no do reachtaire, no do thuartleach gaill. Ocus cid oen gamnach no beith ison taig, nocho lemtha a blegon do naigin oen aidchi, no do duni galair, acht a marthain do maeir no do rechtaire no do suartleach gaill. Cid fata no beith in ingnais in taigi, ni lemtha airbernad ar a cudich no ar a ritholmu, cen co beith istaig acht oen bo, cen a marbad fri cuit na hen aidchi, mini fagtha acmaing a ritholma cena.<sup>28</sup>

[And such was the oppressiveness of the tribute and rent of the foreigners over all Erinn [Ireland] at large, and generally, that there was a king from them over every territory, and a *toisech* over every *túath*, and an abbot over every church, and a *maer* over every *baile*, and a mercenary in every house, so that none of the men of Erinn had power to give even the milk of his cow, nor as much as the clutch of eggs of one hen in succour or in kindness to an aged man, or to a confessor, but was forced to preserve

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<sup>27</sup> In addition to this transfer we may also see a transformation over time in the legal basis of these rights, as they changed from being based primarily upon the legal institution of personal clientship to become obligations upon specific office holders or geographical areas: O'Sullivan, *Hospitality in Medieval Ireland*, 52–53 (see note 18). For a discussion of some of the rights claimed by early Irish kings, see Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, "The Airgíalla Charter Poem: the Legal Context," *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara*, ed. Edel Bhreathnach (Dublin and Portland: Four Courts Press, 2005), 100–23.

<sup>28</sup> Todd, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, 48–51 (see note 10). I have altered Todd's translation to retain the terms *toisech* (chief), *túath* (chieftainry), *baile* (village), *maer* (steward), *rechtaire* (bailiff). I have also rendered *suartleach* as "mercenary" (rather than "soldier") and taken *donamcairt* to refer to an *anmcharae* (confessor) rather than simply "friend". A version of this passage is also found in *Caithréim Chellacháin Chaisil*: Alexander Bugge, *Caithreim Cellachain Caisil: The Victorious Career of Cellachan of Cashel or the Wars between the Irishmen and the Norsemen in the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> Century* (Christiania [Oslo]: J. Chr. Gundersens Bogtrykkeri, 1905), 1–2 (text) and 58 (translation).

them for the foreign *maer* or *rechtaire*, or mercenary. And though there were but one milk-giving cow in the house, she durst not be milked for an infant of one night, nor for a sick person, but must be kept for the *maer*, or *rechtaire*, or mercenary of the foreigners. And, however long he might be absent from the house, his share or his supply durst not be lessened, although there was in the house but one cow, it must be killed for the meal of one night, if the means of supply could not be otherwise procured].

This deliberately biased account was intended to highlight and accentuate the worst aspects of the process of billeting and its primary aim was to contrast the parasitic Vikings (who are portrayed living off the population) with the fugitive Brian (who survived in woodlands and remote areas).<sup>29</sup> While ostensibly claiming to represent conditions in tenth-century Munster, this incident probably bears a closer resemblance to practices current during the time of its composition in the late eleventh/early twelfth centuries.

O'Sullivan argues that *Cogadh's* condemnation of billeting suggests it was familiar enough to be recognized but not part of Irish kings' policies.<sup>30</sup> The impact of that passage would certainly have been mitigated if it was not couched in terms familiar to a twelfth-century readership. It is more likely that the author was indeed basing his description upon the practices of Irish kings and possibly even the Uí Briain kings themselves. Circumstantial evidence for this may be adduced from the use of the possibly Norse term *suartleach* (a noun seemingly denoting a billeted soldier), which is very poorly attested elsewhere; according to one of the two surviving annalistic attestations (both of which are found in the Munster Annals of Inisfallen), Brian himself appears to have employed them.<sup>31</sup> Whatever the origin of the word *suartleach*, the author appeared to have expected his audience to understand and dislike the concept of billeting.

Matters concerning consent and abuse also surface in a short tale found in the twelfth-century *Book of Leinster* (entitled by its modern editor *The Quarrel about the Loaf*), which also illustrates the ambiguous area between charity and exaction mentioned above.<sup>32</sup> The story tells of a servant of the king of Munster who was billeted upon an old woman in Mag Dála, in close proximity to the borders of the kingdoms of Laigin and Munster. The old woman, who was *i mbiataigeacht* to the

<sup>29</sup> Compare the parasitic vikings to Brian in the wilderness: Todd, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, 48–51 and 60–63 (see note 10).

<sup>30</sup> O'Sullivan, *Hospitality in Medieval Ireland*, 51 (see note 18).

<sup>31</sup> *Dochotar a shuatrich iar tír i nHú Briúin coro lad ár mór ettarru ocus Húi Briúin* (His *suatrich* went by land into Uí Briúin, and great slaughter was mutually inflicted upon them and upon the Uí Briúin) (AI 983.2). The other reference is AI 972.1. For other uses, see *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, sub verbum *súaitrech* (see note 5).

<sup>32</sup> Tomás P. O'Nowlan, "The Quarrel about the Loaf," *Ériu* 1 (1904): 128–37.

king of Laigin,<sup>33</sup> initially believed that the servant had merely come to beg and thus gave him a cake of bread. When he demanded another as his due, *úair is for búannacht do dechadus ó rí Muman* (for it is on billet from the king of Munster I have come), she refused, asserting that the second loaf was under the protection of the king of Laigin.<sup>34</sup> The initial exploratory dispatch of the servant from Munster: *co tánic gilla rí Muman ar búannacht da tig-si, ar na chur do rí Muman d'fhiss a ceta, ar bá bágach andiúit in challech* (a servant of the king of Munster came on billet to her house, having been sent by the king of Munster to ascertain her permission; for the old woman was contentious and stubborn) suggests the necessity of consent. The haughtiness of the servant, however, demonstrates a bullying expectation of the woman's compliance and perhaps that of society in general.<sup>35</sup>

It was not just the ordinary householder whose consent was held in little or no regard. Higher up the socio-political ladder it is clear that kings could find themselves forced to billet the troops of other (greater) kings, who sought to demonstrate or enforce their dominance over subordinates. The eleventh-century *coinnmedh mor* (great billeting) imposed by Ardgar Mac Lochlainn of Cenél nEógain over a wide swathe of territory, appears to have been of this kind and resulted in the submission of the kings of Connacht and Bréifne.<sup>36</sup> According to the seventeenth-century Annals of the Four Masters, Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn later did likewise:

Sluaighedh ele bheós lá hUa Lachlainn i Mídhe do ionnarbadh Uí Ruairc. Ro coinnmhedh da chath Cenél Conaill agus Eoghain frí ré mís for feraibh Midhe .i. cath in iarthar Midhe, agus cath ina hairther.<sup>37</sup>

[Another army was led by Ua [Mac] Lochlainn, into Mide, to expel Ua Ruairc. He billeted two battalions of the Cenél Conaill and [Cenél] nEógain, for the space of a month, upon the men of Mide, i.e., a battalion on west Mide and a battalion on its east].

Minor kings and their nobles must have often felt the pinch when it came to accommodating troops of more powerful overlords. In the early decades of the English invasion Cathal Crobderg Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht, in conjunction with his ally William de Burgh, billeted their troops upon the nobility

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 132–33. O'Nowlan translates this as “in hospitallership”. However, it seems likely that the author was suggesting that she was in a position of obligation to provide food rent to her lord, in this case the king of Laigin.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 134–35.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 132–33.

<sup>36</sup> AU 1063.4; ALC 1063 (see note 7).

<sup>37</sup> AFM 1159 (my translation) (see note 7).

of Connacht, though the latter took umbrage and are said to have killed nine hundred of their guests.<sup>38</sup>

## Church Opposition in Pre-Invasion Ireland

Great churches also found themselves the victims of unwanted billeting by kings seeking to impose themselves in both the ecclesiastical and political spheres, as may be seen in the actions of Áed Ua Ruairc, king of Uí Briúin Bréifne, in 1111. Áed forcibly billeted his troops upon the church of Clonmacnoise, in what appears to have been an attempt to intimidate both that church and its political supporters, the Uí Maíl Shechnaill kings of Mide.<sup>39</sup> In that year Muirchertach Ua Briain, king of Ireland, had presided over a national synod at Ráith Bressail, which had created the bishopric of Ardagh/Ardcarn for Uí Briúin Bréifne/Conmaicne and the bishoprics of Clonard and Duleek for Mide.<sup>40</sup> The outcome of the synod of Ráith Bressail does not appear to have been to the liking of Murchad Ua Maíl Shechnaill (king of Mide) and Gilla Chríst Ua Maíl Eóin (abbot of Clonmacnoise), who held a synod at Uisnech in the same year, presumably in an attempt to counteract the decrees of Ráith Bressail. Their synod at Uisnech also created two bishoprics in Mide: Clonmacnoise and Clonard.<sup>41</sup> Presumably this did not please Áed Ua Ruairc, as he may have desired to use Ardagh (in territory his kingdom had wrested from Mide) to further expand at the expense of the ailing Uí Maíl Shechnaill dynasty and so he made manifest his intentions by forcibly billeting his troops upon Clonmacnoise.<sup>42</sup>

Forcible refections like those exacted by Áed Ua Ruairc are increasingly recorded in the twelfth-century annals. The Church appears to have engaged with the question of billeting from a self-absorbed point of view, accepting it as an increasingly inevitable occurrence but preferring that it did not encroach upon

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<sup>38</sup> ALC 1202 (see note 7).

<sup>39</sup> CS 1111 (see note 7).

<sup>40</sup> The extents of the dioceses defined at Ráith Bressail are known only through the seventeenth-century text *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*. For a map of these dioceses, see Theodore W. Moody, Francis X. Martin and Francis J. Byrne, *A New History of Ireland 9: Maps, Genealogies, Lists: A Companion to Irish History*. Part 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 26.

<sup>41</sup> CS 1111 (see note 7).

<sup>42</sup> Muirchertach Ua Briain seems to have been similarly unimpressed and Clonmacnoise was plundered that same year by Dál Cais *tre comuirle Muircertaigh h. Bruin* (at the instigation of Muirchertach Ua Briain): CS 1111 (see also ATig 1111). Muirchertach and Áed do not appear to have been working in tandem, however, as Muirchertach also attacked Áed that year: AI 1111.4; ATig 1111 (see note 7).



their property and interests. This seems to be the position of the author of the Middle Irish text *Cert cech Ríg co Réil* (The tribute of every king is clearly due). This text, ostensibly addressed to Áed Oirdnide (*ob.* 819) by the ecclesiast Fothad na Canóine (*ob.* 819) (according to the oldest manuscript to contain it, the twelfth-century Book of Leinster), was probably intended for Áed's descendant and namesake, Áed mac Néill meic Maíl Shechnaill (*ob.* 1083).<sup>43</sup> *Cert cech Ríg co Réil*, a member of the *Speculum Principum* genre, is an exhortation to the addressee to rule firmly, even harshly, in the furtherance of his aims. As Byrne noted, in contrast to other Irish examples of this genre, it possess a "starkly realistic and unheroic tone"<sup>44</sup> and with regard to billeting and seeking provisions it advises:

déna coinmed crúaid  
do shlúraig ar cech aiss.  
Cid bráthair do rí  
ó gebthar a giall  
acht rothechta thech  
ná sóer nech ar biad.<sup>45</sup>

[Make a stern billeting of your troops on every side. Even the brother of a king, whose hostage has been accepted, provided he possess a dwelling, exempt no man from giving provisions].

Nonetheless, while advocating that a king should be "ruthless and effective" in secular affairs,<sup>46</sup> the poet argued that the Church should not be treated likewise:

Airchinnig na cell  
o fhlaith cen iarair  
acht riagail a cend.  
...  
Na cella cen cáin  
rit reimes raith réil.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Francis J. Byrne, "Ireland and her Neighbours, c.1014–c.1072," *A New History of Ireland 1: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 862–98; here 895–96.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 896.

<sup>45</sup> Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, "Cert cech Ríg co Réil," *Miscellany Presented to Kuno Meyer by Some of His Friends and Pupils on the Occasion of his Appointment to the Chair of Celtic Philology in the University of Berlin*, ed. Osborn J. Bergin and Carl Marstrander (Halle a. d. Saale: Max Niemeyer, 1912), 258–77; here 262–63.

<sup>46</sup> Donnchadh Ó Corráin, "Nationality and Kingship in Pre-Norman Ireland," *Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence*, ed. Theodore W. Moody. Historical Studies: Papers Read before the Irish Conference of Historians, 11 (Belfast: Appletree Press, 1978), 1–35; here 17.

<sup>47</sup> Ó Donnchadha, "Cert cech Ríg co Réil," 260–63 (see note 45).

[The rulers of the church-lands, no prince must seek from them aught beyond the rule of their superiors . . . . Leave the churches untaxed during your course of clear success].

## Billeting in Post-Invasion Gaelic Ireland

It was not just (presumably) clerical authors who encouraged kings to billet troops in support of their rule, while still claiming immunity for their own interests. A certain hypocrisy with regard to billeting may also be detected in the works of that other important socio-political group, the poets. For example, the sixteenth-century poet Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (*ob.* 1591) informed his patron Cú Chonnacht Mag Uidhir of the latter's supposed rights regarding the billeting of kern (native Irish mercenary foot soldiers):

Dlighthear dhóibhséin — dia do mhodh —  
ó thá samhain go samhroth  
ar chlár Theathbha ó thoigh go teagh  
a n-eachra a gcoinn do choinnmheadh.<sup>48</sup>

[They are entitled — what an achievement — from November to summer to quarter their steeds and their hounds from house to house on the plain of Teathbha].

Yet when his own homestead was subject to the unwelcome attention of billeted soldiers he was quick to complain to Mag Uidhir:

Oraoid sunn go síol gColla  
dá iomchasaoid eatarra —  
an ramhacraidh ó Mhoigh Mharr —  
a bhfoil d'anacraibh oram.

Mór gceann bhfadhálta feadhna,  
iomdha coinnmhe is ceithearna —  
mairg ga mbí ad (?) comharsa cóir —  
do-ní ormsa an éagóir.

Ceithearn an tighe rem thaoibh,  
bíd lán d'ulc agus d'anaoibh,  
gach re lá ag toigheacht im' theagh,  
'san t-oireacht atá im' thimcheal.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Eleanor Knott, *A bhfuil aguinn dár chum Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn: The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (1550–1591)*. Irish Texts Society, 22 and 23 (London: Irish Texts Society, 1922–1926), text volume 22, 59; translation volume 23, 39. (Poem 9).

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, text volume 22, 275–76; translation volume 23, 183. (Poem 42). Uncertainties in the text and translation are marked with [. . .] and question marks.

[This is an address to the race of Colla, to complain amongst them, the mighty youth from the Plain of Mar, of the misfortunes which afflict me.

Many scattered captains of bands, many quarterings and kern—alas for him who . . . wrong me.

The kern of the house next to me are full of wickedness and surliness, entering my house every other day, they and the assembly which is around me (?)].

A specific example of church opposition to billeting, which raises issues concerning consent and possible contractual arrangements, may be found in the second Irish Life of Máedóc of Ferns.<sup>50</sup> This Life contains a number of poems, the last of which narrates a supposed dispute between Conchobor Ó Fairchellaig, *comarba* (ecclesiastical successor, literally heir) of Máedóc's church at Druim Lethan (Drumlane, Co. Cavan) and Fergal Ua Ruairc, king of Bréifne.<sup>51</sup> The poem begins, appropriately enough, with the words *Maircc dan comharsa naomh garcc* (Woe to the man who has as neighbour an angry saint) and is clearly meant as a warning to Uí Ruairc not to overstep the boundaries of hospitality. Fergal Ua Ruairc, we are told, came to Drumlane *d'fagail aóighidechta on aird-cill* (to exact guesting from the high church) and Conchobor (like the old woman in The Quarrel about the Loaf), is portrayed as initially acquiescent, possibly out of a sense of Christian charity.

Recognition of an obligation to provide for guests, within limits, is hinted at by Conchobor's statement that he would not provide *congbáil tara coinnmedh féin* (maintenance beyond his proper refectory) to any man. Nonetheless, a previous stanza describing Conchobor's attendance upon Fergal's troops as *cruaidh cennaigh* (a hard bargain) and the fact that none of the troops was *gan díol dá chuid* (without payment of his portion) implies a transactional arrangement or at least the appropriateness of using transactional vocabulary to describe the provision of entertainment to billeted troops. It is possible that the church of Drumlane owed Fergal Ua Ruairc, as their secular lord, a limited provision of hospitality, along the lines of *cóe/cóisir/cuid oidhche*. The clearest indication that churches and kings might enter into contractual arrangements may be seen in a subsequent stanza, attributed to Conchobor:

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<sup>50</sup> This text contains material dating between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. Raymond Gillespie has argued that the Life was compiled in its current form around the time Brian Ballach Ua Ruairc was inaugurated in 1536: Raymond Gillespie, "The Making of O'Rourke, 1536," *Culture and Society in Early Modern Breifne/Cavan*, ed. Brendan Scott (Dublin and Portland: Four Courts Press, 2009), 48–68.

<sup>51</sup> Charles Plummer, *Bethada Náem nÉirenn: Lives of Irish Saints*. 2 volumes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), text volume 1, 286–89; translation volume 2, 278–81. Neither of these two individuals can be positively identified.

Cion do chur i nDruim Lethan  
 Do rioghaibh mar gnathachadh,  
 Ni thiubhar amach go brath,  
 Ar connradh creach na conách.<sup>52</sup>

[To impose a benevolence on Drumlane  
 As a customary due to kings,  
 I will never grant  
 For any treaty of spoils, or for any wealth].

The implication that churches did indeed enter such arrangements and that they could be mutually beneficial is implicit in Conchobor's refusal. It is likely that churches received portions of the spoils of war from patrons, possibly in exchange for other considerations, such as billeting rights, as implied by Conchobor in the above stanza.<sup>53</sup>

Saints such as Máedóc were not always as proactive as their adherents would have liked and although clerical sources frequently depict provision of billeting as an odious practice that was best avoided, refusal to billet a king's troops may have been equally hazardous. Rejection of a king's or lord's billeting demands may have resulted in the church in question being plundered or being forcibly billeted upon, as threatened by Fergus in the aforementioned poem. Contractual arrangements were rarely between equals and while they could be beneficial to both parties in the short term, there could be burdensome consequences for the weaker party in the long run. For example, as Kenneth Nicholls has noted with regard to the ninth earl of Kildare's exchange of horses for two nights entertainment:

if the times in [the earldom of] Kildare had not changed, how many of these entertainments would not have become permanent obligations on the heirs of those who gave them, long after the horse had been forgotten?<sup>54</sup>

Whether contracting to provide (or against providing) services such as billeting the long-term prospects could be equally troublesome. This certainly seems to have been the concern of Archbishop John Mey, who entered into a concordat with Éinrí Ó Néill (Henry O'Neill), king of Tír Eógain, in the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>55</sup> It was claimed in *Ceart Uí Néill*, a text outlining Ó Néill's rights over his

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., text volume 1, 288; translation volume 2, 280.

<sup>53</sup> A division of battle spoils between king and saint may be seen in the Middle Irish tale *Tochmarc Becfhola* (The Wooing of Becfhola): Máire Bhreathnach, "A new edition of *Tochmarc Becfhola*," *Ériu* 35 (1984): 59–91; here 76 (text) and 80 (translation).

<sup>54</sup> Nicholls, "Gaelic Society and Economy," 426 (see note 3).

<sup>55</sup> Katharine Simms, "The Concordat between Primate John Mey and Henry O'Neill (1455)," *Archivium Hibernicum* 34 (1976–1977): 71–82.

subordinates, that *le linn an Énri sin do ríoghadh do saoradh na heagluisi agus na cealla leis ó gach daoirsi agus ó gach dochar dá raibh orra ríamh roimhe sin* (when that Henry was made king, the churches and cells were freed from every servitude and hardship that had ever lain upon them up to then).<sup>56</sup> The concordat between Énri and the archbishop, however, paints a quite different picture. It was drawn up by four mediators (two representing each of Ó Néill's and the archbishop's interests) and states that Ó Néill was to receive a pension in return for adhering to the articles of the concordat, such as a prohibition upon Ó Néill imposing any kind of servitude upon the church of Armagh or its tenants (*non imponet aliquam speciem servitutis ecclesie vel tenentibus ecclesiarum*).<sup>57</sup> The wording of the agreement is rife with ambiguity (almost certainly deliberately so) and issues of contract and consent weigh heavily in any attempt to analyse the text.

The use of the term 'pension' suggests that Ó Néill was bound to perform certain duties, as recipients of pensions in English society were, but in reality he appears to have been extorting *cios cosanta* (protection money) or *duibhchios* (black rent) from the archbishop. Since the government-appointed archbishops were largely absentee landlords (preferring to live in the relative security of the anglicized Pale—the area around Co Dublin in which the king's writ still ran, rather than the Gaelic-controlled primatial seat of Armagh), Mey may have been attempting to bribe Ó Néill not to impose himself upon church lands, as much as requiring him to defend them. As with the earl of Kildare's horses, the possibility existed that Ó Néill (or his successors) would continue to extract the pension long after he/they had stopped honouring his/their side of the bargain or after the conditions became irrelevant. Mey was aware of this danger and the final article of the agreement made it clear that payment of the pension was conditional upon full enforcement of the articles of agreement, which, in the words of Simms,

reveals the primate's fear that by promising an annual pension to O'Neill he has simply cut another rod for his own back, that O'Neill will break all the articles of the concordat and yet continue to demand payment of his pension.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Myles Dillon, "Ceart Uí Néill," *Studia Celtica* 1 (1966): 1–18; here 10–13. There exist a number of similar tracts concerning the rights of Irish kings in the later Middle Ages. These tracts cannot be read as simple statements of exactions due, owing to their frequent incorporation of anachronistic information, such as the inclusion of extinct families among the catalogue of tribute givers. Nonetheless, these are important sources, for as Katharine Simms has suggested, these tracts "were widely accepted by partisans in their own day as an ideological statement, a platonic ideal to which the rights and territorial authority of the existing king corresponded but imperfectly": Simms, *From Kings to Warlords*, 2 (see note 5). As such, they present a Gaelic view of how systems like billeting *should* be organized, as opposed how they *actually* operated and are no less valuable for that.

<sup>57</sup> Simms, "The Concordat between Primate John Mey and Henry O'Neill," 78 (see note 55).

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

The question of enforcement lay very much at the whim of Ó Néill and presumably Mey considered Ó Néill capable of keeping his side of the bargain, but whether he would so do was quite another matter.

### Billeting in the Anglo-Irish Lordship: Coign and Livery

Quartering troops was not a practice confined to the Gaelic areas of later medieval Ireland. Increasing interaction between Gaelic and Anglo-Irish territories probably resulted in the gradual development of the system known as “coign and livery.”<sup>59</sup> It formed part of the military *modus operandi* of some of the greatest Anglo-Irish magnates, such as the powerful and well-connected William *liath* de Burgh (Burke). William was a great-grandson of the William de Burgh mentioned earlier, held the position of deputy to the justiciar (1308–9), was a cousin of earl Richard de Burgh of Ulster (who operated the *bonnacht* of Ulster) and was the ancestor of the two Mac William lineages that dominated Connacht for the remainder of the Middle Ages.<sup>60</sup> Around 1305 he obtained a grant of Uí Chonchobair’s core lands in Síol Muiredaig;<sup>61</sup> it is probably in connection with this enterprise that the Annals of Connacht record that he billeted two hundred soldiers among Síol Muiredaig, so that

ni raibi baili i Sil Muredaig uli cen gnathbuana, na tuath cin tabach, na flaith cin forrach, re hed urrlamaís Uilliam Burc forra tar es Aeda.<sup>62</sup>

[there was not one of their townlands without its permanent quartering, nor a *túath* free from exaction, nor a prince free from oppression, so long as William Burke was in control of them after the death of Áed (Ua Conchobair).]

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<sup>59</sup> The phrase derives from “Coign” (from Irish *coinnmheadh*—the billeting of soldiers) and “livery” (English—provender for horses) and refers to the billeting of soldiers, horses and horseboys upon the population and the exaction of provisions for them.

<sup>60</sup> James F. Lydon, *The Making of Ireland: from Ancient Times to the Present* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 75.

<sup>61</sup> Seán Duffy, “Burgh, Richard de, second earl of Ulster (b. in or after 1259, d. 1326),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3995> (last accessed on March 30, 2011).

<sup>62</sup> ACon 1310.6. William’s soldiers were mercenaries, whom he had bribed to doublecross their previous employer, Áed, who had also billeted them: ACon 1310.5 (see note 7). These soldiers were probably galloglass: Kenneth W. Nicholls, “Scottish Mercenary Kindreds in Ireland, 1250–1600,” *The World of the Galloglass: Kings, Warlords and Warriors in Ireland and Scotland, 1200–1600*, ed. Seán Duffy (Dublin and Portland: Four Courts Press, 2007), 86–105; here 89.

In this instance, de Burgh was not simply attempting to support permanent forces while simultaneously draining the resources of other lords (like Mac Lochlainn had done in the twelfth century), but was billeting soldiers as a means of conquest.

As in Gaelic areas, billeted soldiers in Anglo-Irish lordships were part of larger socio-military systems and indeed, frequently from the point of view of both the government and the populace, part of larger socio-military problems. The thirteenth century saw the proliferation of the *ociosus* (idleman), defined by Robin Frame as a “man of gentle birth and scant visible means of support, who remained about the household of the rich members of his kin, or sold his service to another lord.”<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, Anglo-Irish lords also employed kern, who were likewise supported through billeting. Retainers, whether Anglo-Irish idlemen or Gaelic kern, were protected by their lords, to such an extent that this resulted in “the issuing of what were in effect licenses to commit crime through a system of avowery, by which the lord promised to protect them and compensate their victims if the law was able to take its course.”<sup>64</sup>

A trial of kern employed by the de la Poer family in Waterford at the beginning of the fourteenth century demonstrates the difficulty that prosecutors faced. The de la Poers were the local magnates and stood bail for their kern and de la Paor members of the trial juries ensured that “not guilty” verdicts were returned.<sup>65</sup> Nonetheless, on rare occasions good old-fashioned mob justice sufficed where the courts proved inadequate, as when an angry mob slaughtered the earl of Louth’s kern in 1329 and then did likewise to the earl and his family for trying to protect them.<sup>66</sup>

The government was not opposed to the practice of coign and livery on principle, but rather to the manner in which billeting rights and exactions were forcibly obtained from unwilling and frequently helpless colonists. The exploits of the first earl of Desmond (Maurice fitz Thomas FitzGerald, d. 1356) have been held up as an example of the worst excesses of the system. Katharine Simms described Desmond’s *modus operandi* as a “system of licensed pillage,” in which

[his] casual patronage was an invitation to highway robbery, and ensured that not only were the lord’s own tenants subjected to unlimited extortion, but other neighbouring

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<sup>63</sup> Robin Frame, *English Lordship in Ireland, 1318–1361* (Oxford and London: Oxford University Press, 1982), 37.

<sup>64</sup> Lydon, *The Making of Ireland*, 79 (see note 60).

<sup>65</sup> Simms, “Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland,” 78 (see note 18).

<sup>66</sup> This incident is discussed in James F. Lydon, “The Braganstown Massacre, 1329,” *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society* 19.1 (1977–80): 5–16.

territories suffered in the same way, even church lands, which were normally entitled to immunity.<sup>67</sup>

Similarly, Catherine Marie O'Sullivan suggested that

the earl took a very casual approach to organizing the maintenance of his mercenary troops; he issued each soldier a letter patent authorizing the man to levy food and drink from inhabitants of the land "within the lordship and outside it".<sup>68</sup>

Such views, however, are based upon the testimony of Desmond's enemies, who brought legal proceedings against him and their biases (and possible exaggerations) may have influenced subsequent historical judgement.<sup>69</sup> Desmond's enemies were naturally inclined to accentuate the worst aspects of his methods but even if systems of billeting and exaction were extortionate they were not necessarily disorganized. On the contrary, the earl's issuing of letters patent (documents similar to charters and authenticated with his seal) suggests that he employed an organized administration, which held some responsibility in the area of provisioning of the earl's forces. The issuing of letters patent may even have been intended to ensure that only troops genuinely in the earl's employment (as opposed to roving bands of brigands) were able to obtain support from the population. Attention to the organisation of billeting does not appear to have been peculiar to the earldom of Desmond, as already seen in *Ceart Uí Néill*.

The government's initial attempts to outlaw billeting upon unwilling and oppressed populations was aimed at fettering the magnates' ability to wage private war as much as a measure intended to protect the colonists.<sup>70</sup> As early as 1297 the Irish parliament legislated against the Anglo-Irish lords employing kern "continually living at other people's expense as well in the marches as in land of peace, whereby the people is excessively impoverished," but parliament nonetheless accepted that the magnates could quarter their troops with the permission of those upon whom they were billeted.<sup>71</sup> The clearest example of such tenant acquiescence is provided in the ordinances of James Butler, the fourth earl of Ormond (The White Earl) (*ob.* 1452).<sup>72</sup> Ormond sought to create a standing army

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<sup>67</sup> Empey and Simms, "The Ordinances of the White Earl," 180–81 (see note 5).

<sup>68</sup> O'Sullivan, *Hospitality in Medieval Ireland*, 56 (see note 18).

<sup>69</sup> For the testimony against the Earl of Desmond, see George O. Sayles, "The Legal Proceedings Against the First Earl of Desmond," *Analecta Hibernica* 23 (1966): 1–47.

<sup>70</sup> By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries much lesser lords and gentlemen freeholders were also exacting such services from their tenants: Simms, "Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland," 85 (see note 18).

<sup>71</sup> Edmund Curtis and Robert B. McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents, 1172–1922* (London: Methuen and Co., 1943), 35.

<sup>72</sup> Empey and Simms, "The Ordinances of the White Earl" (see note 5).



to combat his Gaelic and Anglo-Irish enemies and in particular control factions among his Butler kindred.<sup>73</sup>

It is a testimony to the extent to which Gaelic and English customs were amalgamated in the Butler lordship that Ormond's solution to his security problems was to use representative assemblies of the people (an English institution) to approve the imposition of *cogin* (an essentially Irish institution).<sup>74</sup> The assemblies gave their consent to billeting by the earl, but sought to prevent Ormond's subordinate kinsmen from also billeting troops upon them, saving those who had license from the earl to do so. These conditions proved difficult (if not impossible) to enforce, as the earls were often absent and many of the Butler faction leaders held military positions derived directly from the earls' authority, which could then be used as justification for maintaining their own military forces at the population's expense.<sup>75</sup> For all the colonists' complaints they were rarely in a position to refuse the demands of the magnates and it would have been a recklessly brave or foolhardy tenant who would refuse someone of the stature and power of an earl of Ormond or Kildare.

Indeed, although the administration was uneasy with aspects of *coign* and *livery* in principle, it often found it indispensable in practice. For many of the Lords Deputy/Lords Lieutenant the limited taxable capacity of the colony, inefficient administration and inadequate financial support from England meant that they had little choice but to rely on such unpopular means to maintain their military forces.<sup>76</sup> When the crown engaged in the expedient measure of employing individual Anglo-Irish magnates in the role of Lord Deputy it was only natural that those lords would use the systems that served them well in their own affairs. When the earl of Desmond, Thomas fitz James FitzGerald was made Lord Deputy by a grateful Edward IV in 1463, he was specifically ordered to end the imposition of *coign* and *livery*, though he actually extended the practice well beyond his own Gaelicized earldom and into the Pale.<sup>77</sup> *Coign* and *livery*, despite frequent opposition from England and from those in Ireland who suffered because of it (such as the Palesmen and townsmen), remained a fundamental part of the military structure of Gaelic and Anglo-Irish lordships throughout the Middle Ages. Indeed, so ingrained was it that when Henry VIII appointed arbiters to solve

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>74</sup> Lydon, *The Making of Ireland*, 99–100 (see note 60).

<sup>75</sup> Empey and Simms, "The Ordinances of the White Earl," 167 and 175 (see note 5).

<sup>76</sup> Art Cosgrove, "The Emergence of the Pale, 1399–1447," *A New History of Ireland 2: Medieval Ireland, 1169–1534*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 533–56; here 541. Indeed, the threat of such measures hung over parliament, should they not grant the annual parliamentary subsidy to the Lord Deputy: *ibid.*, 549.

<sup>77</sup> Lydon, *The Making of Ireland*, 107–08 (see note 60).

a series of ongoing disputes between the earls of Ormond (then Lord Deputy) and Kildare, one of the chief provisions was that (in the words of D. B. Quinn)

Ormond was to have what we may describe as his official rights to coyne and livery in County Kildare; [the earl of] Kildare what we may equally call his unofficial rights, those he could screw “voluntarily” from his tenants.<sup>78</sup>

It is clear from a conversation between Henry Docwra (*ob.* 1631) and Níall Garbh Ó Domhnaill (*ob.* 1626) a century later, that lords were often in a position to ‘screw’ their tenants, if not actually engaged in outright tyranny. In 1601 Docwra, the English commander of the Derry garrison, reported a conversation in which Níall, an ally of the English during the Nine Years War, told him:

“I will cесс my people,” saith he, “upon the churls, I will take such things as I want, and employ the inhabitants at mine own discretion.” [. . .] Ennisowen is mine, and were there but one cow in the country, that cow would I take and use as mine own.” “And how would you provide for the poor people to live?” said I. “I care not,” saith he, “let 1,000 die, I pass not of a pin; and for the people, they are my subjects. I will punish, exact, cut, and hang, if I see occasion, where and whensoever I list.”<sup>79</sup>

In comparison, Docwra’s and Níall Garbh’s enemy, the rebel Aodh Ó Néill (Hugh O’Neill, second earl of Tyrone) issued a document at Dungannon (dated 2nd of February 1601), in which conditions of provisioning and billeting were outlined in detail.<sup>80</sup> The conditions were undoubtedly harsh but in no way comparable to the indiscriminate, sociopathic greed expressed by Níall Garbh. Ó Néill employed a series of controls, in particular a marshal or lord was obliged to keep a tight reign on his soldiers and to oversee various aspects of the procurement of their provisions, which were strictly delineated in any case. The population were to be protected and *d’fhiachaibh ar in m-buanna gan urchóid do dhenamh d’én duine ar gach taopha de gan chead spéicalta a thighearna* (it is incumbent upon the billeted soldier not to do harm to anybody on any side without special permission of his lord).<sup>81</sup> Failure to comply would result in loss of Ó Néill and Ó Domhnaill’s favor, banishment or execution.<sup>82</sup> It is clear that, however oppressive supporting Ó Néill’s soldiers may have been, Ó Néill intended to run a tight ship.

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<sup>78</sup> David B. Quinn, “The Reemergence of English Policy as a Major Factor in Irish Affairs, 1520–34,” *A New History of Ireland 2: Medieval Ireland, 1169–1534*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 662–87; here 671.

<sup>79</sup> Quoted in Simms, *From Kings to Warlords*, 146 (see note 5).

<sup>80</sup> John O’Donovan, “Military Proclamation, in the Irish Language, issued by Hugh O’Neill, Earl of Tyrone, in 1601,” *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 6 (1858): 57–65.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 61 (my translation).

<sup>82</sup> This Ó Domhnaill was Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill (“Red” Hugh O’Donnell—The Ó Domhnaill and Earl of Tyrconnell), Níall Garbh’s rival.

## Conclusion

Billeting systems like coign and livery were undoubtedly oppressive but this was a feature of medieval taxation in general, for as T. S. R. Boase noted in his biography of Boniface VIII:

Taxation is a dangerous word in a mediaeval setting. The complex machinery of modern methods seems to lie behind it, and present associations overpower the reality of its primitive uncertain meaning, giving too clear a form to the customary dues, haphazard incidence, and emergency confiscations by which earlier rulers secured their revenues.<sup>83</sup>

In so far as providing billeting may be viewed as a form of taxation, it was treated as most taxes (medieval and modern) are: people did their best to avoid paying them or paid as little as possible. The townspeople who poured forth a litany of complaints regarding their sufferings were rarely altruistic in their motives, which led J. A. Watt to note that

when the towns protested their poverty and destruction they were looking for some financial concession from the crown: exemption from fines inflicted by a justiciar, restraint on some rival town, waiving of arrears of fee-farms, overseas trading privileges, and so on.<sup>84</sup>

Just as the townsmen sought relief through constituent assemblies or petitions, so too in the Gaelic lordships a considerable amount of hard bargaining undoubtedly took place, as demonstrated by various clauses detailing exceptions and ameliorations found in documents like *Ceart Uí Néill*. Naturally there were always those who would feel the strain and more often than not the burden fell heaviest on the poorest in society. For some the Church may have offered hope of succor, but not everyone had a protector saint as potent as Máedóc or an archbishop like Mey to bargain for them. For the majority, when facing the likes of Níall Garbh, the words of the twelfth-century Anglo-Saxon chronicler in the reign of King Stephen could easily have been on their lips: “they said openly that Christ and his saints were asleep.”<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Thomas S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII, Makers of the Middle Ages* (London and Toronto: Constable and Co. and Macmillan, 1933), 131.

<sup>84</sup> John A. Watt, “The Anglo-Irish Colony under Strain, 1327–99,” *A New History of Ireland 2: Medieval Ireland, 1169–1534*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 352–96; here 370.

<sup>85</sup> Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas, and Susie I. Tucker, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Revised Translation* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), 200 (sub anno 1137).



## Chapter 7

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### From Holy War to Patient Endurance: Henry IV, Matilda of Tuscany, and the Evolution of Bonizo of Sutri's Response to Heretical Princes

#### I. Bonizo: A Reformer and Polemicist "Betrayed"

The two great puzzles in the career of the Patarene activist and polemicist, Bishop Bonizo of Sutri, involve the complete reversal in the span of five or so years of his estimations of the rival potentates, the emperor Henry IV of Germany and Countess Matilda of Tuscany.<sup>1</sup> In his *Liber ad amicum* (Book to a Friend) of late 1085 or early 1086, Bonizo urges his Patarene companions to take up arms against the emperor in his conflict with reform papacy and to join Matilda in her war of resistance against Henry and his Italian allies. Here, Bonizo the theological archaeologist presents to his *amicus*, his friend, the allegedly ancient Christian

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<sup>1</sup> Bonizo's movement, the Pataria, arose out of the reformist preaching of the deacon Arialdo of Varese in Milan in the late 1050s. Arialdo won a popular following for his agenda, which assailed the traditional ecclesiastical practices of lay investiture and of clerical marriage in the Milanese church. The movement spread across Lombardy to other cities where these same practices were equally well established. Bonizo likely encountered the movement in Cremona. See Walter Berschin, *Bonizo von Sutri: Leben und Werk* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1972), 5–6. While the Lombard ecclesiastical establishment absolutely detested these "rag-wearers," or Patarenes, and their confrontational tactics, the papal reformers in Rome saw the Pataria as a valuable ally in its own efforts to reform the Lombard churches. Matters came to a head in Milan between the Pataria and the city's noble faction in the early 1070s when the two sides produced rival claimants to the city's vacant episcopal throne. The standoff brought the papacy into conflict with Henry IV of Germany, who saw the ecclesiastical establishments of Lombardy as bulwarks of imperial authority in his Italian kingdom. In the opening years of Gregory VII's pontificate, the disposition of the Milanese see continued to be a sore point in the pope's relations with the German king.

doctrine of holy civil war. In the lessons of the Holy Fathers of the Church, he finds the warrant for the physical punishment of heretical Christian princes. In the *Ad amicum's* peroration, he extols Matilda as a second Deborah, the female judge, who led the Israelites to victory over the Canaanites in *Judges* 4. Matilda is willing to risk all, even her very life in the fight against the heresy, which was sowing its seed within the Church.<sup>2</sup>

Yet a few years later, in his canonical treatise, the *Liber de vita christiana* (Book of Christian Life, ca. 1090), Bonizo teaches that the only proper response to the policies of a wicked prince of any stripe demands the loss of temporal goods, imprisonment, exile, and, if necessary, martyrdom.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, in the very same book of the *De vita christiana* in which he announces his new attitude toward wicked princes, Bonizo denounces female rulers. In his denunciation of female rulers, he includes a thinly veiled broadside directed at Matilda. He now insists that it was not the widow Deborah who defeated the Canaanites but the foreign married woman, Jael.<sup>4</sup>

What could have accounted for Bonizo's dual volte-face? Ultimately, the answer lies in Bonizo's Patarene identity. He was always first and foremost a Patarene militant. A commoner, he rose to prominence as an activist in the Pataria, the often violent popular reforming movement, which arose in Milan in the late 1050s and spread throughout Lombardy. Undoubtedly, it was his meritorious service to the reform cause as a Patarene operative that brought him to the attention of the papal reformers in Rome. Elevated to the see of Sutri (in the province of Viterbo, just north of Rome) sometime before 1078, likely by the Patarene sympathizer Pope Gregory VII, Bonizo was chased from Sutri by Henry IV's advancing army in 1081 or 1082.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently, these imperial forces captured him outside of Rome and

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<sup>2</sup> Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber Ad amicum*, ed. Ernst Dümmler. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* [Henceforth = "MGH," with appropriate sub-series named after colon]: Libelli de Lite 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1891), 8: 620. I have recently explored the dimension of friendship as dealt with by Bonizo in his *Liber*; see John A. Dempsey, "Ideological Friendship In The Middle Ages: Bonizo of Sutri and His *Liber Ad Amicum*," *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 6 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2011), 395–428.

<sup>3</sup> Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita christiana*, ed. Ernst Perels (1930; Hildesheim: Weidmann 1998), 7.1: 231 (page references are to reprint edition).

<sup>4</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, (see note 3) 7: 250. Since the investigations of Hugo Saur in the late nineteenth century, scholars of various stripes have concurred with Saur's assertion that Bonizo's denunciation of female rulers in Book 7 is primarily aimed at the countess. Hugo Saur, "Studien über Bonizo," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 8 (1868): 395–464.

<sup>5</sup> Bonizo's first recorded act as bishop of Sutri dates to October of 1078. See Berschin, 9 n. 28. In his *Chronicon* entry for 1082, Bernold of St. Blasien states that Henry seized Bonizo outside of Rome in 1082. In his entry in 1089 about Bonizo, Bernold recalls that Bonizo had been expelled from Sutri for his fidelity to St. Peter. It is very likely that Bonizo was first expelled in 1081, the year of Henry's first expedition to Italy. See Bernold of St. Blasien, *Chronicon*, ed. G[eorg] H[einrich] Pertz.

he remained in Henry's custody until his release around 1085. He then found refuge, like so many exiled reformers, in the circle of the papal stalwart Matilda of Tuscany.<sup>6</sup> There, he composed his papal-imperial history, the *Ad amicum*. In his history, Bonizo defends the recently deceased Gregory VII's treatment of the emperor and calls upon knights associated with the Pataria to take up arms against Henry and his anti-pope Guibert of Ravenna in imitation of the countess. The chief purpose of his history was to convince his Patarene comrades that Gregory's and Matilda's struggle against the emperor was righteous and most importantly, not only a continuation of their own earlier struggle against the Lombard ecclesiastical establishment but an opportunity to revive their movement, which lay moribund since the murder of its lay leader Erlembald Cotta in 1075 in Milan.

It is no accident that Erlembald Cotta is a major figure in Bonizo's history. He is the most important of three contemporary practitioners of holy violence that Bonizo holds up to his audience for emulation. Erlembald was the brother of the Milanese cleric Landulf Cotta who was the earliest companion of the Pataria's founder, the deacon Arialld of Varese. We know from Andrew of Strumi's *Vita sancti Arialldi* (Life of Arialld) (1075) that upon the death of Landulf, Arialld asked the knight Erlembald to forgo entering the monastic life and to take his brother's place to defend the Catholic faith and to oppose heretics and the enemies of Christ in Milan.<sup>7</sup> While Arialld lived, Erlembald was the second in command of the Milanese branch of the Pataria. After Arialld's murder in 1066, Erlembald took control of the movement in Milan and transformed it into a quasi-urban militia.<sup>8</sup> Erlembald's death in a street fight ignited a reaction against the Pataria across Lombardy, which pushed the movement to the fringes of Lombard society.

But from the time of the *Ad amicum*'s composition forward, Bonizo was determined to resuscitate the Pataria and to restart its conflict with the Lombard

MGH: Scriptores 5 (Hanover: Hahn, 1844) a. 1082, 437 and a. 1089, 449. Bernold was also known as Bernold of Constance or Bernold of All Saints.

<sup>6</sup> We know that Bonizo was free again by late 1085 or early 1086 from certain details of the *Ad amicum* (see note 2). Most importantly, Bonizo's narrative ends with Gregory VII's death in May of 1085 and he does not mention the election of Gregory's successor, Victor III. His mini-panegyric to Matilda in the book's peroration and his denunciations of Henry and the anti-pope Guibert of Ravenna strongly indicate that he composed it while under the countess's protection. See Berschin, *Leben und Werk* (see note 1), 23. Other evidence besides the *Ad amicum* locates Bonizo in Matildine territory in the mid 1080s. In addition to a now lost Matildine diploma of 1086, which mentions Bonizo, both *Vitae* of Anselm II of Lucca place the exiled bishop of Sutri in the Matildine city of Mantua for Anselm's funeral in March of 1086. See Berschin, *Leben und Werk* (see note 1), 10, n. 33.

<sup>7</sup> Andrew of Strumi, *Vita sancti Arialldi*, ed. Friedrich Baethgen. MGH: Scriptores 30.2 (Hanover: Anton Hierseemann, 1934), Ch. 15, 1059. Andrew relates that Erlembald had returned from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

<sup>8</sup> H[erbert]. E. J. Cowdrey, "The Papacy, The Patarenes And The Church Of Milan," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. 18 (London: Printed for the Society, 1968): 25-48, 35.

ecclesiastical establishment. This determination led him beyond the bounds of Matilda's territory to Piacenza.<sup>9</sup> There, sometime in the late 1080s, the city's Patarene faction elected him bishop in a controversial rump episcopal election.

Unfortunately, for Bonizo, however, his agenda of the late 1080s ran counter to that of Pope Urban II as well as apparently that of Matilda. As Paul Fournier long ago pointed out, in the early years of his pontificate Urban sought détente with Henry IV's supporters, the Henricians, especially the Henricians of the northern Italian ecclesiastical establishment, who believed Henry had gone too far in his conflict with Gregory and wanted to return to the papal fold.<sup>10</sup> In order to facilitate the return of some of these Henricians to the papal camp, Urban relaxed the rigor of the canons and of some of Gregory's policies. Most importantly, Fournier was the first to suggest that Matilda was not the only target of Bonizo's ire in the *De vita christiana*. He discovered that Bonizo also esoterically censures Urban in his canonical treatise.<sup>11</sup> Fournier speculated that the pope's rapprochement with certain elements of the Henrician party had deeply alienated the Patarene activist and exiled bishop of Sutri. More specifically, Fournier argued that Urban's patronage of the erstwhile Henrician, Bishop Daibert of Pisa, combined with his failure to aid Bonizo in his own attempt to secure the see of Piacenza for himself led the *De vita christiana*'s author to break with the pontiff. Furthermore, Fournier drew a connection between Bonizo's anti-papal polemic in the *De vita christiana* and his aforementioned esoteric criticism of his former patroness Matilda. Fournier argued that it was Matilda's steadfast loyalty to Urban as well as her sponsorship of Daibert that earned her Bonizo's scorn.<sup>12</sup> In addition, like Urban, Matilda too failed to come to Bonizo's aid in Piacenza. As it turned out, Bonizo's bid for the bishopric ended in total disaster. His aristocratic opponents there brutally assaulted him and forced him to flee the city a crippled man.

In his article, however, Fournier only partially unveiled the negative polemical line of argument against the pope and countess in the *De vita christiana*. Bonizo censures Urban and Matilda for an additional reason unexplored by Fournier. On

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<sup>9</sup> We know of Bonizo's presence in Piacenza from the report of Benzo of Alba in Book 1 of his *Ad Henricum IV imperatorem libri VII* and from Pope Urban II's correspondence in the *Collectio Britannica*.

<sup>10</sup> Paul Fournier, "Bonizo de Sutri, Urbain II et la comtesse Mathilde d'après le *Liber de vita christiana* de Bonizo," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 76 (1915): 265–98, esp. 283–86.

<sup>11</sup> The two foremost Bonizo scholars of the twentieth century, Ernst Perels and Walter Berschin, did not embrace Fournier's thesis concerning the rift between Bonizo and the pope. Whereas Perels essentially ignored Fournier's analysis, Berschin acknowledged that Bonizo displays some antipathy towards Urban in the *De vita christiana* (see note 3) but he did not think the rift between the pair was as serious as Fournier believed. See Berschin, *Leben und Werk*, 17 n. 62 (see note 1).

<sup>12</sup> Fournier, "Bonizo de Sutri," 295–96 (see note 10).



a number of grounds, Bonizo lambastes the duo for Matilda's abandonment of her vow of holy widowhood for marriage to the teenaged Welf V of Bavaria in 1089.

This negative polemical line of argument against pope and countess is central to the purpose of the *De vita christiana*. Especially after his experience in Piacenza, Bonizo was convinced that the men to whom the pope was extending an olive branch were leopards who could not change their spots so to speak. Urban's détente policy and relaxation of the canons were thus anathema to him. Unbelievably, Gregory's greatest lay ally, the countess of Tuscany, supported the rapprochement with erstwhile Henricians by embracing the likes of Daibert of Pisa. Fundamentally, the *De vita christiana* constitutes a treasure chest into which Bonizo the Patarene doctor places the principles of "true" religion for safekeeping against the reckless détente of pope and countess that threatened to result in the restoration of the pre-Patarene ecclesiastical status quo in Lombardy and beyond. The treatise is the complaint of a popular reformer who believed the cause of the gospel betrayed by the papal reformers. Bonizo had given up on the struggle against emperor and anti-pope. So disillusioned was the bishop of Sutri that he anticipated the arrival of the Antichrist.<sup>13</sup>

## II. The Summons to Holy Civil War in the *Ad amicum*

In order to convince his sidelined Patarene compatriots to join forces with the papal reform party and Matilda against Henry and his anti-pope, he had to persuade them to see this present struggle as a continuation of their own struggle of the 1060s and 1070s. Thus, in the *Ad amicum*, he had to set these struggles within a broader context, explaining where the papal reform movement and the Pataria fit in Christian history. Bonizo explains that the papal reform, especially in the life and ministry of Hildebrand/Gregory, and the activity of the Pataria and its greatest leaders (Ariald of Varese and Landulf and Erlembald Cotta) formed part of a seamless garment of righteous activity that extended back to the apostolic age. To this end, he greatly romanticizes the relationship between the Roman reformers and Hildebrand/Gregory on the one hand and the Pataria on the other hand in his history. Bonizo's narrative covers over all the rough spots and ambiguities that existed in the relationship between the two movements. According to Bonizo, for their efforts, the papal reformers, especially Hildebrand/Gregory, and the Pataria incurred the wrath of the same set of villains and agents of the devil: principally Henry and the Lombard aristocracy. In a manner of speaking, Bonizo's history constitutes an exercise in the purification (along partisan lines) of his comrades'

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<sup>13</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 2. 40: 54 (see note 3).

collective memory concerning the ministry of Hildebrand/Gregory and the origin, purpose, and history of their own movement. He wants them to recall the connection between their movement and the late pope and conclude that their armed defense of the Gregorian cause is tantamount to defending their own former cause and its values with the prospect that their old lost cause might yet be retrieved.

But by what device might Bonizo prod his fellow Patarenes to take up the sword once more? As he himself tells us, it was the inquiries of his *amicus*, his friend that presented him with the opportunity to stir his colleagues to action. At the very start of his history, the bishop of Sutri relates that two questions posed to him by his friend necessitated his work's composition. His friend wanted to know why it was that in a time of tribulation the cries of Mother Church seemingly go unanswered as the sons of obedience and peace lie prostrate, while the sons of Belial rejoice with their king.<sup>14</sup> Given the way the rest of the *Ad amicum* unfolds, it is virtually certain that the king in question here is Henry. Bonizo's friend also asked him if there was any warrant in the ancient lessons of the holy fathers for a Christian in the past or in the present to fight for religious truth with military arms?<sup>15</sup> Bonizo and his companion clearly desired something more than just a spiritual victory over the sons of Belial and their king. Notice too that the accent on the friend's inquiry is on the individual Christian's (presumably the individual Christian knight's) ability to defend dogma with the sword and not on the institutional Church's ability to demand such services. In producing his answer to his colleague's question, Bonizo similarly accentuates the ability of the Catholic faithful to rise up in defense of religious truth and not on the papacy's or the hierarchy's power to summon such a service. This is somewhat in contradistinction to the approach of Bonizo's more famous contemporary, Anselm II of Lucca, who, in his *Collectio canonum* (Collection of Canons), emphasizes the authority of the institutional Church to summon the faithful to holy war. No doubt, their Patarene orientation contributed greatly to Bonizo's and his friend's more popular perspective on the issue of holy war. After all, the Pataria was engaged in religious violence before the reform papacy set its seal on its martial activity in 1065 when Pope Alexander II bestowed the *vexillum sancti Petri* (banner of St. Peter) on Erlembald Cotta.

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<sup>14</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 1: 571 (see note 2).

<sup>15</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 1: 571 (see note 2): "Est et aliud, unde de veteribus sanctorum partum exemplis a me petis auctoritatem: Si licuit vel licet christiano pro dogmate armis decertare." (There is another [question], you seek from me verification from the ancient lessons of the holy Fathers as to whether it was lawful or is now lawful for a Christian to fight for doctrine with weapons). All translations of the *Ad amicum* are my own.

In Book 1, in answer to his friend's second question, Bonizo will unveil the "ancient" Christian doctrine of holy civil war. Basically, he will argue in the *Ad amicum* that in the 1060s and 70s the Patarenes were unknowing practitioners of this doctrine. In Book 1 itself, however, Bonizo will produce a scriptural justification for the allegedly antique dogma of holy civil war. Here, he observes that Abraham had two sons: one by his slave Hagar and another by his freeborn wife, Sarah. In an allusion to St. Paul's reasoning in Romans 9 that not all descendants of Abraham by birth are his true spiritual children, Bonizo writes that Hagar's son Ishmael represents all those who are descendants of Abraham by the flesh alone and Sarah's son Isaac represents the true spiritual descendants of Abraham. According to Bonizo, whereas the freeborn son Isaac represents the Catholic peoples, the concubine's son represents all heretics.<sup>16</sup> In Abraham's banishment and disinheritance of Ishmael and his mother at Sarah's request in Genesis 21 for their taunting of little Isaac, Bonizo finds the warrant for the physical suppression of belligerent heretics.<sup>17</sup> In Isaac's subsequent patient endurance of his mistreatment at the hands of his Philistine neighbors in Genesis 26, he finds the justification for the passive endurance by Christians of the persecutions of non-Christians.<sup>18</sup> These two episodes demonstrate clearly to Bonizo that when persecution comes from those outside the Christian community, it must be overcome by patient endurance of it; but when belligerent fellow Christians ignore the evangelical scythe of preaching, they must be overcome by arms.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 1: 572.

<sup>17</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 1: 572. Bonizo was hardly the first Churchman to find a rationale for the punishment of one group of Christians by another in the antagonism between Isaac and Ishmael. In Galatians 4:21–5:1, Paul employs the banishment of Ishmael in Genesis 21 as a rationale for the Galatian Christians to cut off relations with Judaizing Christians, who insisted that portions of the Mosaic Law were obligatory for Christians. Much later in time, in his Letter 185, Augustine of Hippo found in the banishment of Ishmael and his mother a justification for the Roman state's suppression of the Donatist heretics. See Augustine, *Letters*, 4: 163–203, trans. Wilfrid Parsons S.N.D. The Fathers Of The Church: A New Translation, ed. Roy J[oseph] Deferrari (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1955), 12: 152. Since he cites a few lines from this letter in *Ad amicum*, 8, Bonizo was obviously somewhat familiar with its contents. See Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 619. Anselm II of Lucca also cited portions of this Augustinian text in Book 13 of his *Collectio canonum*. Like Augustine, Anselm employed Sarah's banishment of Hagar as a rationale for military action against deviant Christians. See Anselm of Lucca, *Collectio canonum*, ed. Friedrich Thaner (Innsbruck: Librariae Academiae Wagnerianae, 1906–1915).

<sup>18</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 1: 572.

<sup>19</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 1: 572: "luce clarius demonstrans: cum persecutio ab his qui foris sunt nobis infertur, tolerando devincendam, cum vero ab his qui intus sunt, evangelica falce prius succidendam et postea omnibus viribus et armis debellandam." (This proves more clearly than light that persecution by non-Christians must be overcome by enduring it. However, persecution by fellow Christians must first be cut down by the scythe of preaching, and thereafter, it must be vanquished with all vigor and arms).

Notably in the final section of Book 1, following the unveiling of this ancient teaching, Bonizo turns aside from allegory and focuses on how the Christian faith expanded in the Roman Empire. The basic theme of this segment is patient endurance of persecution leads to victory. The greatest example of suffering leading to victory was of course the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus. The *Ad amicum*'s author points out that the apostles and martyrs too triumphed through suffering. But for Bonizo, aside from the resurrection of Jesus, the best historical example of Christian suffering leading to victory was the conversion of the emperor Constantine. He teaches that the pre-Constantinian Church, and especially the Roman see, had fought the devil through the patient endurance of persecution and finally triumphed over "the ancient Enemy" when Constantine received baptism at Pope Sylvester's hands. With the Roman emperor's baptism, the Roman See had subjected the imperial office to its authority.<sup>20</sup> Thus, the emperor was thenceforth a member of Jesus's flock and subject to the Roman pontiff. Presumably, then, an incorrigible heretical emperor who persecutes the Roman pontiff and the true faith would warrant correction by the Catholic faithful with the material sword. This is precisely how in the rest of his work Bonizo will portray the situation between Henry, Gregory, and the lay (i. e., the Patarene) faithful. Of course, it should be noted that Walter Berschin has argued that Bonizo only singles out the anti-pope Guibert of Ravenna for punishment in the *Ad amicum* and not Henry.<sup>21</sup> However, as will be demonstrated, the evidence is overwhelming that the bishop of Sutri wanted both men punished.

In fact, Bonizo's indictment of Henry as a wicked prince begins in earnest in Books 2–5. In these Books, the bishop of Sutri presents the *documenta* and *exempla* of various "good" Christian emperors and kings from the age of Constantine up to that of Henry IV's father, Henry III. He also discusses the poor example set by different wicked Christian princes in this same time period. Bonizo neatly summarizes the qualities of a good Christian prince: namely, deference to the advice of bishops, obedience to the Roman pontiff, protection of churches, esteem for the clergy, honoring of priests, and the governance of the *res publica* (the polity)

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<sup>20</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 1: 573: "Qui a beato [Petro] apostolorum principe sumens exordium per ducentos ferme annos usque ad pii Constantini tempora continuis bellorum successibus diebus noctibusque cum antique hoste decertans, XXXIII vicibus de eodem veternoso serpente triumphans, non ante desiit tolerando certare, subiciens sibi principatus et potestates, quam ipsum Romani imperii ducem christianae subiceret religioni." (Which [episcopal crown] from the time of Blessed Peter the prince of the Apostles and for nearly two hundred years fought for days and nights in a continuous succession of wars with the Ancient Enemy. After thirty-three successions (to that see), the Roman episcopate triumphed over that Poisonous Serpent. Yet not before it ceased to contend through tolerating abuse, this episcopate subjected the principate and the magistrates to itself, when it subjected the very leader of the Roman Empire to the Christian religion).

<sup>21</sup> Berschin *Leben und Werk*, 110, n. 502 (see note 1).

in peace.<sup>22</sup> Conversely, the persecution of the clergy, the spread of heresy, and military disasters are the chief characteristics of the reigns of Bonizo's bad princes. It is all too clear into what column Bonizo wanted his Patarene audience to place Henry. To borrow an expression from Karl Morrison, one could say that in these books Bonizo employs both a method of association by contrast (*vis-à-vis* Henry and the good rulers) and by likeness (*vis-à-vis* Henry and the wicked princes).<sup>23</sup> If his audience still had any doubts about Henry's wickedness after hearing Books 2–5, then his subsequent narrative of Henry's reign in Books 6–9 makes it clear that the German emperor qualified as a bad Christian prince. In this regard, perhaps the most damning charge that he levels at Henry is the latter's complicity in the Lombard aristocracy's campaign against the Pataria.

In building his case against Henry and in favor of holy civil war against him, Bonizo also employs both ancient and modern *exempla* of what he deems righteous holy violence. In Book 2, he cites several episodes taken from Cassiodorus's *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita* (Tripartite Ecclesiastical History). He applauds the Catholics of Constantinople, who, out of zeal for the divine law, burned to death the imperial prefect Hermogenes and his entire household when the latter attempted to expel Bishop Paul of Constantinople at the behest of the wicked emperor Constantius. Significantly, Bonizo lauds the Milanese faithful for their armed resistance against Constantius when he attempted to arrest a group of orthodox bishops who lay hidden in a church.<sup>24</sup>

Modern *exempla* of righteous violence exist as well. More precisely, Bonizo presents his audience with three *exempla* of contemporary martyred holy warriors. He praises the heroic sacrifice of the soldiers who fought and died under Pope Leo IX's command at Civitate (1053) against the Normans,<sup>25</sup> the Roman prefect and Gregorian ally Cencius Iohannis,<sup>26</sup> and the Patarene knight, Erlembald Cotta.<sup>27</sup> Of the three *exempla*, Erlembald is by far the most important. Bonizo has little more to say about the other two except that miracles took place at their tombs.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, as stated before, Erlembald is a major figure in the *Ad amicum*. To Bonizo, Erlembald was the one "protected by God", "the brave soldier of God", a second Judas Maccabeus, who stood at the head of a "multitude of the army of

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<sup>22</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 2: 575.

<sup>23</sup> Karl F. Morrison, "Peter Damian on King and Pope: An Exercise in Association by Contrast," *Kings and Kingship*, ed. Joel Rosenthal. Acta (State University of New York at Binghamton. Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies) 11. (Binghamton: CEMERS, 1984), 89–112, 90.

<sup>24</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 2: 574.

<sup>25</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 5: 589.

<sup>26</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 611.

<sup>27</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 6: 598.

<sup>28</sup> On the fallen at Civitate, see Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 5: 589. On Cencius Iohannis, see Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 611.

God" and fought the "enemies of God"<sup>29</sup> and "the war of the Lord".<sup>30</sup> He recalls and celebrates various episodes in which Erlembald led the Patarene faithful in battle against Milan's aristocratic faction.<sup>31</sup>

The *Ad amicum*'s author informs his Patarene audience about those actors who both supported and opposed their movement in its epic struggle against the Lombard aristocracy in general and the Milanese *capitanei* and *vavassours*, "the sellers of the churches," in particular.<sup>32</sup> Bonizo makes it clear that the Roman reformers were staunch supporters of the Pataria in Milan and elsewhere.<sup>33</sup> But, none of the Roman reformers was as Patarene-like as Hildebrand/Gregory. Hildebrand/Gregory is a major figure in Bonizo's history. Some have gone so far as to call the *Ad amicum* a life of Gregory.<sup>34</sup> Bonizo portrays Hildebrand/Gregory as something more than just a Patarene ally or patron. By highlighting those points of strong ideological agreement between Hildebrand/Gregory and the Pataria as well as by employing characteristic Patarene turns of phrase in his description of his ecclesiastical career, Bonizo presents the pope to his colleagues as a fellow Patarene.<sup>35</sup> For Gregory was the Patarene pope.

While Bonizo does not link Countess Matilda to the Patarene cause directly, he does weave into his narrative episodes highlighting the house of Canossa's service to the reform papacy.<sup>36</sup> The countess is thereby a Patarene by association.

The bishop of Sutri presents Henry as the enemy of the Pataria. This fact strongly indicates that Bonizo indeed wanted his old comrades to wage war against Henry as well as the anti-pope. Why else would Bonizo rouse his audience against the German monarch unless he wanted him punished? Bonizo relates that at one point, Godfrey, one of the conservative candidates to succeed Archbishop Guido of Milan, offered the German king a deal: if Henry would invest him as archbishop, he promised that the Pataria would be destroyed and Erlembald

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<sup>29</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 6: 598–599.

<sup>30</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 7: 605.

<sup>31</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 6: 598–99.

<sup>32</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 7: 604.

<sup>33</sup> In Book 6, Bonizo includes a letter written to Cremona's Patarene faction by Pope Alexander II. See Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 6: 597–98.

<sup>34</sup> I[an] S[tuart] Robinson, "The Friendship Network Of Gregory VII," *History* 63 (1978): 1–22, 14.

<sup>35</sup> On Bonizo's portrayal of Hildebrand/Gregory as a Patarene, see John Andrew Dempsey, "Bonizo of Sutri: Life and Work," Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 2006, 220–27. Bonizo also draws upon a Patarene hagiographical tradition about Arialdo of Varese as the good disciple who mirrors the holy master Jesus in his portrayal of Gregory. See Andrew, *Vita*, Ch. 14, 1059 and Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 7: 606.

<sup>36</sup> Berschin, *Leben und Werk*, 8 (see note 1). In the *Ad amicum*, Bonizo recalls that Matilda's mother, Beatrice, did win the release of a number of Patarenes from Piacenza, who had fallen into Henrician hands after Erlembald's murder in 1075. See Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 7: 605.

brought back over the Alps as Henry's prisoner.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, the Milanese *capitanei* met with Henry and promised to destroy the Pataria and kill Erlembald: all of which delighted the German king and he promised the Milanese whatever they asked.<sup>38</sup> The *capitanei* did in fact kill Erlembald in a street battle in 1075 and Bonizo relates that miracles "up to today" occur at his tomb. After Erlembald's murder, Bonizo informs his audience that Henry dispatched his previously excommunicated counselor, Count Eberhard, to Lombardy. At Roncaglia, the count presided over an assembly and thanked the Milanese for Erlembald's death and invited them to come over the Alps to choose an archbishop for their city. Then, the count declared all Patarenes public enemies of the king.<sup>39</sup>

It is most instructive that Bonizo clearly did not think his picture of Henry as the Pataria's enemy was sufficient to mobilize his allies behind the Gregorian cause. He also believed it absolutely necessary to justify the late pope's treatment of Henry. This testifies to how controversial the pope's dealings with the king were even among staunch reformers. First, Bonizo believed it necessary to explain in good Patarene fashion with *documenta* and *exempla* that Gregory's excommunication and quasi-deposition of Henry in 1076, which followed the pope's condemnation by the German bishops at the Synod of Worms, was neither new nor reprehensible.<sup>40</sup> Bonizo also judged it necessary to explain to his colleagues how and why Gregory absolved Henry at Canossa.<sup>41</sup> Quite correctly, Bonizo does not associate the pope with the election of Rudolph of Rheinfelden as anti-king by the rebellious German princes at Forchheim in March of 1077. Bonizo portrays the pope as a frustrated would be peacemaker between the two claimants to the German throne and to the imperial title that went with it. Bonizo is once again on target. In the period 1077–1080, both sides of the German civil war were vexed by the pope's refusal to declare in favor of one of the candidates until he was absolutely certain of which claimant was the more righteously obedient to ecclesiastical authority and thus more worthy of the title of Christian prince. The acceptance of papal arbitration of the dispute constituted a necessary precondition for each claimant's eligibility to win papal approbation.

Bonizo also had to explain Gregory's second excommunication and deposition of Henry in 1080. This papal judgment came seemingly out of nowhere. Bonizo's

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<sup>37</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 6: 598.

<sup>38</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 7: 602.

<sup>39</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 7: 605.

<sup>40</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 7: 607. Bonizo's evidence here is not very convincing. Of the eight *exempla* of popes excommunicating and even deposing kings that he produces, five of them are fictitious. Another one concerns Ambrose's excommunication of Theodosius. Interestingly, four of Bonizo's *exempla* appear as well in Gregory VII's famous defense of his actions in his letter to Hermann of Metz.

<sup>41</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 610.

presentation of this final breach between pope and king is especially key to his justification of holy war against Henry. Bonizo's narrative makes it clear that Henry is indeed the architect of the rebellion against his divinely appointed pastor and that the anti-pope Guibert is simply his creature. The *Ad amicum's* author explains that Henry initiated the final conflict. He writes that by "deliberate design" (*deliberato consilio*) Henry sent representatives to Gregory with a proud and unprecedented ultimatum: if the pope excommunicated Rudolph, Henry would obey him. Otherwise Henry would acquire a pope of his own to excommunicate his rival. The pope, of course, refused to excommunicate Rudolph and instead excommunicated the arrogant Henry.

Bonizo's Synod of Brixen (June 1080) is a congress of malefactors under the presidency of Henry. Together with his loyal German princes and bishops and the bishops and princes of Lombardy, the German king came to Brixen after his second excommunication and deposition for the provisional election of Guibert of Ravenna as the anti-pope Clement III. With no Roman cleric or layman in good standing present, Guibert was provisionally elected bishop of Rome.<sup>42</sup> In an allusion to Daniel 12:1, Bonizo writes that such a diabolical deed was unheard of from the time the nations began until that day.<sup>43</sup>

Significantly, Daniel 12:1 discusses the appearance of the Archangel Michael at a time of unequalled distress since the beginning of the nations, which will precede the Last Judgment. In Daniel 11, the prophet foresees the rise of a northern king, who will exalt himself above every god and the God of gods, uttering monstrous blasphemies (Daniel 11:36). He will desecrate the sanctuary of the Jerusalem Temple and set up there the abomination of desolation (Daniel 11:31). He will overrun land after land and tens of thousands will fall victim to him (Daniel 11:40–41). He will do whatever he chooses, honoring an unknown god with gifts of gold, silver, and costly gifts (Daniel 11:36 and 38); and all will go well for him until the time of wrath ends (Daniel 11:36). Then, Michael will appear to deliver the faithful and the dead of the earth will rise either to eternal life or eternal death (Daniel 12:1–3).

From Brixen onward, Bonizo's Henry proceeds like Daniel's godless king of the north. At Brixen, Henry supplanted the Holy Spirit by choosing a pope for himself.<sup>44</sup> Together with all those present, he worshipped prostrate on the ground a kind of unknown god, a "pseudo-prophet," Guibert/Clement.<sup>45</sup> After Duke Rudolph's death in an engagement along the Elster River in Saxony (15 October

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<sup>42</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 612.

<sup>43</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 613.

<sup>44</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 613: "elegit sibi rex in pontificem" (The king chose for himself a pontiff).

<sup>45</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 613. Twice more in Book 8, Bonizo says that Henry worshipped Guibert. See Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 614.



1080), Henry led his "beast" the following spring into Italy.<sup>46</sup> Initially, the Romans rebuffed Henry and his "pseudo-pope". Eventually, however, Henry wore down the Romans with his siege of their city and finally won them over with bribes. To the disgrace and shame of the entire Church, Henry placed Guibert/Clement on the chair of St. Peter.<sup>47</sup> After receiving the imperial crown from him, Henry led his "three-bodied chimera" to the Lateran palace.<sup>48</sup> Thus, in the manner of Daniel's king of the north, Henry established an abominable thing (Daniel 11:31) in God's sanctuary.

Bonizo ends his historical narrative by recounting Robert Guiscard's rescue of a besieged Gregory from the Castel Sant' Angelo and Gregory's death in exile in Salerno. He, then, concludes his apologia for Gregory by acquitting the pope of several charges being leveled by Henry's supporters. He refutes the charges that Gregory was illegally elected pope,<sup>49</sup> that he was a false prophet, and that he excommunicated Henry uncanonically.

Finally, Bonizo begins his peroration by returning to his friend's question about fighting for dogma. More precisely, he writes that when his friend asked him if it is licit for a Christian to fight for truth, he was seeking a history.<sup>50</sup> Reasoning *a fortiori*, Bonizo asserts that if it has ever been lawful for a Christian to serve as a soldier for any cause, it is lawful to fight against the Guibertistas (the supporters of the anti-pope Guibert of Ravenna) in every way.<sup>51</sup> He then paraphrases a statement, attributed to Gregory the Great and popular with the Patarenes, that everyone must fight against simony and the heresy of neophytes according to his station.<sup>52</sup> Bonizo asks that if what Gregory writes is true, then, how much more true must it be to fight this heresy (Guibertism), the mother of all heresies?<sup>53</sup> Bonizo then launches into a mini apologia of the fighting profession per se. Here, the bishop of Sutri borrows heavily from Augustine's Letter 189 to the Roman

<sup>46</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 613: "His elatus successibus derepente Italiam intravit, et post pascha, ducens secum bestiam, Romam tendit." (Elated by these successes, Henry suddenly entered Italy and after Easter, leading a beast with himself, he reached Rome).

<sup>47</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 613–14.

<sup>48</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 614: "Dehinc in pascha a tali benedictionem accepit imperialem; sicque civitatem intravit, ducens secum triformem Chimeram, et ad Lateranense usque pervenit palacium." (Then, on Easter, Henry received the imperial blessing from such a man [as Guibert]; and thus he entered the city, leading with himself the triple Chimera [i. e., Guibert], and he arrived at the Lateran Palace).

<sup>49</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 615–16.

<sup>50</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 616–18.

<sup>51</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 618: "si licuit umquam christiano pro aliqua re militare, licet contra Guibertistas omnibus modis bellare." (if it has ever been licit for a Christian to for any cause, it is licit to fight against the Guibertistas in every way).

<sup>52</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 618. See Gregory I, *Register*, 12: 9.

<sup>53</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 618.

commander, Boniface, and cites several New Testament episodes that cast soldiers in a favorable light.<sup>54</sup> Then, he asks that if it is lawful to fight for an earthly king, will it not be lawful to fight for a celestial one? If it was lawful to fight for a republic, will it not be lawful to fight for righteousness? If it was lawful to fight barbarians, will it not be lawful to fight heretics?<sup>55</sup>

The series of questions above introduces Bonizo's armada of patristic snippets that supposedly prove that the fathers of the Church sanctioned religious civil war. He presents brief statements culled from the works of Gregory the Great, Gregory of Tours, Augustine, pseudo-Augustine, Jerome, and Ambrose. None of these snippets provides any real justification for his proposition, and in fact his use of some of them borders on the ludicrous. An examination of the original context of some of these statements reveals that they really do not address the issue at hand at all. This gives the impression that Bonizo's array of patristic *sententiae* functions more as a garnish to his historical argument than anything else. Ironically, the great defender of ecclesiastical law could not produce a single canon in defense of his proposal.

After his presentation of the patristic *documenta*, Bonizo rehearses the list of ancient and modern *exempla* of fighting for truth, including the example of Erlembald Cotta.<sup>56</sup> He, then, begins the final section of his peroration, which constitutes a mini-panegyric to Countess Matilda. He proclaims that "the soldiers of the most glorious God" should fight for truth; they should fight for righteousness.<sup>57</sup> In a gloss of 2 Thessalonians 2:4, he writes that God's soldiers should fight in spirit against the heresy that exalts itself against everything that is called or worshipped as a god.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, these soldiers of God should emulate "the most excellent Countess Matilda," who fights in every manner the heresy, which now sows its seed in the Church.<sup>59</sup> Bonizo equates Matilda with the

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<sup>54</sup> Bonizo cites John the Baptist's injunction to a group of soldiers in Luke 3 to harass no man and be content with their pay. He also cites Jesus's praise of the centurion's faith in Matthew 8 and Peter's baptism of the centurion Cornelius and his household in Acts 10.

<sup>55</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 618.

<sup>56</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 619–20.

<sup>57</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 620: "Igitur pungent gloriosissimi Dei milites pro veritate, certent pro iusticia." (Therefore the soldiers of the most glorious God should fight for truth, they should fight for righteousness).

<sup>58</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 620: "pungent vero animo adversus heresim, extollentem se adversus omne, quod dicitur vel quod colitur deus" (they should fight in spirit against the heresy which exalts itself against everything that is called or that is worshipped as a god).

<sup>59</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 620: "Emulentur in bonum excellentissimam comitissam Matildam, filiam beati Petri, que virili animo, omnibus mundanis rebus posthabitis, mori parata est potius quam legem Dei infringere et contra heresim, que nunc sevit in ecclesia, prout vires suppetunt, omnibus modis impugnare." (They should emulate in moral goodness the most excellent Countess Matilda, the daughter of Blessed Peter, who with a virile spirit, with all worldly concerns having been neglected, has been prepared for death rather than break the law of God and against the heresy,

Hebrew judge Deborah when he alludes to Deborah's victory over the Canaanite general Sisera and his king Jabin when he writes that he is confident in Matilda's success because Sisera is handed over (Judges 4:9) and Jabin is drowned in the river Kishon (Psalm 83:10).<sup>60</sup> Bonizo concludes the *Ad amicum* by urging his friend to pray, as befits their office, that this heresy might perish most quickly.<sup>61</sup>

Significantly, Berschin has interpreted Bonizo's use of the impersonal term heresy/heresim above in his gloss of 2 Thessalonians 2:4 to describe what he wants the soldiers of God to fight as evidence that Bonizo does not target Henry per se in the *Ad amicum*.<sup>62</sup> To Berschin's way of thinking, the bishop of Sutri's invocation of the evil Canaanite figures Sisera and Jabin from Judges 4 a few lines later represents his personification of the impersonal heresy, which he censures. Yet, given his depiction of Henry in Books 6–9, especially as that of an enemy of the Pataria, it seems much more reasonable to assume that Henry is the personification/embodyment of this horrible heresy and that Sisera and Jabin are biblical archetypes of the wicked pagan general and his king, whom Guibert/Clement and Henry respectively resemble. In the same way he resembles one of the wicked Christian emperors of Books 2–5, Henry also resembles the Canaanite king who tried to wipe out the Israelites. Also, the author of 2 Thessalonians's description of the crime of the "Enemy" who will appear in the last days seems to resemble that committed by Henry in the *Ad amicum*. This "Enemy" is the author of the final rebellion (2 Thessalonians 2:3). He will not only rise in pride against every so called god and all that is worshipped as god, but he will also take his seat in the temple of God, claiming to be a god himself (2 Thessalonians 2:4). Fundamentally, does Bonizo not accuse Henry of playing God by driving a validly elected pope off the chair of Peter and choosing a candidate of his own to take his place? Granted, Henry did not take a seat in the temple of God himself. Still, Bonizo's narrative makes it quite clear that Guibert/Clement is his "beast," his proxy, and that Henry is the one who has usurped God's role. Bonizo wanted both the beast and the beast master punished.

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which now sows its seed in the Church, as men are available, she fights in every manner).

<sup>60</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 620.

<sup>61</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, 8: 620: "Nos autem secundum officii nostril tenorem oremus, ut, incense igni et suffossa ab increpatione vultus tui, citissime pereat." (However, as is according to the nature of our office, let us pray, that it (the vine of the Lord) having been set ablaze by fire and uprooted, it [the heresy] might perish most quickly from the rebuke of Your countenance). Given that the canons forbid a cleric to fight with arms, it would seem that Bonizo's language here about the tenor of his and his friend's shared office indicates that his friend was a cleric like himself.

<sup>62</sup> Berschin, *Leben und Werk*, 110 n. 502 (see note 1).

### III. A Tale of Two Bishops: Bonizo of Sutri and Daibert of Pisa

As mentioned earlier, Bonizo almost certainly issued his summons to war against emperor and anti-pope from the safety of the territory of the new Deborah, Matilda of Tuscany. By the mid-1080s, Matilda's court had become a safe haven for a number of northern Italian and German reform-minded Churchmen, whom Henry's military successes of 1080–1084 had driven from their dioceses. Through the countess's sponsorship, several of these recipients of her protection subsequently obtained bishoprics in northern and central Italy.

Thanks to the report of the exiled conservative bishop of Alba, Benzo, we know about Bonizo's aforementioned adventures beyond the boundaries of Matildine territory. Benzo's report on Bonizo's activity appears in Chapter 21 of Book 1 of his *Ad Henricum IV imperatorem libri VII* (Seven Books to Emperor Henry IV). In the opinions of both the most recent editor of Benzo's tome, Hans Seyffert, and Berschin, the reference to Bonizo dates to 1085 or later.<sup>63</sup> By this time, Benzo had been in exile for about eight or nine years. In circa 1077, Alba's Patarene faction drove him out of the city for good. In his very brief Chapters 21 and 22, Benzo shares with the newly crowned emperor the news of what appears to have been a Patarene counter-offensive in the ecclesiastical provinces of Milan and Ravenna. In Chapter 21, he praises Henry for having punished certain troublemakers, but then informs Henry that all disapprove of the fact that the "three demons, Bonizellus, Armanellus, and Morticiellus" have avoided similar fates.<sup>64</sup> Berschin, Seyffert, and other scholars before them, agree that "Bonizellus" refers to Bonizo of Sutri. Seyffert has surmised that "Armanellus" refers to Armanus, i. e., Herman, the Patarene cardinal-priest of SS. Quattro Coronati, who was later elected bishop of Brescia in 1087 with Matilda's aid and also served as Pope Urban II's legate in Lombardy.<sup>65</sup> No one seems to know to whom "Morticiellus" refers. About Bonizo, Benzo reports that he is engaged in a great sham or deception in Piacenza. There, he preaches diabolical sermons to the people and has condemned and consecrated churches.<sup>66</sup>

It is from the correspondence of Urban II contained in the *Collectio Britannica* (henceforth: "CB") that we know about Bonizo's aforementioned rump episcopal election in Piacenza.<sup>67</sup> Again, the city's Patarene faction was almost certainly

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<sup>63</sup> Benzo of Alba, *Ad Henricum IV imperatorem libri VII*, ed. Hans Seyffert. MGH: Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996), 8. See also Berschin, *Leben und Werk*, 95 (see note 1).

<sup>64</sup> Benzo, *Ad Henricum*, 1. 21: 158–60.

<sup>65</sup> Benzo, *Ad Henricum*, 1. 21: 160 n. 328.

<sup>66</sup> Benzo, *Ad Henricum*, 1. 21: 160.

<sup>67</sup> Robert Somerville, in collaboration with Stephan Kuttner, *Pope Urban II, The Collectio Britannica and the Council of Melfi (1089)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). Henceforth = "Somerville."

responsible for his election. Three texts of Urban's tell us all we know about this affair. Whereas the pope addressed CB 5 to Bonzio, he addressed two other letters, CB 6 and 7, to Cardinal Herman and "M" respectively. Robert Somerville has suggested that M likely refers to Bonizo's erstwhile benefactor, Matilda of Tuscany. One imagines that Urban composed his messages in response to a request from Bonizo for papal confirmation of his election. More than likely, the bishop elect of Piacenza sent his request to Urban via Matilda. This would explain why the pope also informed M of his ruling on Bonizo's request. Perhaps, Bonizo may also have reached out to his Patarene compatriot, Herman, for his help in winning Urban's confirmation of the election in Piacenza.

In all three of the texts, the pope offers only lukewarm approval of Bonizo's election with the important proviso that it can be secured without disturbing the peace in Piacenza.<sup>68</sup> In CB 5 and 6, Urban further stipulates that Bonizo's election must also pass canonical muster.<sup>69</sup> It is obvious from the papal texts that Bonizo's election had indeed upset many in Piacenza. In CB 5, Urban remarks that he had heard that numerous clergy and lay people had dissented from his election and had even sworn an oath against him.<sup>70</sup> In his message to Herman, the pope observes that Bonizo was neither unanimously elected nor supported by the upper clergy and laity.<sup>71</sup> The widespread dissent and threat of violence surrounding

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<sup>68</sup> Somerville, 50: "Volumus enim et amamus, si fieri ullo modo canonice et pace ecclesiae potest, electionem tuam permanere, et quantum in nobis est confirmare." (Translations of the *Collectio Britannica* texts are those of Somerville: If in any way it can be accomplished canonically and preserving the peace of the Church, we wish and desire that your election stand, and, as far as we can, to confirm it); 51: "Si potest fieri ut in Placentino episcopatu permaneat Bonizo, quamvis non ab universitate illius ecclesiae neque a melioribus tam clericis quam laicis electus sit, salva reverentia ecclesiae canonice et cum pace, laudamus." (If it can be arranged canonically and peacefully, with respect for the Church being preserved, that Bonizo can remain in the bishopric of Piacenza, although he was not elected by the unanimity of that church nor by the better clerics and better laity, we approve); 52: "Sutrinus episcopus, qui multum in ecclesia laborasse dicitur, si cum pace et cleri populi concordia fieri potest, volumus et pro eius reverentia desideramus ut in episcopatu Placentino, sicut olim electus est, sollempniter intronizetur." (We wish and for the sake of his respect we desire that, just as he was previously chosen, bishop of Sutri, who is said to have labored greatly in the Church, be solemnly enthroned in the bishopric of Piacenza, if it can be done peacefully and with the agreement of the clergy and people).

<sup>69</sup> Somerville, 50: "si fieri ullo modo canonice" (if in any way it can be accomplished canonically). Somerville, 51: "Si potest fieri.....salva reverentia ecclesiae canonice et cum pace." (If it can be arranged canonically and peacefully, with the respect of the Church being preserved).

<sup>70</sup> Somerville, 50: "Audivimus unde contristamur plurimos videlicet tam clericos quam laicos de electione tua in Placentinum episcopatum dissentire et contra te iurasse." (We have heard and thus are saddened that many people, both clerics and laity, dissented from your election to the bishopric of Piacenza, and have taken an oath against you).

<sup>71</sup> Somerville, 51: "quamvis non ab universitate illius ecclesiae neque a melioribus tam clericis quam laicis electus sit" (although he was not elected by the unanimity of that church nor by the better clerics and better laity).

Bonizo's elevation likely constituted the source of Urban's concern about the legality of the proceedings. Canonical tradition required the free assent of both clergy and people to a candidate's election. Although this assent did not necessarily have to be unanimous, it nonetheless was supposed to be widespread and include that of the senior clergy.

Urban surely could have issued a dispensation from the canonical norm out of consideration for Bonizo's situation. This supposition, however, presupposes that the pope saw Bonizo's enterprise as useful and necessary; yet he saw it as neither. While very Patarene in character, Bonizo's rump election was just the kind of controversial and highly partisan affair that the pope most wanted to avoid in northern Italy. He wanted to tone down the partisanship of Gregory's final years in this region. Again, as stated previously, he knew that some of the imperial allies in Germany, and especially in Italy, had grave doubts about the propriety of Henry's actions toward Gregory. Moreover, Urban recognized that some of these Italian allies in particular had begun to dread the prospect of a revitalized and re-assertive empire. Urban also knew that the papal cause could not prosper in the long run given the way the battle lines were drawn at his election. The Roman reformers were pinned south of Rome by the anti-pope's forces and reliant on the unreliable Normans for their immediate protection. Despite some recent moderate military successes, Matilda was still largely restricted to her territory north of Tuscany. For their part, the German Gregorians were greatly weakened militarily by 1088. Henry was dominant in his German kingdom.

Thus the pope shrewdly began to peel away supporters from the emperor and his anti-pope by his aforementioned temporizing of canonical rigor and of the Gregorian line. In the cases of certain key prelates and their churches, he demonstrated an eagerness to forgive their previous support of the emperor and the anti-pope and to make their return to the papal fold as easy as possible. New papal allies, particularly in northern Italy, would have relieved the Guibertistas' pressure on Rome itself, strengthened the ever faithful Countess Matilda's position in her own territory, and potentially interrupted the flow of information and supplies between Henry in Germany and Guibert/Clement in Ravenna.

In Piacenza, there was no Erlembald Cotta to shield Bonizo from his enemies and at some point, probably in the second half of 1089 or maybe early 1090, those who had sworn an oath against him made good on their vow. In his *Chronicon* entry for 1089, the chronicler Bernold of St. Blasien relates that Bishop Bonizo of Sutri was blinded, dismembered, and martyred by schismatics in Piacenza.<sup>72</sup> Bernold was wrong about Bonizo's dying in Piacenza, as evidenced by Bonizo's comments in the *De vita christiana* proving that he survived the brutal assault. For

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<sup>72</sup> Bernold of St. Blasien, *Chronicon*, a. 1089, 449 (see note 5).

instance, in Book 5, he comments that no fasting laws have been established for cripples like himself.<sup>73</sup>

At roughly the same time that Bonizo had been campaigning in the environs of Piacenza, the star of one erstwhile Henrician recently reconciled to the papal cause was enjoying a meteoric rise. Sometime in 1088, Urban personally re-ordained the subdeacon Daibert to the diaconate and then soon afterwards consecrated him bishop of Pisa. What made this remarkable was the fact that, just four or five years earlier, the new Pisan bishop had first been ordained to the diaconate by the excommunicated Henrician archbishop of Mainz and imperial chancellor, Wezilo.<sup>74</sup> It appears that Daibert belonged to one of the many northern Italian episcopal and municipal delegations that followed Henry IV back into Germany after his imperial coronation in the hopes of obtaining an imperial privilege.<sup>75</sup> That he received ordination at Wezilo's hands demonstrates Daibert's initial desire to climb the clerical *cursus honorum* as a Henrician. It is not unimaginable that he hoped at some future time to parley his ordination at the hands of one of Henry's episcopal favorites into a bishopric.

However, at some point not long after his ordination, Daibert evidently forswore his allegiance to the Henricians and crossed back into Italy. Michael Matzke has commented that his subsequent elevation to the Pisan see strongly hints that when he defected to the papal camp Daibert entered the circle of clerics surrounding Matilda of Tuscany. Pisa lay within her patrimony and she was closely associated with Daibert's last two predecessors there, Landulf and Gerard. Furthermore, just a year before Daibert's election and consecration, Matilda had co-sponsored the joint Pisan-Genoese military expedition to Mahdia, in modern-day Tunis. The flotilla's spiritual leader, a bishop named Benedict, was almost certainly Benedict of Modena, another one of the countess's episcopal clients. Therefore, it appears that Matilda did indeed introduce Daibert to the pope and that together the countess and the pope presented him to the Pisans as a candidate for their then vacant episcopal see.

Like Urban, Matilda too probably realized that she could not hold out indefinitely against a hostile emperor and equally hostile neighbors in Italy. In

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<sup>73</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 5. 80: 206.

<sup>74</sup> Michael Matzke, *Daibert von Pisa: Zwischen Pisa, Papst und erstem Kreuzzug*, Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband 44 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1998), 35–36. The principal basis of Matzke's chronology is a comment made by Urban II in his letter of late 1088 to Bishop Peter of Pistoia and Abbot Rusticus of Vallombrosa. In it, the pope writes that, prior to his "re-ordination," Daibert had been laboring greatly on behalf of the Church. Given that Wezilo was consecrated archbishop in October of 1084 and that by late 1088, Daibert had already defected to the papal camp, Matzke has suggested that Daibert must have been ordained by Wezilo fairly close in time to Wezilo's episcopal consecration.

<sup>75</sup> Matzke, *Daibert von Pisa*, 11–36 (see note 74).

particular, the countess needed to mend fences with the townsmen of her own patrimony, many of whom had defected to Henry in the course of his first two Italian expeditions. The Mahdia campaign and the presentation of Daibert were key components in the countess's attempted reconciliation with the Pisans. For her part, Matilda took further steps to demonstrate her goodwill towards Pisa. Increasingly, she abstained from her rights and privileges in that city. In 1103, she went so far as to donate her residence at the Church of St. Nicola to the cathedral canons.<sup>76</sup>

Urban also lavished favors upon Daibert and his see. In 1091, Urban confirmed Daibert as papal legate in Corsica. A year later, in the presence of Matilda and some of her Pisan allies, the pope issued a privilege that elevated Daibert to archbishop and made him metropolitan of Corsica and papal legate to neighboring Sardinia.<sup>77</sup> In addition, Daibert also enjoyed jurisdictional authority over the churches of the mineral rich Tyrrhenian islands of Elba and Giglio. As Michael Matzke has remarked, the pope's gradual extension of Daibert's jurisdictional powers also marked out the extension of Pisan influence in the western Mediterranean.<sup>78</sup>

Urban's sponsorship of Daibert sent shock waves through the papal camp in Italy. The most direct evidence that we possess of these waves is the letter that the pope addressed to Bishop Peter of Pistoia and Abbot Rusticus of Vallombrosa in the fall or winter of 1088.<sup>79</sup> Urban's language makes it clear that he was responding to an earlier message from the pair. He reminds them that they had written to him about the most serious scandal that had arisen among them due to his consecration of Daibert, who had been ordained a deacon by the heretic Wezilo.<sup>80</sup>

The content of Urban's letter indicates that Peter and Rusticus's concern was twofold. On the one hand, they were apparently taken aback that Urban would have elevated to the episcopacy a man who had received diaconal orders from an excommunicant. Matzke has noted that there circulated in some reform circles of the era the legal opinion that reconciled heretics could not advance beyond the last office that they had held prior to their separation from the Church.<sup>81</sup> Also, given

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<sup>76</sup> Matzke, *Daibert von Pisa*, 59 (see note 74)

<sup>77</sup> Matzke, *Daibert von Pisa*, 75–76 (see note 74).

<sup>78</sup> Matzke, *Daibert von Pisa*, 100–101 (see note 74).

<sup>79</sup> Somerville, 105–9 and *Epistolae, Diplomata et Sermones, beati Urbani II, Patrologia Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 217 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Catholique, 1844–55; rpt. Paris: Garnier, 1880–) [Henceforth = *PL*], 151: 11: 294–95.

<sup>80</sup> Somerville, 105–6: "Scripsistis nobis maximum apud vos scandalum emerisse quod Pisianum episcopum consecraverimus, qui a Guezelone heretico diaconus fuerat ordinatus." (You wrote to us that a most grievous scandal had arisen among you because we consecrated the bishop of Pisa, who had been ordained a deacon by the heretic Wezilo).

<sup>81</sup> Matzke, *Daibert von Pisa*, 34 and 34 n. 59 (see note 74). Matzke points out that such a provision can be found in the famous collection of canons entitled the *Collection in 74 Titles*. Bonizo too was



that Urban dedicates the final ten lines of his forty-five-line letter specifically to a defense of his re-ordination of Daibert, Peter and Rusticus must have also questioned the propriety of this particular maneuver. Urban seems to have been especially anxious to acquit himself of the charge that he had illegally repeated the bestowal of a sacrament. He insists in his message that what he had done did not constitute a repetition of the sacrament of holy orders, but instead a true bestowal of it.<sup>82</sup> Most interestingly, in defense of this action, Urban adopted the rigorist argument of Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida on the question of the validity of the sacraments of heretical clergy. More precisely, he utilizes a *sententia* of Pope Innocent I, well known by rigorists, to deny the validity of such sacraments. According to Innocent's ruling, a heretic ordained by heretics cannot validly ordain another man because he has nothing to bestow upon him.<sup>83</sup>

At first inspection, then, it would appear that Urban was a theological hard liner on the question of the validity of the sacraments of the Guibertine hierarchy. Yet, as Matzke has remarked, a political motive lay behind the nullification of the consecrations and ordinations of the Guibertistas. The political goal was to strike at the spiritual authority and prestige of the Henrician party. Paradoxically, at the same time, the pope's re-ordination of Daibert signaled his readiness to welcome back into the papal fold all those who had strayed into the Henrician camp. Urban employed a rigorist theological argument in Daibert's case in order to achieve a moderate political goal.<sup>84</sup> He used a radical rationale to justify détente with an erstwhile Henrician.

Another controversial affair that brought Bonizo's wrath down upon the pope and the countess in the *De vita christiana* was Matilda's decision in 1089 to remarry. In that year, the forty-three-year-old countess married the seventeen-year-old heir to the duchy of Bavaria, Welf V. Since Welf's father (Welf IV) also claimed extensive lands in Italy — his grandfather had founded the House of Este — Welf's union with Matilda threatened to create a powerful principality stretching from Tuscany to southern Germany and would have also placed both sides of the Alpine Brenner Pass system into anti-imperial hands. Like the defection of Pisa from the imperial camp, this development would have impeded Henry's ability

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aware of this opinion and attributed it to a decree of Pope Innocent I. See Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 1. 43: 32.

<sup>82</sup> Somerville, 106: "quod non reiteracionem estimari censemus sed tantum integram diaconii dationem" (we declare that this is not to be deemed a repetition, but only the true grant of the diaconate).

<sup>83</sup> Somerville, 106: "et beati Innocenti papae constat *sententia* declaratum quod Guezelo, hereticus ab hereticis ordinatus, quia nil habuit dare nil potuit ei (Daibert), cui manus imposuit" (and declared by the judgment of blessed Pope Innocent, that Wezilo, a heretic ordained by heretics, was able to give nothing to him [Daibert] on whom he imposed hands because he had nothing).

<sup>84</sup> Matzke, 32–33.

to communicate with and defend his anti-pope and his other Italian allies and thus it would have improved Matilda and Urban's strategic positions. Of course, the strategic considerations behind Matilda's decision to remarry mattered very little to the Patarene activist Bonizo. Based on some of his remarks in the *De vita christiana*, the bishop of Sutri clearly opposed Matilda's remarriage. On the one hand, Bonizo objected to Matilda's re-marriage on religious grounds. Based upon some of his language in the *De vita christiana*, it appears that sometime after the death of her first husband in 1076, Matilda had entered into a state of holy widowhood, which entailed a vow of chastity.<sup>85</sup> Cinzio Violante pointed out some time ago that many eleventh century Churchmen considered widowhood a spiritually superior state of life to that of marriage.<sup>86</sup> Violante also noted that in eleventh century Italian reform circles the notion existed that pious widowed or unmarried laity, particularly male aristocrats, could better serve the Church's needs by leading ascetical lives of service in the world than by entering the cloister. Violante has pointed out that Erlembald Cotta, and the Roman prefect, Cencius Iohannis, the staunch lay ally of Gregory VII in Rome, are two of the more famous representatives of these eleventh century "contemplatives in action."<sup>87</sup> Each man, at the request of a cleric, set aside his own desire to enter the monastery in order to wield the material sword in defense of ecclesiastical reform against its opponents. As far as we know, neither man remarried.

It is instructive that, in his *Tractatus in Cantica Cantorum* (Treatise on the Song of Songs) of ca. 1081–1083, another Matildine favorite, John of Mantua, assures the countess that her military service against the Henrician party constitutes an extension of her prayer life.<sup>88</sup> One of the chief purposes of John's commentary was to convince Matilda not to take the veil in a formal sense, but rather to remain actively opposed to antichrist (i. e., Henry IV) with "*consilio et armis*" (wise judgment and arms).<sup>89</sup> Thus, it seems that the circle of clerics gathered around the countess in the early and mid-1080s, among whom numbered Bonizo of Sutri, had presented to her the idea that she could better serve God's church as a holy widow engaged against its enemies both spiritually and militarily than as a cloistered nun.

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<sup>85</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 250.

<sup>86</sup> Cinzio Violante, "I laici nel movimento patarino," *I laici nella società cristiana dei secoli XI e XII: Atti della terza settimana internazionale di studio*, Mendola 21-27 agosto 1965, Pubblicazione dell'Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Contributi - Serie 3, Varia -5, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 5 (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1968), 597–687; repr. idem, *Studi sulla Cristianità medioevale* (Milan, 1975), 154–55.

<sup>87</sup> Violante, 682–83.

<sup>88</sup> Valerie Eads, "Mighty in War: The Campaigns of Matilda of Tuscany," Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 2000, 221.

<sup>89</sup> H[erbert] E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 300.

On a moral level, what seems to have most upset Bonizo about Matilda's remarriage was that he believed that she had forsaken her vow of chastity and had engaged in conjugal relations with Welf. Implicitly, he also blames Urban for her folly.<sup>90</sup> To be sure, the pope's fingerprints were all over the affair. In his announcement of Matilda's remarriage in his *Chronicon* entry of 1089, Bernold reports that the countess did not remarry because of any sexual incontinence on her part but in obedience to the Roman pontiff to help the Roman Church against the excommunicated (i. e., Henry and Guibert/Clement).<sup>91</sup>

On the ecclesio-political level, Matilda's remarriage, like her patronage of Daibert, angered Bonizo because it signaled her agreement with Urban to pursue a strategy that did not entail an across the board counter-offensive against all ostensible Henricians in northern Italy. In other words, it indicated to Bonizo that she was not simply going to fight all the Pataria's old battles over again. While both renewed friendship with Pisa and the subsequent marriage to Welf were potentially to the countess's great advantage, neither diplomatic maneuver avenged the Pataria's suffering.

#### IV. The *De vita christiana*: Canonical Treatise as Ecclesio-Political Polemic

Scholars have grouped the *De vita christiana* with the contemporaneous canon collections of Bonizo's fellow reformers, Anselm II of Lucca and Cardinal Deusdedit. Like his fellow reformers' pieces, Bonizo's text is less of an academic treatise than it is a polemical tract. Scholars have long been aware of the polemical quality of Bonizo's canonistic work. The bitter polemic directed at Matilda in Bonizo's own *sententia*, which concludes Book 7, was first deciphered in the nineteenth century.<sup>92</sup> In the introduction to his edition of the *De vita christiana* (1929), Ernst Perels acknowledged the polemical quality of Bonizo's treatise. While he neither embraced nor denied Fournier's assertions about the anti-papal polemic in the *De vita christiana*, Perels readily admitted that the book's canonical citations seem intended to validate Bonizo's own assertions in his introductions and *sententiae*.<sup>93</sup> To his way of thinking, the *De vita christiana* possessed a definite tract-like quality. He concurred with Wilhelm von Giesebrecht's earlier opinion that Bonizo's work constituted a cross between a canon collection and a theological

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<sup>90</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 250.

<sup>91</sup> Bernold, *Chronicon*, a. 1089, 449 (see note 5).

<sup>92</sup> Saur, "Studien über Bonizo," 395–464 (see note 4).

<sup>93</sup> Ernst Perels, ed., "Introduction," *Liber de vita Christiana*, xxii (see note 3).

tract.<sup>94</sup> The most recent reconnoiterer of the *De vita christiana*, Walter Berschin, has likewise acknowledged the idiosyncratic qualities of the treatise. He too has drawn attention to the diatribe against Matilda in Book 7 as well as to those points in the book where Bonizo seems openly to lament his own difficult situation at the time of its composition. Unlike Perels, Berschin grants that Bonizo demonstrates a certain antipathy towards Urban. But he does not think that the rift between Bonizo and the pope was as wide as Fournier had believed.<sup>95</sup>

In actuality, none of the previous distinguished students of the *De vita christiana* has pursued the polemical elements in the text far enough. Perels was absolutely correct to identify Bonizo's own *sententiae* and introductions as the most important elements of the *De vita christiana*. They constitute the chief loci of Bonizo's polemical arguments. Throughout his treatise, he subordinates his canonical material to the pursuit of these arguments. His *sententiae* and introductions constitute the lens through which the canonical excerpts must be read. Ironically, his polemical motivations lead him in places to echo the Henrician polemic of the 1080s: most notably in Book 7, on the question of armed resistance to a wayward Christian prince. In effect, he abandons the idea advanced in the *Ad amicum* of holy civil war against heretical or schismatic kings, in favor of the more Augustinian notion that the Church may call upon Christian public authorities to enforce ecclesiastical discipline.

Fundamentally, the *De vita christiana* is every bit as polemical as the *Ad amicum*. It is a polemical piece composed by a sidelined Patarene activist wounded in body by ecclesiastical rivals but in spirit by Urban II's détente policy. Taken together with his own brutal experience in Piacenza, it was this détente policy that convinced Bonizo of his work's necessity. This shift in papal strategy had endangered the principles of true religion as understood from a Patarene perspective. Ultimately, it makes most sense to situate the *De vita christiana* within the context of the literature of those disaffected by Urban's détente policy of the early 1090s, as exemplified by Landulf of St. Paul's *Historia mediolanensis* (History of Milan) and the aforesaid letter of Peter of Pistoia and Rusticus of Vallombrosa, than to place it within the context of the canonical collections of Anselm II and Deusdedit.

Yet for all of his stinging criticism of Urban, Bonizo never formally breaks with him, let alone with the Roman Church itself. The Bonizo of the *De vita christiana* certainly saw the pope as a vain, imprudent figure and perhaps even as the devil's stooge. Regardless, Bonizo also maintains a heroic allegiance to the Roman Church of canonical tradition and he obviously wanted his audience to imitate him. The wounded and humiliated Patarene activist would not, could not, turn his back on

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<sup>94</sup> Perels, "Introduction," xxiii (see note 93).

<sup>95</sup> Berschin, *Leben und Werk*, 17, n. 62 (see note 1).

the lesson learned as a young man in his Patarene community that the Roman Church was the guarantor of all true religion.

Ostensibly, Bonizo opens his work on the Christian life, logically enough, with a discussion of baptism. The canonical excerpts, which comprise forty-two of Book 1's forty-four chapters, dominate Bonizo's text. All of these citations, which he draws from patristic literature and papal and conciliar legislation, concern some aspect of baptism. Significantly, fifteen of these citations concern the validity of baptisms performed by heretics or wicked men. Eleven of these come from Augustine's *De baptismo contra Donatistas* (On Baptism, against the Donatists).

However, as his own *sententiae*, comprising Chapters 43 and 44 of Book 1, attest, Bonizo's real concern in Book 1 is not baptism at all. He employs the canonical citations on baptism to set up his own argument in the Book's final two chapters on the related but distinct subject of ordination. More precisely, as Fournier recognized long ago, Bonizo's real concern in Book 1 is to take issue with Urban II's implementation of the ecclesio-political line that necessitated the re-ordination of clerics sacramentally tainted by the heretical Guibertine hierarchy. Bonizo is further obviously disturbed by the fact that some of these clerics proceeded to obtain higher offices. While he never mentions Daibert by name, Bonizo's complaints in his own Chapters 43 and 44 about the re-ordination and promotion of erstwhile Guibertines clearly mirror those evidently raised by Peter of Pistoia and Rusticus of Vallombrosa with Urban concerning Daibert. The canonical citations relating to baptism, which make up the preceding forty-two chapters, especially those taken from Augustine's *De baptismo* largely serve as proof material for his lightly disguised polemic against Urban in the Book's final two chapters. In this latter portion of Book 1, Bonizo indirectly denounces the pope's actions as contrary to papal law; and even worse, he implies that Urban's re-ordination policy borders on Donatism. Still, he stops short of accusing the pontiff of heresy and even offers a canonical fig leaf for his behavior.

In Chapter 43, the first of his two *sententiae* that conclude Book 1, Bonizo lays the legal groundwork for his more rhetorical, thinly veiled complaint about Daibert's (and perhaps others') re-ordination and promotion, which follows in Chapter 44. In Chapter 43, Bonizo makes the case that while the dirt of the one who baptizes cannot stain the one baptized, the dirt of the consecrator sullies the consecrated. The one who knowingly receives ordination from a heretic, and by heretic he means anyone who has suffered excommunication and has risen in rebellion against the Church, is a heretic himself.<sup>96</sup> If such an individual were to repent and return to the Church, then, according to a decree of Pope Innocent I,<sup>97</sup> he must

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<sup>96</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 1. 43: 32.

<sup>97</sup> *Decreta Innocentii I*, Ch. 21, PL, 67: 246.

remain in the clerical rank that he held prior to his apostasy.<sup>98</sup> In the case of one who was unwittingly ordained by the excommunicated or a heretic, and afterwards learns of his consecrator's wickedness, then, if he is a good man, he may out of utility or necessity, continue to hold his office but can advance no further in the clerical hierarchy.<sup>99</sup> Thus, even by allowing Daibert to remain a deacon, Urban was stretching the limits of the canons. His promotion of Daibert to the episcopacy went still farther beyond the canonical pale.

Bonizo concludes his very academic *sententia* with another swipe at Urban's decision by citing a letter of Pope Anastasius II's to the Byzantine emperor, Anastasius, about the sacraments performed by the heretical patriarch of Constantinople, Acacius.<sup>100</sup> Anastasius states unequivocally that those either baptized by Acacius or canonically ordained by him should not worry about the validity of their sacraments—for just as the sun's rays pass through the foulest places without defilement, so too the power of the Holy Spirit cannot be weakened by the unworthiness of his ministers.<sup>101</sup> Bonizo here makes the point that Urban's re-ordination of Daibert had violated both papal law and sound Augustinian theology. It was illegal and perhaps even heretical.

Yet he then backs away from the full implications of his presentation and provides Urban with a legal covering justification in Chapter 44. He writes that he knows that at that time some men, who in the days of pollution voluntarily allowed themselves to be polluted, have received promotions, and even worse, these same men have been re-ordained and have re-ordained others.<sup>102</sup> While we have no record of any re-ordinations performed by Daibert, there is no reason to doubt that Bonizo has Daibert primarily in mind here.<sup>103</sup> It is quite likely that after

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<sup>98</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 1, 43: 32: "Si vero talis ad unitatem ecclesiae cognoscens delictum suum aliquando redierit, secundum decreta papae Innocentii pro mango illi sit, ut ea carens dignitate, quam superbe adquisierat, in eo maneat gradu, quem in catholica susceperat, promovendi vero ulterius sibi sciatur omnem canonica auctoritate sublatam esse potestatem." (All translations of the *De vita christiana* are my own: Truly if such a one recognizing his own offense ever shall have returned to the unity of the Church, according to the decree of Pope Innocent according to that great man let it be to that man so that devoid of that office which he had arrogantly acquired, in that same rank let him remain which he had received in the Catholic Church, of advancing above [that grade] let him know that all power [of advancing] has been abolished by canonical authority).

<sup>99</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 1, 43: 32.

<sup>100</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 1, 43: 32–33. See *Decreta Anastasii II*, Ch. 7, PL, 67: 313 ff.

<sup>101</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 1, 43: 33.

<sup>102</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, I, ch. 44, 33: "Scio autem nostris temporibus quosdam promotos, qui voluntarie coinquinati sunt temporibus coinquinationis, et quod peius est, reordinatos et reordinasse." (I know, however, that in our days some certain men have been promoted who voluntarily were polluted in the days of pollution and what is worse they have been re-ordained and have re-ordained).

<sup>103</sup> Urban likely re-ordained and then promoted other erstwhile Henrician clerics, but Daibert's was

having been rehabilitated by Urban, Daibert would have towed the pope's ecclesio-political line in his diocese and re-ordained any tainted clergy. Bonizo adds that, even though such promotions and re-ordinations violate the law of the canons, he will not criticize them because he has learned that they have taken place by the authority of the Roman Church.<sup>104</sup> He then proceeds to offer what we might call his legal fig leaf for Urban's actions in the form of a paraphrase of a remark made by Pope Nicholas I in his Letter 88, addressed to the Byzantine emperor, Michael.<sup>105</sup> Paraphrasing Nicholas, Bonizo records that out of consideration for the times, the Roman pontiffs can forge new canons and alter old ones.<sup>106</sup> Then, however, Bonizo immediately adds that not everything permissible is advantageous.<sup>107</sup> He curtly attributes Urban's controversial deeds to necessity, but then he remarks that, according to the decrees of Innocent I, when the necessity ends so too should the extraordinary measure. While he leaves it to others to form their own conclusions about what has happened, he states his own opinion with a citation taken from a decree of Leo I: "with difficulty do matters come to a good conclusion which had a bad beginning."<sup>108</sup>

In citing Leo's original statement, Bonizo implies that he is not at all optimistic about the future behavior of those with whom Urban had been making peace. One strongly suspects that Bonizo believed that Leo's dictum applied most of all to Daibert of Pisa. Ultimately, then, the exiled bishop of Sutri chooses to charge the pope with political imprudence or naiveté rather than with heresy. On this score, it is important to note that, in Book 1 of his tome, Bonizo proceeds conversely from the way in which Urban proceeded in his détente policy with the likes of Daibert.

the most famous of these cases in Italy and would have been of the greatest interest to Bonizo.

<sup>104</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, I, ch. 44, 33: "Quod licet non approbem canonibus interdientibus, omnio tamen vituperare non audio, quia audio et hoc Romanae ecclesiae factum esse auctoritate." (That which is not lawful which the canons forbid I should not approve, nevertheless, I do not at all dare to find fault with it because I hear that it has been done by the authority of the Roman Church).

<sup>105</sup> Later in Book 4, Bonizo will cite almost the entire letter for the purpose of censuring Urban's indifference to his own plight.

<sup>106</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, I, 44: 33: Ut enim beatus Nicholaus scribens ad Michaelem imperatorem ait, licuit semper semperque licebit Romanis pontificibus novos canones cudere et veteres pro consideratione temporum immutare. (For as blessed Nicholas when he wrote to the emperor Michael he says it has been permitted and forever will be permitted to the Roman pontiffs to forge new canons and to change old ones out of consideration of the times).

<sup>107</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, I, 44: 33: Set non omne quod licet expedit. (But, not everything that is permitted is advantageous.).

<sup>108</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, I, 44, 33: "Videant alii, quid dicant, quid sentiant de talibus. Mea autem sententia de recassatis haec est: 'Difficile bono consumantur exitu, quae malo sunt inchoate initio.'" (Let others consider what they should say, what they should think about such things. My opinion, however, about recent events is this: "With difficulty are things completed in a good ending which have been started with a bad beginning"). See Leon I, *Decreta*, Ch. 49, PL, 67: 298.

For, whereas Urban employed the radical theological argument of Humbert of Silva Candida in order to achieve the moderate political goal of reconciling former adversaries like Daibert, Bonizo employs a moderate neo-Augustinian theological argument to maintain a political hard line against these same individuals.

Bonizo's polemicism in Book 1 should alert the careful reader to the twin facts that the *De vita christiana* possesses a subtext and that his own *sententiae* are its chief loci. In Book 2, Bonizo expands the scope of his criticism to include Matilda of Tuscany. On the surface, Book 2 concerns the figure of the diocesan bishop. Given the relatively large number of his own *sententiae* within its pages, Bonizo obviously took great personal interest in this subject matter. On one level, it constitutes a Patarene-inspired mirror for bishops. Through the Book's canonical citations and his own *sententiae*, Bonizo lays out all the necessary criteria, including requisite personal qualities, for prospective bishops. But in so doing, Bonizo simultaneously advances his polemical arguments.

The rubric to Chapter 40 of Book 2 reads: "About avoiding the evil of hypocrisy and about guarding against hypocrites."<sup>109</sup> Behind the chapter's moral injunctions, however, lay a wounded Patarene's blistering critique of Matilda, and the pope. Specifically, he severely censures Matilda for her abandonment of the state of holy widowhood and entering into an unchaste union with Welf V. Bonizo's criticism of the pope in Chapter 40 is largely implicit. He and his intended audience knew all too well that Urban was intimately involved in the countess's marriage to Welf.

In Chapter 40, Bonizo excoriates foolish widows. He also laments that hypocrites or pseudo-disciples/pseudo-Christ/pseudo-prophets have appeared signaling the advent of antichrist.<sup>110</sup> These hypocrites often take advantage of miserable women weighed down by their past sins (2 Timothy 3:6–7).<sup>111</sup> Bonizo believes that these women are the widows whom Paul describes as the living dead in 1 Timothy 5:6: "a widow given over to self-indulgence is as good as dead."<sup>112</sup> Initially, the hypocrites despoil such women of their chastity, then, they rob them of all their worldly wealth and integrity.<sup>113</sup> These unchaste widows act more like adulteresses

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<sup>109</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 2. 40: 53: "De vitando malo ypocrisis et de cavendis hypocritis" (About avoiding the evil of hypocrisy and about guarding against hypocrites).

<sup>110</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 2. 40: 54.

<sup>111</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 2. 40: 54: "Hii sunt, qui spoliunt mulierculas honeratas peccatis, semper discentes et numquam ad notitiam veritatis pervenientes." (These are the ones who rob mere women adorned with sins, who always search and never arrive at a knowledge of the truth).

<sup>112</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 2. 40: 54: "illas credo honeratas peccatis, quas apostolus viventes mortuas notat, dicens: 'Vidua in delitiis vivens mortua est.'" (I believe that those women adorned with sins are those which the Apostle describes as the living dead, when he says: "the widow living in indulgence is dead"). See *The New English Bible With The Apocrypha* (Oxford and Cambridge: Oxford and Cambridge University Presses, 1970), 269.

<sup>113</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 2. 40: 54: "Quas hypochrite prius spoliunt castitate, dehinc omnibus mundanis divitiis et probitate." (Which women the hypocrites despoil of (their) chastity, then they



by crossing over remote mountains and rivers and seeking out strange cities for the chance of conversation under the pretext of religion and at the devil's instigation they sometimes exchange impure embraces within chapels.<sup>114</sup> In a partial gloss of Paul's statement in Galatians 1:8–9, that anyone who teaches a gospel other than the one that he has received is anathema to him, Bonizo then remarks that anyone, who thinks any differently from him and Paul about these widows, is anathema to him.<sup>115</sup> In the very next line, which concludes Chapter 40, the author ominously intones that he is not at all certain that the "vicar of the devil" is not there when the solitary man converses with the solitary woman at night.<sup>116</sup>

It is quite likely that the "hypocrites" invoked in Chapter 40 refers to all the erstwhile Henrician clerics, who accepted Urban's invitation to return to the papal fold in the opening years of his pontificate. To an extent, Anselm III of Milan fits Bonizo's bill. Anselm had been invested with his archbishopric by Henry, but he went over to the papal camp at roughly the same time Urban re-ordained and promoted Daibert. We know that Milan's Patarene faction mistrusted Anselm, and from Bonizo's perspective, Anselm's abandonment of the emperor, who had invested him, and his subsequent reconciliation with Rome, must have looked like rank opportunism. By repairing his relationship with the pope, Anselm was able to retain his archbishopric without having to deal with an over-bearing German monarch and his Ravennese anti-pope.<sup>117</sup>

rob (them) of all (their) worldly riches and goodness).

<sup>114</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 2. 40: 54: "Videas eas maritorum, immo mechorum sequentes vestigia, alpes devias superare et flumina transmeare et urbes ignotas querere studio orationis et sub pretextu religionis, ut eorum releventur alloquio et nocturnis vigiliis diabolo instigante aliquando intra sacella inpudico foveantur amplexu." (You should see those women of married men, rather they follow the footsteps of adulterers, to go over desolate mountains and to cross rivers and to seek out unknown cities in pursuit of conversation and under the pretext of religion so that they are comforted by talk and nocturnal vigils by the Devil's instigation sometimes they are excited by an impure embrace within chapels).

<sup>115</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 2. 40: 54–55: "Set ut verbis utar apostoli, si quis aliter michi predicaverit, quam predicatum est, anathema sit; et si quis aliter senserit de tenellis viduis, quam apostolus docuit, anathema mihi sit." (But, so that I might employ the words of the Apostle, if anyone shall have preached otherwise from me which has been preached, let him be anathema; and if anyone shall have thought otherwise about dainty widows whom the Apostle has taught, he is anathema to me).

<sup>116</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 2. 40: 55: "Ego autem non sum illis credulous vicarium ibi deesse diaboli, ubi solus cum sola nocturnis horis confabulatur." (I am not full of confidence, moreover, that the vicar of the Devil is absent from those people where the solitary man converses with the solitary woman in the nocturnal hours).

<sup>117</sup> Another factor that made Anselm so controversial with reformers is that he was consecrated archbishop by only one bishop instead of by the canonical standard of three. Fournier believed Bonizo alludes to this irregularity in Anselm's consecration in Books 2 and 3 of the *De vita christiana*. See Fournier "Bonizo de Sutri," 292, n. 4 (see note 10).

There is little reason to doubt that the widow who traverses mountains and rivers under the pretext of religion to meet with and embrace her lover, represents Matilda who would have had to journey great distances to meet up with Welf. Bonizo's subsequent harangue in Book 7 in which he derides widows who associate with curly-haired boys, would seem to support this interpretation.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, like the miserable women of 2 Timothy 3:7, Matilda too evidently felt weighed down by her sins. We catch a glimpse of this side of the countess in John of Mantua's aforementioned *Tractatus in Cantica Canticorum*. John's chief purpose was to ease Matilda's anxiety about remaining in the active life. Like other pious lay rulers, she apparently struggled to reconcile her desire for the spiritual life with the exigencies of political office. Formerly, Bonizo had probably demonstrated great solicitude for the countess's situation. Yet Matilda could not settle on simply one set of spiritual directors. She had always wished to be taught by those within her household, but this proved unsatisfactory, since she "never arrived at the truth."<sup>119</sup> Nor had she been content with the religious truth presented to her by Bonizo, John of Mantua, and the others, who had counseled her to live in a state of chaste, holy widowhood. In Book 2, Chapter 40, one of her erstwhile spiritual counselors seemingly mocks Matilda's religious scruples and disparages her thirst for spiritual knowledge.<sup>120</sup>

The entire chapter constitutes an implicit indictment of Urban's papacy. After all, his détente policy unleashed the pestilent hypocrites/pseudo-Christ/pseudo-prophets who mark the advent of the Antichrist. Furthermore, Bonizo knew that Urban was intimately involved in the widowed countess's immoral (by prevailing Church standards) decision to remarry. His statement that anyone who thinks differently than he and Paul (1 Timothy 5:6) about self-indulgent widows is anathema to him,<sup>121</sup> raises the possibility that the aforesaid "vicar of the devil" may in fact refer to the pope, traditionally the "vicar of St. Peter."<sup>122</sup>

Book 7, which addresses the religious duties of the upper echelons of the lay rank, contains the two great reversals in Bonizo's judgment of Matilda and of the

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<sup>118</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 250.

<sup>119</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 2.40: 54.

<sup>120</sup> The phrase "under the pretext of religion," which Bonizo employs to deride the alleged rationale for the traversing of mountains and rivers by the adulterous lovers, further indicates that the bishop of Sutri had Matilda in mind here. Recall that in his *Chronicon* entry for 1089, Bernold offered an ecclesio-political justification of the countess's remarriage. He recorded that Matilda married Welf V not because of any sexual incontinence on her part but in obedience to the Roman pontiff to help the Roman Church against the excommunicated (i. e., Henry and the anti-pope Guibert/Clement). Bernold's presentation likely echoed the papal/Matildine party line on this matter. It would appear that Bonizo is mocking this line of argument in Chapter 40. To him, such pious platitudes merely masked immoral behavior. See Bernold, *Chronicon*, a. 1089 (see note 5).

<sup>121</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 2.40: 54.

<sup>122</sup> The term 'vicar of Christ' developed only in the later Middle Ages.

wicked prince Henry. The more important of the two reversals, his denunciation of female rulers, appears in his own *sententia*, which comprises Chapter 29. Bonizo's repudiation of Countess Matilda caused his additional repudiation of armed rebellion against wicked Christian princes like Henry. This very explicit rejection appears in his introductory *sententia* to Book 7, providing the context for the fourteen canonical excerpts that follow it. In a real sense, the infamy of one female potentate led him to argue for the inviolability of all monarchs, even of bad ones like Henry. It also led him to adopt a more genuinely Augustinian stance on the issue of religious coercion. In Book 7, he abandons the idea originally enunciated in the *Ad amicum* of religious civil war against wayward Christian princes while insisting that the Church may invoke the armed assistance of public authorities in the suppression of heresy and schism.<sup>123</sup>

Each of the above-mentioned reversals in Bonizo's opinions forms part of the polemic against Urban and Matilda and stems from his perception of their betrayal of true religion and the Pataria. It is not an accident that Book 7, in which Bonizo announces his newfound reverence for princes of all types, marks the reappearance of the self-indulgent widows of Book 2, Chapter 40 and of 1 Timothy (i. e., Matilda).<sup>124</sup> For good measure, he adds curly-haired and lightly-bearded boys (i. e., Welf V) to his cast of characters in Book 7.<sup>125</sup> This last reference constitutes one of several indications, in this portion of the *De vita Christiana*, that the bishop of Sutri had soured on the German Gregorians as well.

In Book 7, Bonizo purportedly discusses the role and place of the higher ranks of the laity in the Christian *ordo*. He begins with the place of kings, then proceeds to discuss judges/magnates and knights. Lastly, almost as an afterthought, he lays out his theological-historical argument against female rulers. However, the section on female rulers is the most important part of the Book. Bonizo prefaces it with a traditionally conservative, biblically based argument that all kings, whether good or evil, derive their authority from God and are therefore inviolable.<sup>126</sup> In many ways, his opening *sententia* in Book 7, Chapter 1 reads like a piece of Henrician polemic from the 1080s. He focuses on many of the same biblical episodes and citations employed by Henrician propagandists some ten years earlier to assail Gregory VII's behavior towards the German king. Still, his *sententia* hardly qualifies as a panegyric to Henry. His estimation of the contemporary state of the Western Empire reflects poorly on the German king. It was not Henry's good behavior that led Bonizo to his conclusion, but instead the behavior of two of

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<sup>123</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.16: 243.

<sup>124</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.28: 250.

<sup>125</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.28: 250.

<sup>126</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.1: 230–34. In this regard, Bonizo makes a great deal of David's refusal to kill his persecutor, the wayward King Saul, when given the chance, in 1 Samuel 26:6–12.

Henry's subjects (i. e., Matilda and Urban), which he deemed even worse than the king's.

In Chapter 29, which concludes Book 7, Bonizo sets his sights on his real target: the countess herself. He reveals that Matilda's entrance into the state of holy widowhood sometime after the death of her first husband, Godfrey, in 1076, apparently entailed a solemn vow of chastity. Bonizo begins the chapter with the observation that the legal prohibition of the pagan Romans against female military commanders and judges coincides with the Mosaic law, and the command of God himself, that a woman should desire a man and be subject to him (Genesis 3:16).<sup>127</sup> For, he observes, even though in the allegory one learns that the flesh should be subject to the spirit, in reality, the woman has rarely been subservient to the man.<sup>128</sup> Furthermore, Bonizo contends, whenever women have ruled, it has always spelled disaster for their subjects.<sup>129</sup> He proceeds to mention a few female pagans, who were either directly or indirectly responsible for their husbands' ruin and/or national catastrophes. Shifting mood slightly, Bonizo concedes that Moses's sister, Miriam, was a leader of her people and served as a judge.<sup>130</sup> In an allusion to the events of Numbers 12, however, he adds that because she was made a leader she became proud and thus was afflicted with leprosy and forced to remain awhile outside the Hebrews' camp.<sup>131</sup> Next, he turns to the example of the widowed

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<sup>127</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 249: "de mulieribus vero Romanis legibus sancitum est, ut non ducatus teneant nec iudicatus regant. Quamvis enim Romanum imperium a paganis sumpsisse exordium, leges tamen ab eis promulgate legibus Moysi et ipsius Domini videntur quodammodo concordare. Lex enim ab ipso Domino mulieri promulgate haec est, ut ad virum sit conversion sua et sub potestate viri sit." (about women it has been forbidden by Roman laws so that they should not possess military leadership nor should they hold the office of a judge. For although the Roman Empire was founded by pagans, nevertheless the laws promulgated by these pagans appear in a way to be in agreement with the laws of Moses and his Lord. For the law promulgated by the Lord himself for a woman is this: that her own desire should be for a man and she should be under the authority of a man [Genesis 3:16]).

<sup>128</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 249: "Et licet secundum allegoriam carnem velit esse subiectam spiritui, secundum istoriam vero uxorem viro, tamen raro audivimus." (And although according to the allegory just as the flesh is subject to the spirit according to history the woman is subject to a man, nevertheless we have rarely heard it so).

<sup>129</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 249: "legimus vero nusquam mulieres imperasse sine mirabilis dampno subditorum" (but we have read that women have never ruled without terrific damage to their subjects).

<sup>130</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 250.

<sup>131</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 250: "set audio eam feminea licentia in superbiam elatam. Si enim dux non esset, nec superbiret nec extra castra mansisset ad breve leprosa." (but I hear with feminine lawlessness she became proud. For if she was not a leader, neither would she be proud nor would she have remained outside the camp for a short time as a leper). In Numbers 12, the Lord punishes Miriam with a skin disease that turned her skin as white as snow for grumbling against Moses's marriage to a Cushite woman. After seven days of confinement outside the Hebrew camp, the Lord healed her.

Hebrew judge, Deborah. He goes out of his way to attribute the Israelite victory over the Canaanites Jabin and Sisera (Judges 4) not to the widowed judge Deborah but to the married Kenite woman, Jael, who assassinates a sleeping Sisera with a tent peg in Judges 4:21. Bonizo speculates that perhaps because the Israelites were being ruled by a woman in the first place King Jabin had been able to oppress them.<sup>132</sup> He makes sure to note that, even though Deborah had prophesied that Sisera would fall into the hands of a woman (Judges 4:9), it was the married foreign woman, Jael, who finished the Canaanite off with her own hands, not Deborah herself.<sup>133</sup> He surmises that this was to make sure that Deborah would not serve as an example to any future widows, who might covet military command.<sup>134</sup>

Bonizo insists that his opinion about female rulers does not arise from any anti-female bias. Women are most devout, extremely generous, and strong in purpose. On the contrary, he grounds his opinion on the words of Paul in 1 Corinthians 14:34–35, that women should remain silent in church and not teach. Reasoning *a fortiori*, he claims that if it is wretched for a woman to teach, it is even worse for women to govern. Therefore, a girl should either take the veil as a nun or remain with her parents until she marries. If she is widowed and recognizes that the law of the flesh is raging against the law of her mind, then she should remarry.<sup>135</sup> But if she has taken a vow of widowhood, then she should hear the words of the Apostle: “the widow living in pleasures has died (1 Timothy 5:6).”<sup>136</sup> Such a widow must eschew adorning her hair, painting her face, parading around in elegant dress and decorating herself with gold, gems, silks, and exotic fleeces.<sup>137</sup> She should not love curly-haired or lightly-bearded boys nor surround herself with

<sup>132</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 250: “Quodsi dixerit mihi Deborra, que apis interpretatur, relicta Lapidot, que iudicabat Israel, forsan quia muliebri regebantur arbitrio, ideo serviebant Iabin.” (But if one were to speak to me about Deborah, whose name is translated as “bee,” having been left behind by Lapidoth, used to judge Israel, perhaps because they were being ruled by the judgment of a woman that therefore they were slaves to Jabin).

<sup>133</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 250: “Et licet prophetasset, quod in manu mulieris tradendus esset Sisara, in manu sua tamen non legitur facta fuisse victoria, set in manu mulieris licet alienigene, habentis tamen virum.” (And although she had prophesied that Sisera would be handed over to the hands of a woman, nevertheless it is not read that the victory was accomplished by her own hand, but however [he was handed over] into the hand of a foreign woman, nevertheless into the hand of a woman who had a husband).

<sup>134</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 250: “ne exemplum daret posteris viduis ambiendi ducatum.” (lest she serve as an example to future widows coveting military leadership).

<sup>135</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 250.

<sup>136</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 250: “Quodsi viduitatem vovere decreverit, audiat non me, set apostolum: ‘Vidua in deliciis vivens mortua est’.” (But if she has decided to vow her virginity, let her hear not me, but the Apostle: “The widow living in pleasure has died”).

<sup>137</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 250.

lewd male attendants.<sup>138</sup> She should cast aside unchaste priests and quasi-bridegrooms and instead obey honest priests as the angels obey God.<sup>139</sup>

In this same chapter (29), Bonizo expands upon the main line of his negative polemic in two ways. First, his language clearly indicates that Matilda had taken some sort of formal vow of holy widowhood and that her counselors (Urban perhaps?) had influenced her to break this vow. Presumably, had she obeyed honest priests (i. e., Bonizo and his comrades) she would not have done such things as paint her face and marry and love a mere boy like Welf. Thus one could argue that Bonizo's sense of the degree of transgression escalates in Book 7. The countess clearly had broken a solemn vow and her new counselors had encouraged her to do so. It is important to note, though, that Bonizo fails to present any hard evidence that the countess had broken her vow of chastity. He assumes as much based on the fact that she was evidently traveling considerable distances to rendezvous with Welf,<sup>140</sup> while wearing jewelry, cosmetics, and expensive furs.<sup>141</sup>

Secondly, Bonizo's choice of "historical" *exempla* of ruinous female rulers in Chapter 29 seems to constitute a clear warning to Welf V and his family to abandon the alliance that they had forged with the countess. Of the seven ruinous female rulers cited, five of them — Cleopatra, the wife of Darius of Persia, Cornelia, Fredegunda, and the Lombard Rosalinda — brought disaster upon their husbands as well as their nations.<sup>142</sup> The canonical injunctions in earlier chapters of Book 7 against plotting the overthrow of kings reinforce the impression that Bonizo is lobbying the Welfs here to break ranks with the countess before it is too late.<sup>143</sup> If

<sup>138</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 250: "non calamistratos vel barbatulos pueros diligat, non lascivas pedisequas secum habeat." (she should not love curly haired or lightly bearded boys, nor should she have lewd male attendants with her).

<sup>139</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 250: "impudicos sacerdotes et semisponsos a se procul abiciat, honestis vero sacerdotibus velut angelis Dei pareat" (she should cast unchaste priests and quasi bridegrooms away from herself, but she should obey honest priests as do the angels to God). Bonizo states that for her part, the married woman should tremble under the rule of her husband. She should rear children, manage her household, fear wars and dread armed men. She should cherish peace and be in the habit of carrying around dress making instruments and materials in her arms. She should not have any interest in military expeditions. See Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 251. Matilda clearly failed to pass muster as both a widow and a wife.

<sup>140</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 2. 40: 54–55.

<sup>141</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.29: 250.

<sup>142</sup> Bonizo likely passed over the gory details of Fredegunda's crimes because he was confident that his audience was familiar with Gregory of Tours's recitation of them in his *Historia Francorum*. Fredegunda supposedly engineered the assassinations of her husband King Chilperic, three stepsons, and a brother-in-law.

<sup>143</sup> Bonizo, of course, could not have expected that Welf V would have read the *De vita christiana* himself. Much more likely, he hoped that this line of argument might reach German reform circles along the clerical grapevine.

these suspicions are true, then we can suggest that Bonizo composed the *De vita Christiana*, or at least Book 7 of it, in the early stages of the emperor's third Italian expedition, between the summer of 1090 and September of 1092, when he enjoyed considerable military success. When else would Bonizo have felt so confident about the ineptitude of female rulers? When else would he have felt confident enough to taunt the houses of Canossa and Welf?

## V. Conclusion

Bonizo was not simply a wild-eyed radical.<sup>144</sup> In a number of places in the *De vita christiana* as well as in some of his other works, he demonstrates a nuanced understanding of the canonical tradition. Indeed, evidence exists in his canonical treatise that Urban's adoption of Humbert of Silva Candida's argument on the sacraments of heretics alarmed him in part because it provided fodder for reformers, perhaps fellow Patarenes, more extreme in their thinking than he.

Maybe, if, like the Patarene Cardinal Herman of Brescia, he had enjoyed professional success in the late 1080s, Bonizo might have been able to accept the pope's and the countess's break with the Patarene hard line against Henricians of all stripes. Tragically, though, his horrific experience in Piacenza only confirmed his longstanding prejudice against anyone associated with the ecclesiastical establishment. It taught him that the class of men who had vehemently opposed the Pataria in the 1060s and 1070s were still inveterate opponents of a purified Christianity in the late 1080s and early 1090s. For Bonizo, only one key variable in the ecclesio-political equation of the 1060s and 1070s had changed by the early 1090s: the principle leaders of his party had lost their senses. Ironically, at the end of his life, Bonizo's diagnosis for what ailed both the papacy and the empire was the same. Both institutions had succumbed to lawlessness. In Book 7 of the *De vita christiana*, he regrets that the Western Roman Empire, senior Rome, had become the slave of barbarians (i. e., Henry IV and his counselors) and no longer lived by its own laws.<sup>145</sup> Instead of defending God's church, the imperial government was persecuting it. Bonizo further decries the extension of this lawlessness to the upper echelons of the laity. He laments the defection of judges from the ranks of the Church's defenders. Having given themselves over to their desires and caprice, judges no longer help bishops enforce good ecclesiastical discipline.<sup>146</sup> For their part, the vicar and daughter of St. Peter (i. e., Urban and Matilda) had shown

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<sup>144</sup> Fournier makes this same point in his article. See Fournier, "Bonizo de Sutri," 296–97 (see note 10)

<sup>145</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.1: 233.

<sup>146</sup> Bonizo, *De vita christiana*, 7.16: 243.

themselves to be as contemptuous of God's law as the German emperor, his anti-pope, and their partisans. Within this context, the Patarene doctor read the ancient lessons of the Holy Fathers on holy violence in a different light. They no longer sanctioned holy civil war against a heretical prince.

The larger significance of Bonizo's dual reversal lies in the fact that it reveals how heterogeneous the papal reform party that opposed Henry IV really was. While a fundamental unity of purpose existed between the popular Patarene movement and the Roman reformers, including Countess Matilda, the specific ecclesio-political goals of each group diverged somewhat from one another.<sup>147</sup> We know from H. E. J. Cowdrey's research that the Pataria itself was not monolithic. In Milan, for instance, Urban was able to win over some of the city's Patarenes while a second Patarene faction led by Erlembald Cotta's chaplain Luitprand kept its distance from both the pope and the Milanese ecclesiastical establishment.<sup>148</sup>

Bonizo's story also deepens one's appreciation of the difficult situation that awaited Urban II upon his papal election. He not only had to contend with the Scylla of a hostile emperor and anti-pope, but also with the Charybdis of reformers more politically radical than himself. In navigating the papacy between these extremes, Urban was bound to alienate some of his coalition partners. In Bonizo of Sutri, this alienation has a name and a face.

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<sup>147</sup> Cowdrey first used this phrase to describe the relationship between Peter Damian and Hildebrand/Gregory. See H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

<sup>148</sup> Cowdrey, "The Papacy, The Patarenes And The Church Of Milan, 25-48, 47-48 (see note 8).



## Chapter 8

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### *Cligés* Un-cut: Some Notes on the Battlefields in Chrétien de Troyes' *Cligés*

Ne sai que plus vos devisasse  
Comant il avint a chascun  
Ne les cos toz par un a un,  
Mais la bataille dura molt  
Et li cop furent molt estout . . .  
(vv. 2170–74)<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. Aims and Methodology

Chrétien de Troyes' Old French poem, *Cligés* (ca. 1176), although best known as a courtly romance involving a Greek hero affiliated with Arthur's court—some say an “anti-*Tristan*,” because of similar elements yet a happy ending—also contains several extremely significant battle scenes complementing its overall message on love and chivalry. This essay is intended as a compendium of notes toward a

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<sup>1</sup> I wish I knew / the best way to describe the fight, / to tell what happened to each knight, / how each one fought, and to recount / a detailed blow by blow account, / but since both knights were very strong, / the blows were hard, and the fight was long.” *Chrétien de Troyes: Romans*, ed. Michel Zink, *Le Conte du Graal ou Le Roman de Perceval*, ed. and trans. Charles Méla. Lettres gothiques (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1994), 937–1212; here 1007. English trans. *Perceval: or the Story of the Grail*, trans. Ruth Harwood Cline (New York: Pergamon Press, 1983), 63. All French quotations, line numbers and English translations from *Perceval* are from these editions unless otherwise credited. Henceforth, the page number of the French edition will be given first, followed by / and the page number of the English translation.

*redescription* of the battlefields in this romance;<sup>2</sup> it is an attempt to return to the scene of Chrétien's battles, collect and tag the various parts lying decomposed (as it were) on the battlefield and re-map the relationships—re-route the severed connections—between them. In other words, it seeks to produce a new “cut”—as filmmakers might say—of these battle scenes, a version unedited by the constraints of sequence and time.

In view of Philippe Hamon's very useful distinction between description and narrative, declaring that “a description describes *things*, a narrative describes *acts*” (emphasis his),<sup>3</sup> this essay should be considered categorically the former: an attempt not to out-Chrétien Chrétien and recount “all their blows one by one” (the battle as a series of *acts*), but instead to gather up the bits and bobs littering the killing fields of *Cligés*—the snippets left on the cutting-room floor—and to recompose them into a cohesive, contingent whole, in which the battlefield emerges as an amalgam of *things*. It is because of such a heteroclite, material re-composition that this essay is best termed a *redescription*.

In terms of its methodology, the descriptive, or, perhaps more precisely, meta-descriptive, project of this essay will be a composite of the two modes of description also laid out by Hamon: 1) *Mathesis*: the “horizontal,” in which the object to be described—in this case, the battlefield—is perceived as a surface and the description itself rooted in “une esthétique du ‘fragment’” (“coupure,” “morceau,” “tableau,” “détail,” etc.); an aesthetics of the ‘fragment’ (“cut,” “piece,” “tableau,” “detail,” etc.); and 2) *Semiosis*: “the vertical” (“*décryptive* plutôt que descriptive”; *décryptive* rather than descriptive): in which the descriptive field is mined on a series of levels leading from that surface “*sous le réel, derrière le réel*” (*beneath* the real, *behind* the real; emphasis Hamon's throughout).<sup>4</sup> We can read Hamon's “surface” as a variant of what Mieke Bal terms “flatness” and which she situates in the tension between its manifestations as an “absence of depth and volume” and as “the banal,”<sup>5</sup> for this is the space of Chrétien's battlefield, where

<sup>2</sup> Douglas Kelly, “The Art of Description,” *The Legacy of Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. Norris J. Lacy, Douglas Kelly and Keith Busby. Faux Titres, 31 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1987), 1: 191–221; here 191, notes Chrétien's exceptional mastery of medieval theories of description, including stereotypes of “stages in combat.” [Ed. note: For an analysis of love and war in the Prose *Cligés*, with more discussion of the story's general plot and context, see the essay by Joan Grimbert in this volume]

<sup>3</sup> Philippe Hamon, “What is a Description?” *French Literary Theory Today*, ed. Tzvetan Todorov, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 147–78; here 147; rpt. *Narrative Theory: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, ed. Mieke Bal (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 309–40. Orig.: “Qu'est-ce qu'une description?,” *Poétique* 12 (1972): 465–85. All otherwise unattributed translations in this essay are my own.

<sup>4</sup> See Philippe Hamon, *Introduction à l'analyse du descriptif*. Langue, linguistique, communication (Paris: Hachette, 1981), 61–63.

<sup>5</sup> Mieke Bal, *The Mottled Screen: Reading Proust Visually*, trans. Anna-Louise Milne (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 3; orig. *Images littéraires, ou, Comment lire visuellement Proust*

the expanse of the superficies (the battlefield as terrain) clashes with the minutiae of medieval warfare (the battlefield as repository of detritus and debris). In his *Camera Lucida*, Roland Barthes formulates this relation as the play between the *studium* (or background) and the *punctum*: “this element which rises from the scene, shoots out of it like an arrow, and pierces me [. . .] this wound, this prick, this mark made by a pointed instrument . . .”<sup>6</sup> But of course it is Chrétien de Troyes himself who first uses this strategy—and this instrument—when he scatters throughout the semantic fields of *Cligés* the seeds of an already over-ripe and rampantly over-determined lexeme: “cut.”<sup>7</sup>

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(Montreal: XYZ/Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1997).

<sup>6</sup> Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 26; orig. *La Chambre claire: note sur la photographie* (Paris: Cahiers du Cinéma, 1980). Unfortunately, there is no extant illuminated manuscript of *Cligés* to help us see how the medieval eye interpreted these scenes to find out what was, at least to one medieval reader, *studium* and what was *punctum*. On this, see Sandra Hindman, *Sealed in Parchment: Rereadings of Knighthood in the Illuminated Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 3. Reading these and other battle scenes in *Cligés* in the light of illuminations inserted in manuscripts of Chrétien’s other works would have been instructive—Hindman discusses, for example, a miniature in *Erec et Enide* which “vividly depicts the moment when [Erec] ‘strikes the foremost of [his opponents] through the eye so deep into the brain that blood and brains spurt out the back of his neck’” (131), although the scope of this essay does not permit such an investigation. We do learn, however, that the manuscript was “no doubt intended to include a short series of illustrations, as indicated by the nine blank spaces,” as observed by Maria Colombo Timelli’ in the introduction to her edition of the Prose *Cligés: Le Livre de Alixandre empereur de Constantinoble et de Cligés son filz: Roman en prose du XVe siècle. Textes littéraires français*, 567 (Geneva: Droz, 2004): “était sans doute destiné a recevoir une petite série d’illustrations, comme en témoignent les neufs espaces blancs” (9). The position of these blanks indicates that, apart from the two blanks marking the beginning of the novel (f. 2v) and the transition between the first and second parts (f. 40v), all seven remaining blanks were to have marked battle scenes, including the following, as annotated by Colombo Timelli (20–21): “siège au château de Guinesores” (f. 19v; siege at Windsor castle), “assaut du château” (f. 22v; assault on the castle), “bataille des Bretons contre l’armée de Guinesores” (f. 27r; the Bretons against the army of Windsor), “bataille entre Cligés et Archadés, attaque d’Archadés contre Cligés” (f. 55v; battle between Cligés and Archadés; Archadés attacks Cligés), “attaque de Cligés contre les Saxons” (f. 60v; Cligés’s attack against the Saxons), “défi de Vligs au duc de Sax” (f. 63r; Vligs’s challenge to the duke of Saxony)—a distribution which, as Colombo Timelli observes, marks a decided preference for blood over sentiment. All quotations from the Prose *Cligés* are from this edition.

<sup>7</sup> For forms of this word appearing in *Cligés*, see *Chrétien de Troyes: Cligés*, ed. Stewart Gregory and Claude Luttrell (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), “Glossaire.” Forms beginning with the privative prefix *de/des* (*decolé*, *départir*, *deronpre*, *derote*, *desasanbler*, *desairdre*, *desbaraté*, *desconfire*, *desmaillier*, *desmantir*, *detaillier*, *detranchier*, *desveier*) are especially, though not exclusively, evident. Note also *esclacier*, *espee*, *fandre*, *fleche*, *fraindre*, *froissier*, *lance*, etc.

## 2. Topography of the Battlefield

### 2.1 The Field Itself

The agricultural metaphor is not gratuitous, for the battlefield is also, of course, a type of field. Indeed, the illustrious eighteenth-century philologist La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, in his *Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage françois*, notes that "[c]hamp signifie encore champ de bataille" ("field" also signifies battlefield)<sup>8</sup>; and both Godefroi and Greimas give "bataille" itself as an acceptation of the word, "champ."<sup>9</sup> "Champ" is derived from the Latin *campus*, "plaine et terre cultivée" (cultivated plain and terrain); moreover, if we look, for example, at Sir Philip Preston's detailed and informative description of the topography of a French medieval battlefield somewhat later than Chrétien's, that of the battle of Crécy (1346), we see the extent to which the two concepts intersect.<sup>10</sup> For Chrétien, too, the battlefield is fertile ground metaphorically,<sup>11</sup> and also, as we see in the following passage, a killing field in the most literal sense of the term: an expanse of arable land, irrigated with blood and brains, entrenched in a cycle of razing ("essartent"), threshing ("derompent"), and dissemination ("departent"):

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<sup>8</sup> Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage françois ou Glossaire de la langue françoise depuis son origine jusqu'au siècle de Louis XIV* (Paris: Champion, 1878), 3: 347 n. 4. Sainte-Palaye also notes that "[c]hamp se dit encore, en termes de blason, pour le fond d'un écu armorié" (field is also a heraldic term for the background of an armored shield), an acceptation whose relevance we will address later in this essay.

<sup>9</sup> Frédéric Godefroi, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1883); A[lgirdas] J[ulien] Greimas, *Dictionnaire de l'ancien français jusqu'au milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1968; Paris: Larousse, 1974), 102.

<sup>10</sup> Sir Philip Preston, "The Traditional Battlefield of Crécy," *The Battle of Crecy, 1346*, ed. Andrew Ayton and Philip Preston. Warfare in History (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2005), 109–38, esp. 122–33. A note on terminology: Preston observes a distinction between a "battlefield" — on which a battle is *known* to have taken place — and a "battle site" — on which one is *believed* to have taken place, noting that Crécy is, according to these criteria, actually a battle site. The battles in *Cligés*, however, being fictional and therefore contextually verifiable, would be fought on battlefields, the term by which Chrétien himself refers to them and which is, as well, the term used in the Prose *Cligés*, ed. Colombo Timelli (see note 6).

<sup>11</sup> In the Prologue to his *Perceval* (see note 1), Chrétien (like Marie de France in the Prologue to her *Lais*) uses the same extended metaphor in relation to the romance itself: "Qui petit seime petit quiaut, / Et qui auques recoillir viaut, / En tel leu sa semence espanse / Que fruit a cent doble li rande, / Car en terre qui rien ne vaut, / Bone semence seiche et faut. / Crestiens seime et fait semence / D'un romanz que il encomence / Et si lo seime en sin bon leu / Qu'il ne puet estre sanz grant preu" (vv. 1–10, 943 / 1; He little reaps who little sows. / The man who wants good harvest strows/his seeds on such a kind of field. / God grants a hundredfold in yield; / on barren ground good seeds but lie / until they shrivel up and die. / So Chrétien sows, disseminating / this story he's initiating, / and sows it in such fertile soil, / he can but profit by his toil).

Si compeignon resont molt large  
 De sanc et de cervele espandre:  
 Bien i sevent lor cous despendre,  
 Et li roial tant en essartent  
 Qu'il les derompent et departent  
 Come vils genz et esgarees. (vv. 1757–63)

[And his companions were as free / with blood and brains they spread about. /  
 They knew how blows should be dealt out. / The king's men battled and coerced.  
 Their foes broke up and were dispersed / like senile men with wits astray.]<sup>12</sup>

The image is startling, not only because it reduces the human body to a sack of blood, brains, and bits of flesh, but also because it then scatters those remains across the field, not, as we might expect in this context, like seeds, but instead “like senile men with wits astray.”<sup>13</sup> The simile too, is compelling, because it presents the image of a kind of movement on the battlefield (Greimas notes that “gent” also means “troop” or “army”),<sup>14</sup> which is arbitrary and erratic and unrelated to the

<sup>12</sup> Cligès, ed. and trans. Charles Méla and Olivier Collet, *Chrétien de Troyes: Romans*, ed. Michel Zink. Classiques modernes/La Pochothèque (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1994), 285–494; here 343–34. English trans. Cligès, trans. Ruth Harwood Cline (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000), 52–53. All French quotations, line numbers and English translations from Cligès are from these editions unless otherwise noted. Henceforth, the page number of the French edition will be given first, followed by/and the page number of the English translation. Although Cline's translation of Cligès vibrantly captures the excitement of Chrétien's poetry, it does not always translate it word-for-word; it is therefore given here as a testimony to the energy of Chrétien's text and a guide to its meaning rather than as a precise rendering of the linguistic structures that form and drive that meaning in the Old French original.

<sup>13</sup> Charles Méla and Olivier Collet translate v. 1763 into Modern French as “comme de la racaille désorientée” (like disoriented rabble); Laurence Harf-Lancner, ed. and trans., *Chrétien de Troyes: Cligès* (Paris: Champion, 2006) translates “comme un vil troupeau éperdu” (like a lowly lost herd); Philippe Walter, ed. and trans., *Cligès, Chrétien de Troyes: Œuvres complètes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), gives “comme un troupeau éperdu de vauriens” (like a stray herd of ne'er-do-wells); Burton Raffel, *Cligès* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), renders it “like a mob of confused peasants”; William Kibler, trans., *Chrétien de Troyes: Arthurian Romances: Cligès* (London: Penguin Books), 1991, gives “like common, disoriented men”; and David Staines, *Cligès, The Complete Romances of Chrétien de Troyes* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), has “like base and senseless people.” It should be noted that the referent of this simile (the men to whom the phrase “vils gens et esgarees” refers) is not, as the syntax of a translation might sometimes indicate, the royal troops, but, rather, the traitors they massacre. In the glossary to their edition of Cligès, Claude Luttrell and Stewart Gregory render “esgaré” as “gone astray” in this context (see note 7).

<sup>14</sup> Luttrell and Gregory, ed., *Chrétien de Troyes: Cligès* (see note 7), note numerous instances in which “gens/genz” (people) is used in Cligès in the sense of “hommes d'une troupe militaire, d'une armée” (353; men of a military troop, an army). See, for example: “De tout ice rien ne savoient / Lor genz qui estoient defors, / Mes lor escuz entre les cors / Orent trové la matinee, / Quant la bataille fu finée” (vv. 2028–32, 351–52 / 60; The royal troops outside the place / were unaware; when it was day, / at the conclusion of the fray, / the shields borne by the Greeks were found /

more choreographed chaos of the battle itself.<sup>15</sup> It introduces an unpredictability factor, an element of “errance,”<sup>16</sup> formulated here, quite literally, as a disturbance in the field.

## 2.2 The River

This disturbance presents itself in other ways as well. “We tend,” as William Ian Miller notes, “[t]o perceive violence when blood runs outside its normal channels,”<sup>17</sup> and this violation of order is graphically illustrated as this scene continues. The river Thames becomes an artery in both the literal and figurative senses of the word as the heaps of corpses on the field flood the river and banks which border it: “Tant gist des morz par cez arees [. . .] Que .V. liues dura la route

Des morz contreval la riviere”(vv. 1764–69, 344/53; So many dead in ploughed fields lay [. . .] that the dead lay in a line that went / for five leagues down the riverbanks). The river and its banks function here, then, as the dumping ground of the battlefield, as what was at the epic center of the field is carried over onto its margins.

This river, now swollen with corpses, stands in marked contrast to the dry riverbed dotted with dead fish that Cligés’s father Alexandre and his army marched across before the battle began:

Et Tamise fu descreüe,  
Qu’il n’ot pleü de toust esté,  
Einz ot tel secheresce esté  
Que li poisson estoient mort  
Et les nés fendues au port.

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among the bodies on the ground).

<sup>15</sup> We see a more motivated version of the same action in the battle between the Greeks and the Saxons: “Lors se mestent tuit a la fuie / Li Sesne, qui molt se redoutent, / Parmi la forest se desrotent” (vv. 3384–86, 393 / 100; Then all the Saxons took to flight. / They held Cligès in so much dread / that through the forest bounds they fled).

<sup>16</sup> See Michel Stanesco, *Jeux d’errance du chevalier médiéval: Aspects ludiques de la fonction guerrière dans la littérature du Moyen Age flamboyant*. Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History, 9 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1988). Despite some limitations here, we might also usefully relate the concept of “errance” (wandering), as “égarement” (straying) on Chrétien’s battlefield, to that of the “nomadic trajectory,” as laid out by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, “1227: Treatise on Nomadology — The War Machine,” id., *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987; rpt. London and New York: Continuum, 2004), 351–423, esp. 380–81; orig. *Capitalisme et schizophrénie: mille plateaux* (Paris: Minuit, 1980).

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Marilyn Desmond, and Pamela Sheingorn, *Myth, Montage, & Visuality in Late Medieval Manuscript Culture: Christine de Pizan’s Epistre Othea* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 165.

Si pooit en passer a gué  
 La ou ele avoit plus de lé.  
 Outre Tamise est l'oz alee.

(vv. 1476–83, 334 / 43–44)

[Because it had not rained all summer, the Thames had fallen in its bed, / so in the river fish were dead / because of the tremendous drought; / boats lay aground within the port. / So where the river was most wide it could be forded side to side. / Across the Thames the army spilled].

If we go back farther still, we see the same fields and the same river flowing and flaming with color and light:

L'oz est sor Tamise logie,  
 oute la pree est herbergie  
 De paveillons verz et vermeuz.  
 Es colors se fiert li soleuz,  
 S'en refflamboie la riviere  
 Plus d'une grant liue planiere.

(vv. 1255–60, 328 / 37)

[The army camped by riverside. / That day they would not have their fight / but pitched their tents to lodge the night / and camped along the Thames's bed. / Their tents of green and golden red / filled all the meadow on that day. / The sunlight brought these hues in play; / they blazed along the river shore / for one full league and even more].

This is *champ* as army camp. Here, the tents are green like the fields, and their red is the vermillion of sun and flames on the river—heralding, perhaps, but not yet here reflecting, the blood it will become.

Therefore, what Chrétien gives us, in effect, is a sort of time-lapse photographic view of the river and the fields that it borders: fields that have, at the beginning, not yet become battlefields. Yet it is not long before this border is crossed and the army enters the river: “Au gué tuit a .I. frois s'esleissent” (v. 1311, 329 / 39; And toward the ford began to ride).<sup>18</sup>

We are left, at the end of this scene, with the dead and the wounded lying on the field: “Et li mort gisent en l'araine, / Qu'asez i ot des decolez, / Des plaiez et des afolez” (vv. 1338–40, 330 / 39; While other dead lay scattered, / and many were beheaded, battered, or injured seriously, or maimed), but in the midst of all this

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<sup>18</sup> The visual impact of the moment would be scientifically articulated some 350 years later in the following excerpt from Leonardo da Vinci's notes on “How to represent a battle”: “[. . .] and you should show a river, within which horses are galloping, stirring the water all around with a heaving mass of waves and foam and broken water, leaping high into the air and over the legs and bodies of the horses,” “The Way to Represent a Battle,” *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. and trans. Edward MacCurdy (New York: George Braziller, 1958), 1: 894–96; here 895.

butchery, we can already see the blood beginning to overflow onto the river Thames, as we noted above in vv. 1764–69.<sup>19</sup>

### 3. Dismember to Remember: Drawing and Quartering

Let us leave these bodies for a moment, however, and follow the bodily fates of the knights taken prisoner by Alexandre, after combat against their leader, the rebel count Angrés: “Mais Alixandres en ot le pris, / Que par son cors liez et pris / Qatre chevaliers en ameine” (vv. 1335–37, 330/39; but Alexandre led his band, / for he tied up and took in hand four knights)—for the question of what to do with them is more pressing. Obviously, they must die.<sup>20</sup> But how? Interestingly, among the many options available to him—“Li un dient qu’escorchié soient, / Li autre qu’an les pendre ou arde” (vv. 1432–33, 333 / 42; Some knights declared they should be flayed / and others wished them hanged or burned)—the king chooses to have them drawn and quartered (“Amené sont, lier les fet, / Et dit qu’il ne seront detret / Jusqu’antor le chastel seront / Et que cil dedenz le verront” (vv. 1437–40, 333 / 42; He had them fetched; he had them bound / and said they would be drawn around the castle walls. and all inside / could watch and see the way they died)

Why is this? The text tells us simply that “Et li rois meismes esgarde / Qu’en doit traïtor traïner” (vv. 1434–35, 333 / 42; The king himself said those who turned / to treason should be drawn apart), but the words “doit” and “traitor” are revealing; the four knights captured by Alexandre are of course traitors, and we know that drawing and quartering was the customary punishment for treason at the time. More tellingly, however, it is also a method replicating what we have seen on the battlefield: dismemberment. Equally remarkable is that Chrétien’s description of the drawing and quartering is itself, in effect, a symmetrical representation of what is happening on the battlefield: four knights, drawn by four horses, quartered (torn into four parts, and beheaded), and left lying in the fields around the castle. (“ . . . li quatre traïné furent / Et li membre par les chans jurent” (vv. 1507–8, 335 / 44; . . . the four were drawn apart, / and in the field their limbs lay tossed).<sup>21</sup> The

<sup>19</sup> We again read in Leonardo’s notebooks: “Make the dead, some half-buried in dust, others with the dust all mingled with the oozing blood and changing into crimson mud, and let the line of blood be discerned by its colour, flowing in a sinuous stream from the corpse to the dust,” “Represent a Battle,” 1: 895–96 (see note 18).

<sup>20</sup> The queen, who would see them simply thrown in prison, is of course outvoted.

<sup>21</sup> The detail (both topographical and clinical) in the Prose *Cligés* is even more striking: “Et, a mesures qu’ils sont loïés, il chasse les chevaux au loingz; si s’en vont courant ci lez ungz la les aultres par montaignes, rociars, chardons, ronces, ortiez, espines, tant que lez IIII meschans hommes furent executéz a mort et qu’ilz furent tellement deffigurés qu’il ne leur demoura membre nul entier” (86, Sect. 16; And, as they are being bound, he chases away the horses; they



punishment is staged as an example to the enemy, as just noted in vv. 1437–40. But it is also presented as a prelude to the carnage of the battle itself, as evidenced by “Lors encomença li assauz” (v. 1509, 335–44; A new offense began to start), capping the verses on drawing, quartering and dragging around cited above.<sup>22</sup>

#### 4. The Tournament

This same type of recursivity—that is, in which certain themes replicate and enlarge by drawing upon or referring to themselves—is found in the tournaments in *Cligés*.<sup>23</sup> If we look, for example, at the tournament in which Cligés meets Gauvain, we see the same descriptors that we encountered first on the battlefield and then again at the drawing and quartering of the prisoners. In fact, the tournament itself is described, repeatedly, in this scene, as a battle (“bataille”)—“Environ sunt les genz venues Por la *bataille* regarder”(v. 4877)—although Cline’s translation, perhaps for reasons of rhythm or rhyme, translates the word, “bataille” variously, as “swordplay,” “brawl,” “battle” and “assault” for this and related passages: (438 / 144; The people gathered round around the lords to watch the swordplay in their brawl); “Que la *bataille* fust

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run away, some here, the others through the mountains, rocks, thistles, brambles, nettles and thorns so that the four prisoners were executed and were so disfigured that not one of their limbs was left whole.)

<sup>22</sup> I am grateful to Nadia Margolis for reminding me of the resonance between the dismemberment in this scene and that in the epic *Chanson de Roland* (Song of Roland), in particular the mortally wounded Oliver’s heroic battle against the enemy Saracens, here in Burgess’s very faithful translation: “In the thick of the fray he strikes like a baron, / Slicing through the lance shafts and the bucklers, / Through feet and fists, saddles and sides. / Anyone who had seen him dismembering the Saracens, / Piling up their bodies on the ground, / Would have remembered what a good vassal he was,” vv. 1967–72) and the traitor Ganelon’s death by drawing and quartering (“They have four war-horses brought forward; / Then they bind him by his hands and feet. / The horses are mettlesome and swift; / Four servants goad them on / Towards a stream which flows through a field. / Ganelon was given over to total perdition. / All his ligaments are stretched taut / And he is torn limb from limb, / His clear blood spills out on to the green grass,” vv. 3964–72; cited here from *The Song of Roland*, trans. Glyn Burgess (London and New York: Penguin, 1990), 91–92, 155–56; for a recent critical edition of the original version, see *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. Ian Short, 2nd ed., Lettres Gothiques (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1990). Here, as in *Cligés* and, as we shall see, in Christine de Pizan’s political lament of 1410, physical dismemberment can be read as a metaphor for the disintegration of the body politic. (See note 41.)

<sup>23</sup> Philippe Contamine, for example, observes that tournaments were used as training grounds for war, in *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. Michael Jones (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984); orig. *La Guerre au Moyen âge*. Nouvelle Cléo, 24 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980), 215–16. Johan Huizinga, in his *Homo Ludens*, argues as well that “[t]he rules of warfare [itself] [. . .] were built up on play-patterns,” as quoted in Diane Ackerman, *Deep Play* (New York: Random House, 1999), 11. Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (1938; Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955), 173.

otree," (v. 4897, 439 / 144; until their battle reached its end); and "Mes faites pais, soiez ami! / Beaus niés Gauvain, je vos en pri, / Que sanz querele et sanz haïne / Ne fait *bataille* n'ataïne / A nul prodome a maintenir." (vv. 4903–07, 439 / 144; Gawain, dear nephew, please do cease. / A gentleman would be at fault, if he continued an assault/with quarrel or hatred of no sort) (emphases mine).

Moreover, within the frame of the battle, we find the field ("champ" or "chanp") : "Gauvains li proz, li alosez, / N'est gaires el champ reposez," (vv. 4853–54, 438 / 143; Thereon brave, glorious Gawain, / who scarcely paused upon the plain); "Par tens seront en chanp andui, / Car Cligés n'a d'arestre cure," (vv. 4858–59, 438 / 143) [Upon the field, there'll soon be two, because Cligés was undeterred]; and "Cligés, qui la parole entent,/Enmi le champ vers lui se lance" (vv. 4864–65, 438 / 143; Cligés heard that and he was gone. He hurled toward them in midfield].<sup>24</sup>

For Michel Stanesco, the tournament is the ludic version of the battle, and it is certainly true that we see the same players on the field—knights, with their shields, their lances and their mounts—playing the same game:<sup>25</sup>

Les lances es escuz flatissent,  
Et li cop donnent tel escrois  
Que totes jusques es camois  
Esclicent et fendent et froissent.  
Li arçon des seles esloissent  
Et rompent cengles et poitral.

(vv. 4870–75, 438 / 143)

[The lances aimed at shields and hit. / Then at both handles, leather wrapped, / the lances shattered, split and snapped. / They gave each other such hard blows / they fragmented their saddle bows and snapped the breast strap and the girth].<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> The Prose *Cligés* uses "prairie" : "Sagramors s'advança sur la prairie pour jouter" (127, Sect. 48; Sagremore went out onto the meadow to joust.), and "plaine": "quant veci Cligéz aux armez verdez, courant et batant, qui arrive en la plaine," (129, Sect. 50; when along comes Cligés in his green armor, running and fighting, arriving on the plain.).

<sup>25</sup> Stanesco, *Jeux d'errance*, 71 (see note 16), refers to the tournament as a "jeu guerrier" (war game). Witness, for example, the following scene from *Cligés*, just before the battle between the Greeks and the Saxons in the fields along the Danube: "La ou il ert en son esgart / Vit Cligés chevauchier lui quart / De vallez qui se deportoient, / Qui lances et escuz portoient / Por boorder et por deduire" (vv. 3361–65, 392 / 99; The youth was at his guard post when / he saw Cligés and four young men / ride out disporting in the fields. / They bore their lances and their shields / so they could joust and have some fun). See also *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beitrag zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).

<sup>26</sup> Such a war game's players, pieces and aim we find similarly envisioned by troubadour Bertran de Born: "Massas e brans, elms de color / Escuts traucaur e desgarnir / Veirem a l'intraz de l'estor . . . / E qand er en l'estor intratz, / Chascus hom de paratge / Non pens mas d'asclar caps e bratz." ("At the beginning of the battle we shall see clubs and swords, colorful helmets, shields pierced and smashed, and many vassals striking together, so that horses of the dead and wounded will

However, if war is play, it is “deep play,” that is, “play in which the stakes are so high that it becomes, from [a] utilitarian standpoint, irrational for men to engage in it at all,”<sup>27</sup> whereas it is not, from a utilitarian standpoint, irrational to engage in a tournament: the prizes are quite valuable and the stakes are relatively low. If the playing field of the tournament is, like the battlefield, littered with bits and pieces of things, its litter is metal and leather and wood, not flesh.<sup>28</sup>

Let us take a brief romp through the tournament on the plains of Oxford in order to see how this theory plays out: I have mentioned that the joust between Cligés and Gauvain is the fourth in a series; it is also the last, for the tournament, organized by King Arthur on the plains around Oxford, near Wallingford, is scheduled to last four days:

Es plains devant Oxenefort,  
Qui pres est de Galinguefort,  
Einsint est emprisi estors  
Qui devoit durer quatre jors (vv. 4527–30, 428 / 133–34)

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wander aimlessly. And when he enters the fray, let every man of rank think only of hacking heads and arms, for a dead man is worth more than a live loser.”), Bertran de Born, “Be.m plai lo gais temps de pascor,” [http://www.trobar.org/troubadours/bertran\\_de\\_born/](http://www.trobar.org/troubadours/bertran_de_born/) (last accessed on Nov. 1, 2010); *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, trans. William D. Paden, Jr., Tilde Sankovitch, and Patricia H. Stäblein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 338–45; here 340. For another English translation and a discussion of the poem in relation to the “psychology of knights on the battlefield,” see J. F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe During the Middle Ages: From the Eighth Century to 1340*, trans. Sumner Willard and S. C. M. Southern (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1977); orig. *Krijgskunst in West-Europa in de Middeleeuwen* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1954), 39–40.

<sup>27</sup> See Clifford Geertz, “Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight,” *The Interpretations of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973). Geertz notes that the concept of “deep play” comes from Jeremy Bentham’s *The Theory of Legislation*. See also Diane Ackerman, *Deep Play*, 199, who conceives of “deep play” as the sort of rapturous engagement in fantasy-play we might ascribe to the scene describing Cligés before confronting the Saxons (vv. 3361–65, see note 25). On the extent of the risks involved in medieval warfare, see Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, 255–59 (see note 23).

<sup>28</sup> Erich Köhler suggests, however, that “la quête d’aventure ne se justifie pas d’elle-même puisqu’[. . .] en tant que simple action guerrière dépourvue de signification morale, elle est en contradiction avec le code de l’“ordo” médiéval, qui conçoit l’état positif de la société comme organisation de tout ce qui existe. . . .” Erich Köhler, *L’Aventure chevaleresque: Idéal et réalité dans le roman courtois: Études sur la forme des plus anciens poèmes d’Arthur et du Graal*, trans. Eliane Kaufholz (Paris: Gallimard, 1974); orig. *Ideal und Wirklichkeit in der höfischen Epik: Studien zur Form der frühen Artus- und Graldichtung*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 97 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1956), 82. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages* (see note 23), observes that the papacy and, in some cases, the monarchy, tried to ban or curtail tournaments as early as 1130, “which they considered dangerous and vain exercises, a waste of energy, which worked to the detriment of proper military activities over which they wished to preserve a monopoly” (216).

[Upon the plain by Oxford, toward / the nearby town of Wallingford , the tourney would be held and last until four days had come and passed].

On the second day of the tournament, Cligés, “Plus vert que n’est herbe de pré,” (v. 4705, 433 / 139) [as green as grass / that grows in meadow or in mead]), unhorses Lancelot of the Lake with a single blow, then throws himself even more violently into the fray, knocking his opponents off their horses: “Que del [cheval] a terre viegne” (v. 4742, 434 / 140; they fell from chargers to the ground). His violence has escalated, indeed, doubled:

Cligés si bien cel jor le fist,  
Tant en i abati et prist  
Que dos tanz as suens pleü  
Et .II. tanz i a los eü  
Que l’autre jor devant n’i out. (v. 4743, 434 / 140)

[That day Cligés performed so well / so many of his prisoners fell / he pleased his own side two times more, / and double from the day before / was the prestige Cligés acquired].

Resplendent in white on the third day, Cligés fights Perceval. Lances bend and break and Cligés deals Perceval such a stunning blow “. . . qu’il l’abat jus del cheval” (v. 4784, 435 / 141) . . . that he knocked him off his horse]. Then, once again, he heads into battle, unhorsing everyone he comes across (“Cligés a chevalier n’assemble / Qu’a terre nel face chaoir” (vv. 4790–92, 436 / 141) [Cligés collided with no knight / he failed to hurtle to the ground], his shield shattered under the onslaught of blows.

The tournament ends on the fourth day, when Cligés and Gauvain fall to the ground at the same time: “A terre viennent par igal” (v. 4876, 438 / 143) [As equals, both knights fell to earth] and King Arthur intercedes, separates them, and orders them to make peace,

Por departir et acorder  
Vint li rois Artus devant toz,  
Mes molt orent ançois deroz  
Les haubers blans et desmailliez,  
Et porfenduz et detailliez  
Les escuz et les hialmes fraiz  
Que parole fust de la paiz. (vv. 4880–86, 438–39 / 144)

[King Arthur, though, did not intend / to have more done than they had done the king advanced and told each one, to separate them : “Back you go! / Don’t dare to strike another blow! Instead, be friends, and make a peace!”]

This final assault is, then, the culmination of a series of encounters whose violence escalates through the four days of the tournament. However, as Chrétien points

out, if the tournament does not end before Cligés and Gauvain have torn and pierced their hauberks, slit and slashed their shields, and broken their helmets, it does end in peace. All of the participants—from the principal players (Cligés, Sagremore, Lancelot, Perceval and Gauvain) to the walk-ons (squires, valets, and the like), the bit players (various opponents), cameos (Arthur), extras (other jousts), and spectators: “. . . les genz venues / Por la bataille regarder” (vv. 4878–79, 438 / 144; The people gathered round around the lords / to watch the swordplay in their brawl)—still remain alive: a little shaky, a little shattered, perhaps, but alive. The tournament is thus a game, a spectacle; if it resembles a battle, if it uses the language of battle, if it is (as we shall see next) what could be characterized as a *mise en abyme* of battle (a battle endlessly replicating itself from within), it is not a battle; it is not deep play.

## 5. The Shield

Let us stop for a moment and have a closer look at what is left on the field when this game is over, and let us look, specifically, at the role of the shields as Chrétien invokes them:

Cligés and Sagremore:

Cligés fiert si qu’il li acoste  
 L’escu au braz, le braz au cors.  
 Touz estenduz chiet Segremors (vv. 4624–26, 431 / 136)

[Cligés struck so hard that he pressed / a shield to arm and arm to chest. Pinned by the blow Cligés had laid / down Sagremore had fallen, splayed].

Cligés and Lancelot:

Cligés li vait tel cop donner  
 Sor l’escu d’or au lion peint  
 Que jus de la sele l’enpeint (vv. 4730–32, 434 / 139)

[Cligés deals him such a blow / on his gold, lion-painted shield / that he unhorses him on the battlefield]

Cligés and Perceval:

De son escu a fait enclume,  
 Que tuit i forgent et martelent,  
 Si le fendent et esquarterent. (vv. 4798–800, 436 / 141)

[He made an anvil of his shield. / All forged and hammered till it split / and shattered from their pounding it].

Cligés and Gauvain:

Mes molt orent ançois deroz  
 Les haubers blans et desmailliez,  
 Et porfenduz et detailliez  
 Les escuz et les hialmes fraiz (vv. 4882–85, 438 / 144)

[But they inflicted great abuse : / bright mail was torn, the links were cracked, / the shields they bore were pierced and hacked].

If the collocation of “escu” (shield) and “anclume” (anvil), “forgent” (they forge), and “martelent” (they hammer) recalls Homer’s Vulcan (Hephaestus) forging the Shield of Achilles (*Iliad*, 18: 478–608), it is perhaps not only because of its linguistic echoes (though these are very clear), but also because the shields in *Cligés* are themselves a kind of ekphrasis (using poetry to describe the visual) in the sense in which the term is used by Andrew Sprague Becker, that is, as a “*mise en abyme*[sic] of the poetics, not just of the themes,” of the work as a whole.<sup>29</sup> In this sense, the shield and the exploits they depict keep mirroring each other.

### 5.1 A Return to the Field

The application of a theory of recursivity to medieval texts, especially the aspect of mirroring or *specularity*, is not new, of course,<sup>30</sup> but perhaps its linguistic

<sup>29</sup> Andrew Sprague Becker, *The Shield of Achilles and the Poetics of Ekphrasis*. Greek Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches (Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1995), 5. Becker’s “Prolegoma” defines ekphrasis in its modern sense as “the [literary] description of a work of visual art” (2). He then goes on to explain how the relationship between this description and the work it describes can be seen as analogous to the relationship between the reader and the description itself. Ekphrasis would function in this sense as a *mise en abyme* or process of poetic replication and recursivity. Becker (4) uses the definition of *mise en abyme* [sic] appearing in Gerald Prince’s *A Dictionary of Narratology* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1987; rev. ed. 2003), 53: “a miniature replica of a text embedded within that text; a textual part reduplicating, reflecting, or mirroring (one or more than one aspect) of the textual whole.” Chrétien’s descriptions of the shields in *Cligés* can be seen as ekphrastic in this sense; they function for the reader as a mirror image of the shields in their physical composition in the same way as the poetic composition of the descriptions themselves (the insistent movement from whole to part, i. e., the process of “decomposition”) mirrors for the reader the synecdochic structure of the entire poem. [Ed. note: see also Haiko Wandhoff, *Ekphrasis: Kunstbeschreibungen und virtuelle Räume in der Literatur des Mittelalters*. Trends in Medieval Philology, 3 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003).]

<sup>30</sup> In the introduction to his *Fictions of Identity in Medieval France*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 43 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 15, Donald Maddox notes an emerging interest in the application of Dällenbach’s theories of specularity to medieval texts, and later (84–86) himself discusses them in relation to several “specular encounters” in *Cligés*. (Maddox defines this term as a critical moment in the narrative in which “medieval

associations are especially relevant in relation to the works of Chrétien de Troyes, and to *Cligés* in particular. As mentioned earlier, La Curne de Sainte-Palaye's *Dictionnaire historique* notes that *champ* (field) can denote, as it also does in English heraldic terms, the background of an armored shield (see n. 8). We have, therefore, in *Cligés*, a line of lexical recursivity running through the "*champ de bataille*," (the battlefield) the "*champ du tournoi*" (the field on which the tournament is held) and the "*champ (fond) de l'écu*" (the field [or background] of the shield). Moreover, *mise en abyme* is itself a heraldic term: "a device in heraldry that involves putting a second representation of the original shield 'en abyme' within it,"<sup>31</sup> with "en abyme" meaning a self-perpetuating "abyss" of self-reflecting images or ideas, deepening the more the reader / viewer contemplates it. What we would see, then, on the shield, would be a chain of mirror images of the "field" as colored background, then symbol of the battle / tournament field(s), and so forth, as the viewer's mind's eye keeps connecting them.

What is interesting in *Cligés*, and what makes of the shield a "*mise en abyme* of the poetics, not just of the themes" of the work, is that, time after time, Chrétien crosses this line of recursivity, shatters this mirror image, subverts our field of vision. This he does through recourse to something I mentioned earlier: a disturbance in the field. That is to say that he presents a pristine image of a field and then progressively sullies it; he makes us think that we know someone and then pulls the rug out from under our feet; he shows us a body (or a lance or a shield) and then blows it to bits. And every time, he makes us watch. Why? Because what Chrétien is ultimately trying to show us, with his beheadings and his betrayals and his rivers and shields and "senile men with wits astray" is that knowledge is not a systematic tracking-down of a truth that is hidden but may be found. It is rather the field "*of freeplay*, that is to say a field of infinite substitutions in the closure of a finite ensemble . . . ."<sup>32</sup>

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storytellers tended to confront their own protagonists with dramatic accounts or evocations of their *own* story," 3). The battle not being, in this sense at least, a specular encounter, Maddox does not discuss reflexivity in terms of its battle scenes. Douglas Kelly, "The Art of Description," 221 (see note 2), notes Chrétien's use of topical descriptions as "comparisons *en abysme* [sic]" but does not discuss these in terms of the "stages of combat" mentioned earlier.

<sup>31</sup> Lucien Dällenbach, *The Mirror in the Text*, trans. Jeremy Whiteley and Emma Hughes (Oxford: Polity Press/Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 8; orig. *Le Récit spéculaire: essai sur la mise en abyme* (Paris: Seuil, 1977).

<sup>32</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Translator's Preface," to her trans. of Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), xix; orig. *De la grammatologie* (Paris: Minuit, 1967). The enclosed field on which the tournament is played out would, in this sense, constitute the "closure of a finite ensemble," the site of a multiplicity of intersecting plays and replays.

## 5.2 Identity

The most obvious example of this is, of course, the way in which Chrétien plays with identity: the constant shuffling between such lines as “Por son escu qu’il reconoissent” (v. 2035, 352, 60) [His shield, which all could recognize]; and “Par les escuz sont deceü” (v. 2069, 353–61) [By the shields they were misled]. In addition, identity is a device that we have just seen at work in Chrétien’s description of the tournament: a four-day exercise in recursivity. However, the sequence of the four colors of Cligés’s arms could be said to replicate less a muddying of the field than the reverse: a process of distillation involving first a black set of arms—black being the sum of all colors—(“Unes noires”); another golden-red (“autres vermoilles”); the third one green (“les tierces verz”), the green of the fields before the carnage (since *vermoille* often also is the adjective for blood’s color); and, finally, white—the absence of all color (vv. 4540–43, 428)—or the gold of the sun, returning us to the pre-battle-field, festooned with green and golden-red tents (vv. 1255–60) as quoted above (Part 2).<sup>33</sup>

More prosaically, however, we might suggest that the sight line is simply broken and that what connects the four shields is not—or at least not primarily—their color, but rather the fact that they are, one after the other, exposed, hammered (“marteler”), split (“fender”), and shattered (“esquarteler”). Furthermore, these shards, and those of the broken lances, swords, stirrups, girths, harnesses, helmets and hauberks cluttering the ground at the tournament, mirror those left lying on the battlefield.<sup>34</sup>

Let us focus again for a moment on these shields, for they are, as we have seen, markers of identity. But what happens when the relation between the shield as signifier and its signified is severed or shattered? When, as we have suggested, knowledge lies in the play between “by his shield which they recognize” and “by the shields they are deceived,” cited above?

Chrétien presents us with three test cases for this signifier-signified manipulation of knowledge:

1) Alexandre, Cligés father, devises a stratagem “[d]’un hardemant molt perilleus Et d’un afere merueilleus” (vv. 1795–96, 344 / 53) [an idea dangerous to use, / a wonderfully clever ruse], for gaining entry to Angrés’ castle:

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<sup>33</sup> Each of these phases of color distillation recalls Leonardo’s recommendations for painting battle scenes, as quoted above in his *The Notebooks* (see note 19).

<sup>34</sup> This was the battlefield as Leonardo, *The Notebooks*, 895 (see note 18), also would paint it: “Put all sorts of armour lying between the feet of the combatants, such as broken shields, lances, swords, and other things like these.”



Prenons des escuz et des lances  
 Au traïtors qu'ocis avons.  
 Einsint vers le chastel irons,  
 Si cuideront li traïtor  
 Dedenz que nos soiom des lor,

Et quex que soient les desertes,  
 Les portes nos seront overtes (vv. 1808–14, 345–54)

[Now our insignia we'll change / by carrying a lance and shield / borne by the traitors here revealed. / We will go into the castle thus. / The traitors will believe of us / that we are allies on their side. / Then, come whatever may betide, / within they'll open up the gate].

2) The Greeks find Alexandre's shield on the battlefield outside the castle, not knowing that he has defeated Angrés within:

De tot ice rien ne savoient  
 Lor genz qui estoient defors.  
 [. . .]  
 Por lor seignor li Greu a tort.  
 Pour son escu qu'il reconnoissent,  
 De duel fere trestuit s'angoissent,  
 Si se pasment sor son escu  
 Et dient que trop ont vescu (vv. 2028–29, 2034–38, 351–52 / 60)

[The royal troops outside the palace / were unaware; [. . .] Mistaken in their grief, the Greeks / mourned for their lord with anguished shrieks. / His shield, which all could recognize, / made them lament and agonize / and faint upon their shields and say / they rued they'd lived to see that day].

and, with a slightly more macabre twist:

3) Cligés takes a dead Saxon's head, helmet, and shield to frighten the Saxons with and ends up frightening his uncle, who thinks they are Cligés's own:

N'ot pas bien en son chief asis  
 Cligés son hiaume et l'escu pris,  
 Non pas le suen, mais le celui  
 Qui s'estoit combatuz a lui,  
 [. . .]  
 Et cil de lui chacier s'angoissent  
 Qui por les armes nel conoissent,  
 Et ses oncles se desconforte  
 Qui la teste voit qu'il em porte;  
 Ne n'est merveille s'il en doute  
 (vv. 3469–72, 3485–3488, 395–96, 102–03)

[Cligès] disarmed the Saxon knight, rearmed / with armor of the knight disarmed,  
 / cut off his head, and used the blade / the knight owned for the blow he laid. [. . .] His  
 own troops failed to recognize / Cligès attired in Saxon guise. / His uncle was  
 distressed the more / to see the head his lance tip bore, / for he believed and thought  
 with dread / it was his nephew's severed head].

The result of all three tests is, of course, the same: the "shield as signifier-knight as signified" relation is so deeply entrenched in convention that it is taken as truth, and to break that relation while maintaining the illusion of truth is to hold, on the battlefield, the power to win:

Mes ausi come cil qui songe  
 Qui por verité dit mençonge,  
 Les fesoient li escu croire  
 Que ceste mençonge fuste voire.  
 Par les escuz sont deceü

(vv. 2065–68, 353–61)

[But like the sleeping man who deems / a lie is truth when plunged in dreams, / the shields gave rise to a delusion, / and for the truth they took illusion. / Thus by the shields they were misled].

We might say, then, that the shield functions as a rather large medieval dogtag, and we have only to read Contamine to realize its importance in the service of truth as well as lies. We have seen the Greeks, the morning after the battle, returning to the battlefield, and finding shields among the bodies lying there (vv. 2030–31, 352–60—see note 14). In fact, however, numerous sources indicate that the dead were not left lying in nameless heaps on the battlefield, but, rather, that every possible attempt was made, after the battle, to identify them and give them a proper burial.<sup>35</sup> The shield was a clue in the search for the truth of a combatant's identity. As Contamine notes, "[the shield] constituted the warrior's "weapon" par excellence, the symbol of his status and function [. . .] If he died in combat, the warrior was carried away on his shield."<sup>36</sup>

To shatter an opponent's shield is, then, more than an act of aggression; it is an act of subversion.

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<sup>35</sup> Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, 257–58 (see note 23). See also Preston, "The Traditional Battlefield of Crécy," 120 (see note 10), who observes that, especially in the heat of high summer, the bodies of both men and horses would have been buried as quickly as possible." *Editor's note*: See also the tremendous effort by Middle High German poets to address this issue, such as by Wolfram von Eschenbach in his *Willehalm*, or by the anonymous poet of *Diu Klage* (see my comments in the Introduction).

<sup>36</sup> Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, 178 (see note 23). Contamine does note elsewhere (257), however, that "[l]isting the dead (and eventually the prisoners) was one of the *victor's* tasks" (emphasis mine).

## 6. The Riderless Horse

Chrétien notes that Cligés not only appropriates the head and “arms” of the dead Saxon, but his horse as well, and lets his own horse loose to sow mayhem on the battlefield: “Et remonte estoit lors primes / Sor le cheval celui meïsmes, / Et lessa le sien estraier / Por les Grezois fere esmaier” (vv. 3473–76, 395 / 103; He did that first and in due course / remounted on the Saxon horse / while letting his own charger stray; / to cause the Greeks intense dismay), and I would like briefly to present here what we might call the problem of the riderless horse.

There are two types of riderless horse in *Cligés*: that which roams across the battlefield sowing mayhem and that found lying among the debris. Both types exist in opposition to a basic precept of the chivalric code: a knight and his horse form a single unit, or, as post-medieval logic will put it: “for riding is required a horse” (*Ad equitandum requiritur equus*) and its corollary: a horse is “a being required for riding” (*ens requisitum ad equitandum*).<sup>37</sup> That is to say that, if a knight loses his horse in battle, he can substitute another one, but a horse without a knight is the literal representation of the Derridean “dangerous supplement.”<sup>38</sup> That is why, when Cligés takes the Saxon’s horse and lets his own loose to roam around the battlefield, the riderless horse is the analogue of the “vil genz et esgarees” which we discussed at the beginning of this essay; its trajectory is no longer that of the horse and rider as a single unit,<sup>39</sup> but rather (if I might be

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<sup>37</sup> See E. J. Ashworth, *Studies in Post-Medieval Semantics*. Variorum Reprint, CS227 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985), passim. Cf. Jacques Derrida: “the horse is *for* man, in the service of man, and perceived by man only in its adherent beauty. Such is its internal destination: the external” — *The Truth in Painting*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987); orig. *La vérité en peinture* (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), 107; emphasis by Derrida

<sup>38</sup> See *Of Grammatology*, “That Dangerous Supplement,” 141–64 (see note 32). The term “dangerous supplement,” taken from Jean-Jacques Rousseau, refers to an element which is both part of something and external to it, “occup[ying] the middle point between total absence and total presence.” (157). It is in this sense that the riderless horse can be seen as transgressive; it can be said to exist only in the space between the loss (“absence”) of its legitimate function on the battlefield (as “a being required for riding”) and its continued, unregulated presence.

<sup>39</sup> The perception is neither exclusively medieval nor European. The arrival of the Spanish cavalry under Cortés, for example, proved to be a turning point in a desperate battle (the Battle of Cintla, March 25, 1519) since the Indians’ perception that “the horse and its rider was all one animal, for they had never seen horses up to this time” ignited their fear of the supernatural and caused them to break ranks and flee, according to Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, trans. Genaro García and Alfred Percival Maudslay (1908; Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1967; orig. *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, 5 vols, 1908–1916); CHAPTER XXXIV: “How all the Caciques of Tabasco and its dependencies attacked us, and what came of it, 118–21; here 120 (here quoted from the electronic book: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.06852.0001.001>, last accessed on Nov. 1, 2010). In fact, in medieval Europe, it was the “deconstruction” of the coherence of the mounted enemy cavalry — “to reach the horses and thus unseat their riders” (Contamine, *War in the Middle*

permitted an anachronism) that of a stray bullet, and, as such, it constitutes a threat to the integrity both of the army as a fighting machine and of the battlefield as a definable space.<sup>40</sup>

The fallen horse, on the other hand, has its one thudding moment of fame (“Li destriers chiet sor lui envers / Si roidemant que en travers / L’une des janbes li peçoie” (vv. 3455–47, 395 / 102; The horse fell backward, a hard toss / that broke the rider’s leg across) and then becomes just so much battlefield debris.

## 7. Deconstructed Bodies

But what of the body with the broken leg lying under the horse? Cligés quickly finishes off the work of “deconstruction” begun by the horse by cutting off the body’s head. I use the word “deconstruction” here not—or not only—in the Derridean sense, but rather in the more literal sense in which Marcella L. Munson uses it to describe “the bodies of French subjects (*subjiez*)—those who are lying, literally ‘deconstructed’ on France’s battlefields” in Christine de Pizan’s *Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile* (Lament on [France’s] Ills in the Civil War).<sup>41</sup> Munson establishes a metaphorical relationship between the deconstruction of these bodies and the disintegration of the French body politic, and it is clear that this metaphor could be applied to the bodies lying on the battlefields in *Cligés* as well.

However, I should like here to propose, in the guise of a conclusion, another type of relationship which might better describe the manner in which these bodies function in *Cligés*, and that relationship is a metonymic—or, more precisely, a synecdochic—one.<sup>42</sup> The excerpts that we have examined in this essay have shown us that the grammar of war in *Cligés* is what we might call a generic medieval grammar of absolutes: subject melded to attribute—and to verb: shields shatter,

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*Ages*, 230 [see note 23])—which constituted the main aim of the cavalry itself. (Tactics for destroying the then-dismounted enemy cavalry followed).

<sup>40</sup> Compare Leonardo, *The Notebooks*, 896 (see note 18): “and let a riderless horse be seen galloping with mane streaming in the wind, charging among the enemy and doing them great mischief with his hoofs.”

<sup>41</sup> Marcella L. Munson, “*Destruire et disperser*: Violence and the Fragmented Body in Christine de Pizan’s Prose Letters,” *Violence in Medieval Courtly Literature: A Casebook*, ed. Albrecht Classen (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 269–295, 272–73.

<sup>42</sup> Although the distinction between metonymy and synecdoche is open to debate, I take it here in the sense in which it is used by the group of mid-late 20th-century Belgian-French semioticians calling themselves “Groupe  $\mu$ ”: i. e. that, in metonymy, the two elements involved are independent of each other, and that the synecdochic relation involves two elements which together form a whole. See Groupe  $\mu$ , *A General Rhetoric*, trans. Paul B. Burrell and Edgar M. Slotkin (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 120.

bodies fall, blood spurts, splatters and sprays.<sup>43</sup> However, this is true only in terms of its surface structure. For although the topos seems rooted in the axiomatic,<sup>44</sup> its deep structure is, in fact, fragmentary, rhizomatic and, above all, synecdochic: the part quite literally stands for the whole.<sup>45</sup> In other words, we are forced, in the aftermath of battle, to do the work of reconstruction, to read in the part the whole that it represents.

This is, of course, a hermeneutic process, but it also involves a problematic which Chrétien presents in rhetorical terms—less explicitly as metonymy in the battle scenes, perhaps, than as metaphor in the love scenes in *Cligés*, but overtly nonetheless.

## 8. The Lance

One last example might serve to illustrate the extent to which this process of what the Groupe  $\mu$  would term “addition,” “suppression,” and “disjunction” is inherent in the linguistic makeup of *Cligés*, for their analysis of the “poignard, arme, objet” (dagger, arm / weapon, object) synecdochic series is particularly instructive in this regard.<sup>46</sup>

We have seen that Chrétien often (and predictably) uses the word, “lance” in the battle scenes in *Cligés*. Therefore, since both “lance” and “poignard” are a type of

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<sup>43</sup> See Desmond and Sheingorn, *Myth, Montage, & Visuality*, esp. Ch. 4, “Engendering Violence,” 157–160 (see note 17).

<sup>44</sup> Elaine Scarry suggests that “[t]he construction, ‘War is *x*,’ has, over the centuries, invited an array of predicate nominatives . . .” (Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* [New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985], 63), a construction which could, in *Cligés*, be formulated as ‘war is bloodshed’, ‘war is butchery’, war is ‘carnage’, etc. These nominatives are, as Scarry notes, not themselves modern — John Milton (*Paradise Lost*, 9.30), for example, refers to the “long and tedious havoc” of ‘warrs’ and ‘battels’ — but they persist in our modern readings of medieval and pre-modern texts; Lucie Polak, for example, identifies in *Cligés* the presence of “endless conventional unhorsings and spilling of brains,” *Chrétien de Troyes: Cligés* (London: Grant & Cutler, 1982), 22. Peter Haidu observes that “[w]ar’s destructiveness itself becomes [in *Cligés*] a topos, a narrative convention . . .,” *Aesthetic Distance in Chrétien de Troyes* (Geneva: Droz, 1968), 42. The point is that we look at (or, to use Roland Barthes’s term, “read”) a battlefield and *expect* to see butchery. But perhaps these expectations blind us to the particular form which that butchery takes and therefore to how that form works to articulate a pervasive process of deconstruction at work in the novel.

<sup>45</sup> Or, as Maurice Blanchot, in *The Infinite Conversation*, trans. Susan Hanson. Theory and History of Literature, 82 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); orig. *L’entretien infini* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), 307, puts it: “the severed finger refers back to the hand.”

<sup>46</sup> Groupe  $\mu$ , *A General Rhetoric*, 104–06 (see note 42). French terms used are taken from the original French edition of the book: Groupe  $\mu$ , *Rhétorique générale* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), 104–06.

object used for stabbing and cutting, let us substitute “lance” for “dagger” in the Groupe  $\mu$ ’s analysis and see what happens.

If we substitute, by synecdoche, “arme” for “lance,” we retain what are called “essential semes” but lose others. In other words, “arme” contains the essential seme (which the Groupe  $\mu$  calls “agressif-meurtrier,” but which we might simply call “warfare”), while certain other non-essential semes are suppressed.

In a battle scene, we might call the weapon used a “lance,” an “arme” or simply an “object.” The essential sign, or seme—“warfare”—is present in the first two terms but not in the third. In fact, as the Groupe  $\mu$  points out, the first term (“lance”) contains what they call “supplementary, nonessential information, not redundant but *lateral*.” And it is this that is particularly interesting for our purposes, for it is precisely this supplementary, lateral information which makes the lance an essential part of the process of suppression and disjunction operating in *Cligés*: its categorization as an “arme” that *cuts*. (A sword or an arrow would, of course, also fall under this category).

It is at this point that the Groupe  $\mu$ ’s analysis diverges from our own, but what is important to note is that Chrétien’s pervasive use of the “particularizing synecdoche”—not only “lance,” but “epee” or “escu” for “arme”—has the effect of anaesthetizing us to a certain degree to the sophistication of his art. (To paraphrase the Groupe  $\mu$ : “To write ‘lance’ where ‘arme’ would suffice, is this a figure or not?”). Bombarded as we are in *Cligés* with an arsenal of weapons, we tend to attribute Chrétien’s use of them to a “standardized atrocity aesthetic” and to overlook their astounding specificity.<sup>47</sup>

Moreover, that specificity is itself specular. I have mentioned only one instance of Chrétien’s use of one type of synecdoche here; the Groupe  $\mu$  goes on to identify, around the term “poignard” (Chrétien’s “lance”), two types of “decomposition” and three endocentric series which would, were we to follow them, take us back to the “champ” where our essay began.

And finally, by way of conclusion, it is perhaps for this reason that Chrétien can say, as he does in his later romance, *Perceval ou le Conte du Graal* (*Perceval*, or, the *Story of the Grail*):

Assez vos deïsse commant,  
Si je m’en vosisse antremetre,  
Mais por ce n’i voil paine metre  
Q’autant vaut uns moz comme .XX.

(*Perceval*, vv. 2618–21, 1020 / 74)

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<sup>47</sup> The term is used by Roger Luckhurst in *The Trauma Question* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008), 168.

[Now, if I wished and had the strength, / I would describe it blow by blow / and tell you all you want to know. / Why should I work so diligently? / One word is worth as much as twenty].





## Chapter 9

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### Peace and Love: Communities and Couples in Old French Romance Plots

Francophone romances from the period 1150–1300 tend to end “happily” with a community at peace and a couple reconciled. It is worth taking a closer look at their representation of peace, because it reveals patterns that might not otherwise be apparent: first, that peacemaking is as important as plotlines about protagonists and often inseparable from them<sup>1</sup>; and, second, that the community-wide nature of peace and war, affecting all the inhabitants of a country, gives meaning to episodes about individual heroes and heroines and their aristocratic dynasties. If a love-relationship, or the absence of one, causes a war, then those who will have to risk their lives and livelihoods are the people of that land; if it strengthens peace, then those who enjoy greater stability are also the inhabitants of that land. A consideration of peace demonstrates the interconnectedness of protagonists with their communities and lands. I contend that many Old French romance plots have a strong interest in peacemaking—even pacifism—despite (and in tandem with) their representations of military sports, organized combat, and warfare.<sup>2</sup> These

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<sup>1</sup> The Old French feminine noun *pais* (also spelled *paiz*, *pes*) means not only “peace,” “conflict resolution,” “reconciliation,” but also “tranquility,” and “silence” in contrast to speech, and “satisfaction” in contrast to unfulfilled desire; further meanings include “permission,” and “a kiss.” For brief definitions, see A[lgirdas] J[ulien] Greimas, *Dictionnaire de l’ancien français*, 3rd ed. (1979; Paris: Larousse-Bordas/HER, 2001), 434.

<sup>2</sup> I am not including tournaments, jousts, or judiciary combats in my commentary here, because Old French fiction depicts them as more controlled, and involving smaller numbers of people, with arguably different political consequences, than when armies go to war. Admittedly the distinction is not tidy, since some descriptions of battle scenes focus on hand-to-hand combats in a relatively organized literary manner, whereas characters can be killed or injured even in organized games,

texts sometimes do represent war as glorious, as well as dangerous and wasteful of life and health; but ultimately they represent peace as preferable to war over the long term. A happily resolved romance ending does not foreshadow continued warfare. Passages that glorify battle tend to be in the middle portions of the text rather than at the beginning or the end, with the exception of end-game judiciary combats that predictably bring victory to a person who has already been shown to be in the right.<sup>3</sup> Peace is a major objective in the resolution of many medieval romance plots, sometimes more importantly than protagonists' love relationships. I would contend that peace in communities (not only among nobles) is represented as a desideratum inseparable from dynastic continuity. The resolution of large-scale conflicts tends not to be the matter of an isolated subplot; rather, in most Old French romances whose endings survive, peace attains a significant place clearly assured by the narrative's final arrangement of characters, relationships, land, and revenue. The peacemaking tendency in Old French romances is historically significant partly because they transmit literary patterns that are preserved and intensified in later centuries, particularly in the comic genres of theater, opera, and film.

Of course, there is considerable variation among the full-length romances and their plot resolutions (or lack thereof).<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, interpretation is complicated by the mixture of parodic and serious elements that we find even in the influential early (twelfth-century) romances such as Chrétien's. Many more examples could be given than the ones that I will provide in this essay, and this large body of Old French literature offers so many examples that it is not easy to balance the risks of generalizing and the potential benefit of noticing patterns. Whereas Anne Hargrove and Maurine Magliocco refer to one of these patterns as "the old plot, combining marriage and romance,"<sup>5</sup> I would add that in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Francophone fiction there is not just one "old plot" and it does not always resolve itself in the same way. Not all the texts have happy endings: some are

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and large tournaments can become battle-like such as the one in *Gliglois*. *Gliglois, A French Arthurian Romance of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. Charles H. Livingston. Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, 8 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932; rpt. New York: Kraus, 1966), 137–43, vv. 2441–639.

<sup>3</sup> I know of only one exception, in which a judiciary combat is won by the combatant who is in the wrong; unsurprisingly, it is positioned not at the end of a story but near the beginning where it motivates further intrigue, in *Li Romans de Witasse le Moine*, ed. Denis Joseph Conlon. University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 126 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 48–49, vv. 358–71.

<sup>4</sup> When I talk about "endings" here I am referring to dénouements and concluding actions, though not necessarily to texts' final lines, which can conclude on other notes, such as narrators' epilogues, or scribal colophons.

<sup>5</sup> Anne C. Hargrove and Maurine Magliocco, ed. and intro., *Portraits of Marriage in Literature* (Macomb: Western Illinois University, 1984), 11.

unfinished, perhaps deliberately so, whereas others have incomplete resolutions.<sup>6</sup> Many romance endings do combine peace, love, marriage, and/or the birth of children. However, these four elements are not necessarily all present, and indeed we find various permutations, such as marriages with or without love, love with or without mention of childbearing, and so on.<sup>7</sup> Even if we can generalize to say that many Old French romances end happily, they do not necessarily have what we might call “fairy-tale” endings. The genre’s traditions do not require that all the narrative threads remain continuous to the end, nor is it imperative that all conflicts be resolved—the latter usually being almost impossible, in any case, because of many of these texts’ complex, episodic structures with multiple subplots and sometimes multiple heroes. However, two types of plotlines that do tend to be resolved at the end of a romance, if not sooner, are an unmarried protagonist’s quest for a mutual love relationship, and a foreign army’s advance on one of the characters’ lands. These two kinds of intrigues tend to be more closely related to one another than might appear at first glance, even coinciding such that a single series of events can help resolve both simultaneously.

Much productive attention has been devoted to the ways in which Old French romances provide literary ground for the development of “the individual,”<sup>8</sup> of characters’ psychology and emotional expression,<sup>9</sup> and of family relationships within aristocratic lineages.<sup>10</sup> While acknowledging the usefulness of that work, I would like to consider also the larger communities surrounding the dynasties of

<sup>6</sup> In the unusual case of a tragic ending, such as that of the *Mort Artu* at the end of the Vulgate Cycle, the narrative builds a sense of impending doom by the approach of the Roman army, and of Mordred’s army, as well as the continued threat of internecine violence. *La mort le roi Artu, roman du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Jean Frappier (Geneva and Paris: Droz, 1964).

<sup>7</sup> Some tales end with peace but not with love, such as the *Roman de Silence* and *Le Bel Inconnu*; Ami and Amile love each other but do not marry each other in their eponymous tale, *Ami et Amile, chanson de geste*, ed. Peter F. Dembowski (Paris: Champion, 1987); and a few romances end with neither love nor marriage, such as the *Mort Artu*. Heldris de Cornualle, *Silence: A Thirteenth-Century French Romance [Le Roman de Silence]*, ed. Sarah Roche-Mahdi. *Medieval Texts and Studies*, 10 (East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1992); Renaut de Bâgé [Beaujeu], *Le Bel Inconnu (Li Biaus Descouneüs; The Fair Unknown)*, ed. and intro. by Karen Fresco. *Garland Library of Medieval Literature*, 77, Series A (New York and London: Garland, 1992). All citations of these texts will be taken from these editions.

<sup>8</sup> On the development of “the individual” in medieval culture and literature, see for example Camille Bérubé, *La connaissance de l’individuel au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France / Montréal: Presses de l’Université de Montréal, 1964); Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972); and Robert Hanning, *The Individual in Twelfth-Century Romance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

<sup>9</sup> For example, Jean Frappier, in his *Étude sur La mort le roi Artu*, calls that romance’s unknown author “un romancier psychologue” and interprets the text as a “roman psychologique” (Geneva: Droz, 1972), 289 and 343 resp.

<sup>10</sup> Among studies that emphasize lineage, see for example Sharon Kinoshita, “Heldris de Cornualle’s *Roman de Silence* and the Feudal Politics of Lineage,” *PMLA* 110 (1995): 397–409.

heroines and heroes. In the representation of peace and war it becomes clear that noble protagonists and their immediate families are not the only ones who matter in a tale's outcome and implications; they are closely connected to large numbers of other characters, including vassals, courtiers, knights, ladies, merchants, soldiers, and peasants. Although in Old French romance "common" people are notably under-represented and rarely mentioned by name, their presence is at least implicit. After all, somebody has to produce the nobles' food and clothing. Sometimes commoners are referred to more directly, for instance in crowds, such as at tournaments, weddings, meetings, battles, and religious ceremonies, and especially in times of collective rejoicing or collective grief. I believe that it is worth noting the depiction of crowds and their emotional states, which can serve as a barometer for events' social implications.<sup>11</sup> Even though crowds of commoners are typically depicted in an undifferentiated, faceless way, their feelings' intensity is nonetheless significant. Such crowds make up a collective emotional and economic background without which the foreground would have little meaning.

In general, romances follow the actions of young aristocrats and their entourages; James A. Schultz has coined the useful term "aristophilia" for the love of noble characters.<sup>12</sup> Romances make nobles' fictional adventures meaningful because the destinies of "lands" and their inhabitants are harnessed to the outcomes. The twentieth-century feminist dictum that "the personal is political" applies rather nicely to noble heroes and heroines whose individual problems and their solutions have meaning partly because they influence the lives of all the people living in their lands.<sup>13</sup> The more prestigious the main characters, and the larger their land, the greater the population that will feel the effects of their actions. Somewhat the way we may now use the term "ecological footprint" to describe the area of land affected by a human activity, I would say that the heroes and heroines of romance project a large social and economic "footprint." Not only

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<sup>11</sup> Countless examples could be given; I will mention just a few. In Chrétien's *Erec et Enide*, at the title characters' wedding, "An la sale mout grant joie ot," and "Mout fu granz la joie el palés" ("In the hall there was great rejoicing" and "In the palace the joy was very great"). Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Enide*, ed. Michel Rousse. Collection GF, 763 (Paris: GF-Flammarion, 1994), 152, v. 2039, and 154, v. 2069 respectively. In the most famous example of that consummate state of collective bliss, the *joie de la cort* ("joy of the court"), later in the same romance, everyone feels a supernatural wave of joy at hearing the sound of the horn that Erec blows (366, vv. 6162–82). As for collective grief, for instance, in the *Roman de Silence* the title character's abrupt departure from court provokes (parodically?) intense displays: *Silence*, 140–46, vv. 3009–114 (see note 7).

<sup>12</sup> James A. Schultz, *Courtly Love, the Love of Courtliness, and the History of Sexuality* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 93–94 and 169–72.

<sup>13</sup> Carol Hanisch's 1969 essay, titled "The Personal is Political," *Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation, Major Writings of the Radical Feminists*, ed. Shulamith Firestone and Anne Koedt (New York: Radical Feminism, 1970), is available with a 2006 introduction by the author at <http://carolhanisch.org/CHwritings/PIP.html> online (last accessed on January 30, 2011).

do kings and queens leave such a footprint, but also dukes and duchesses, counts and countesses, as well as their heirs apparent and unapparent. Plotlines about noble adventurers would have very different meaning if the characters' families owned no land. In literary references to the "social footprint" of romances' heroes and heroines, we often find a concept of "land" that refers to both the place and its inhabitants collectively, yet without representing individual people. The Old French nouns meaning "land," such as *ter[r]e* and *co[u]ntree*, do not at all mean a "nation" in a modern sense of that word having to do with government, but rather these terms refer to both a place and its inhabitants collectively.

The choices made by romance protagonists determine their communities' destinies to a great extent, rather than only being determined by them. Thus even heroes' and heroines' smallest gestures, statements, and thoughts can take on collective significance, for little is ultimately private or individual in their textual world. Especially where peace and love are causally related, considerations that might otherwise seem private or personal for aristocratic lovers also directly influence not only their future lineage but also the destiny of the land's many inhabitants.<sup>14</sup> These texts are fascinating partly because of complex interrelationships among plotlines, and connections between aristocratic characters' experience and its outcomes or effects on the rest of their families and on the people of their land.

The citizens of a "land" rarely take center stage for long, but collectively they are nevertheless imagined to have strong emotions and even unanimous opinions. For instance, near the end of *Le Bel Inconnu* the princess named Blonde Esmeree travels home to Wales with her handsome fiancé Guinglain just before the two marry and are crowned, with the narrator reporting,

Or vos puis bien dire por voir,  
 puis que Dius fist et main et soir  
 ne fu nus hom plus bien venus  
 n'a plus grant joie receüs  
 con Guinglains fu en cele tere.<sup>15</sup>

[Now I can tell you well and truly (that)  
 ever since God created morning and evening,  
 nobody had (ever) been more welcome

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<sup>14</sup> In this consideration of peace and love, I am thinking of love within couples. There is also much material for studying the connections of war and peace with other kinds of love and family relationships in Old French romances. For example, we sometimes find siblings, parents and children, or knights and their best-loved companions, in episodes convergent with a peace-plotline.

<sup>15</sup> *Le Bel Inconnu*, 370, vv. 6231–35 (see note 7).

nor received in that land  
with greater joy than Guinglain was.<sup>16]</sup>

Here the poet Renaut de Bâgé uses the passive verbs “fu [. . .] bien venus” and “fu [. . .] receüs” in a way that does not specifically mention the people who joyfully welcome their queen-to-be and king-to-be. This is typical of representation of communal emotion in romances: the community that feels is not really portrayed. With efficient and spare wording, the poem refers obliquely to a community whose good opinion has considerable effect on the young couple’s future, just as the fiancés’ decisions reciprocally affect the community. The phrase “that land” (“cele tere”) refers not only to Wales in a geographic sense, but also to its unnamed inhabitants who feel “grant joie” (“great joy”) when welcoming their new royal couple. Similarly, in the *Roman de Silence* we find wartime Norway described metonymically as “overcome by hunger,” whereas more literally the hunger would be felt by the people living there.<sup>17</sup> These examples illustrate the tendency of Old French romance writers to attribute feeling to a land’s people collectively, while hardly representing the people themselves at all.

The congruence of protagonists’ personal wishes and political expedencies make some Old French romances good examples of what Frank Kermode calls “concord-fictions.”<sup>18</sup> They often combine a wedding and a form of inheritance, and sometimes also the crowning of young monarchs. For example, Lori Walters notes that “Marriages and coronations are the stock-in-trade of romance.”<sup>19</sup> Often a (fictional) young heir’s or heiress’s wedding is closely followed by the death of one or both parents, usually by natural causes. If only one parent dies, it tends to be not a mother, but most frequently a father or uncle, who bequeaths land and revenue to the younger generation. When considering the life expectancies of fictional characters in Old French romances, I notice that one of the most dangerous occasions in the life of an elder male aristocrat is the wedding of his heir. For example, in the twelfth-century romance of *Floire et Blancheflor*, it is during the wedding dinner party that Floire receives news of his father’s death.<sup>20</sup> In *Floire et Blancheflor*, unsurprisingly, the loyal young lovers’ wedding occurs more or less simultaneously with social promotion, inheritance, and the conclusion

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<sup>16</sup> All translations are mine.

<sup>17</sup> “Atainte de faim”: *Silence*, 8, v. 158 (see note 7).

<sup>18</sup> Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction, with a New Epilogue*. 2nd ed. (1967; Oxford, New York, Athens, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2000), 190.

<sup>19</sup> Lori Walters, “A Love That Knows No Falsehood”: Moral Instruction and Narrative Closure in the *Bel Inconnu* and *Beaudous*,” *South Atlantic Review* 58 (1993): 21–39; here 22.

<sup>20</sup> *Le Conte de Floire et Blancheflor*, ed. Jean-Luc Leclanche. *Classiques Français du Moyen Âge*, 105 (Paris: Champion, 1980), 103, v. 3203.

of both characters' mutual love-quest, with a profitable union of two families, as well as an end to threats of violence, both external and internecine.

A consideration of peace as a desideratum for a romance's plot resolution shows that the inhabitants of the protagonists' lands are essential to creating or resolving conflict, even if citizens rarely appear on the narrative's equivalent of center stage. If romances are about fantasy worlds, many are particularly about the fantasy of having the same (statistically unlikely) acts resolve multiple problems: the conditions for success converge. Protagonists' personal wishes turn out to be compatible with political, dynastic, and military (or, rather, should we say, pacifist) expediencies in Old French romances with "happy" endings. Sometimes the best interest of a larger community, and of its economy, is also best for the individuals in the aristocratic couple that will eventually stand at its head.

However, in other plotlines, peace and love diverge temporarily or permanently, having become subjects of incompatible desires or divergent criteria for success. When the need for peace outranks the value of a chosen love-match, then one solution, in fiction as well as in historical reality, is intermarriage between warring families, usually by sending a bride (called in Anglo-Saxon a "freoðuwebbe" = "peace-weaver") to marry an enemy, as more a career diplomat than a lover. For example, at the beginning of the *Roman de Silence*, the wartime destruction of Norway motivates its leaders to propose a political marriage for their country's princess regardless of her wishes.

The principal stated rationale for Ebain and Eufeme to marry is not affection (glaringly absent on the bride's part), nor either royal family's wish for an heir, but rather the Norwegians' collective need to end the devastation caused by the war. Immediately after the Prologue, King Ebain and his warlike country (England) are the first subject treated by the narrator: Ebain "firmly maintained the land in peace,"<sup>21</sup> while waging war against King Bege of Norway over a long time. This long war begins over some unspecified minor dispute.<sup>22</sup> The English invaders' destruction of Norway is vividly described:

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<sup>21</sup> "Maintint bien en pais la terre": *Silence*, 6, v. 108 (see note 7). It is common, if somewhat formulaic, for fictional descriptions of good kings to mention that they maintain peace in their lands. We find a similar verse in Hue de Rotelande, *Ipomedon, poème de Hue de Rotelande (fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. A[nthony] J. Holden (Paris: Klincksieck, 1979), 64, vv. 49–54, at v. 52. All quotations will be from this edition.

<sup>22</sup> *Silence* 8, v. 149 (see note 7). Similarly, the main plot of *Aucassin et Nicolette* begins with an unexplained war, this time between Bougar of Valencia and Garin of Beaucaire: the former "li argoit sa terre et gastoit son país et ocoit ses homes" ("was burning his [enemy's] land and destroying his country and killing his subjects"). *Aucassin et Nicolette*, ed. Jean Dufournet (Paris: GF-Flammarion, 1984), 44, lines 5–6. Likewise unexplained is the feud between Ille's family and Hoial's in Gautier d'Arras, *Ille et Galeron*, ed. Frederick A. G. Cowper. Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1956), 7, v. 90. *Editor's note*: See also the comments on *Aucassin et Nicolette* in Albrecht Classen's "Introduction" to this volume.

Puis en arst on mainte maison,  
 Tante vile en fu mise en flamme,  
 Et colpé tant pié, tante hance,  
 Et tante gens caitive espars  
 Dont la contreë en est arse  
 Que nel vos puis demi conter.  
 Li mals se prist si a monter  
 Que Norouege en fu priés gaste,  
 Atainte de fain et de laste.  
 Et morte en fu la gens menue  
 Et li autre priés confundue . . . .<sup>23</sup>

[Then they burned many of their houses.  
 So many of their farms were set on fire,  
 And so many feet and hips wounded,  
 And so many people pitifully displaced  
 Whose land had been burned [in the war],  
 That I cannot tell you the half of it.  
 The disaster was becoming so much worse  
 That Norway was almost laid waste by it,  
 Stricken by hunger and misery.  
 And the common people had died from it  
 And the others were almost destroyed . . . .]

The passage mentions numerous specific problems: hunger, evacuations, stress; harm to human health; damage to buildings; and environmental and agricultural concerns, in addition to unspecific complaints of the land being “laid waste” (*gaste*). Although it describes collective problems, it has some personal touches, such as the reference to “feet and hips wounded.”<sup>24</sup> Notably the “common people” are described as dying first and before the nobles take action.<sup>25</sup>

Immediately after this passage and in the context of the war, on the advice of Norway’s wisest advisers, King Bege of Norway offers his daughter’s hand to Ebain, with the principal and explicit intention of making peace. King Bege, from his position of weakness, agrees to the proposed match for the named reason: as the poet Heldris rhymes redundantly,

<sup>23</sup> *Silence*, 8, vv. 150–60 (see note 7).

<sup>24</sup> The poet Heldris evidently did not merely choose the word “hance” for reasons of rhyme (*Silence* 8, v. 152), as it oddly does not form an end-rhyme with “flamme” in the previous verse of the couplet (v. 151) (see note 7).

<sup>25</sup> “La gens menue”: *Silence*, 8, v. 154 (see note 7).



Por acorde et por aliãnce,  
 Qe la pais soië a fiãnce.<sup>26</sup>

[For reconciliation and for alliance-building  
 So that peace can be agreed on.]

and

Por acordance de la guerre,  
 Et qu'il ait mis en pais la terre.<sup>27</sup>

[For resolving the war,  
 And so he could set the land at peace.]

The noun *fiãnce* carries both the marital meaning and the implication of oath-taking for the purpose of political stability. Peace is a paramount need. From the beginning of the plotline, peacemaking is represented as a powerful motivator, more important than giving the princess time and opportunity to seek a more pleasing or consensual match. It is in this sense that Brunhild de la Motte points out that, in Shakespeare's plays, "marriage is not a symbol of love but of law and order."<sup>28</sup> In *Silence* the arranged marriage is diametrically opposed to the love-match, both in the ways it is depicted, and also in the romance's very structure: this romance surveys three generations' marriages, the middle generation's being a reciprocal love-match, and the first and last arranged. It shows how politics can work at the expense of nobles' personal happiness.

A political/military/economic/food crisis deprives the Norwegian princess of the opportunity to choose her future husband. The wedding of Ebain and Eufeme is arranged for political purposes, including peacemaking, but without emotional symmetry nor even any convincing display of love, as Sharon Kinoshita has rightly pointed out.<sup>29</sup> The passages on this arranged marriage depict Ebain's emotions little and Eufeme's not at all. Ebain does mention "love,"<sup>30</sup> but what he says has mainly to do with other matters on his mind, namely lust, peacemaking, and political alliance.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> *Silence*, 10, vv. 171–2 (see note 7).

<sup>27</sup> *Silence*, 10, vv. 175–6 (see note 7).

<sup>28</sup> Brunhild de la Motte, "Shakespeare's 'Happy Endings' for Women," *Nature, Society, and Thought* 1 (1987): 27–36; here 32.

<sup>29</sup> Kinoshita, "Heldris de Cornuälle's *Roman de Silence* and the Feudal Politics of Lineage," 398 (see note 10).

<sup>30</sup> The king claims that he has loved Eufeme for a long time: "Piece a l'amors de li me poinst." (*Silence*, 10, v. 185; see note 7), but this statement is weakened by its position after the political and sexual considerations, and by the absence of love-talk or any conversation at all between the two characters who are about to marry one another.

<sup>31</sup> He refers to his wife-to-be in terms of possession: the word "avoir" functions as both verb and noun in the homograph end-rhyme of vv. 181–2, "to have" her as his wife, and as a "possession,

Although the English fare better in the war than the Norwegians, both sides alike wish to end the violence, and Ebain's countrymen heartily approve of the Norwegian council's peacemaking plan. The English king summons quite a large crowd including messengers, archbishops, clerics, bishops, barons, counts,<sup>32</sup> dukes,<sup>33</sup> and sailors who prepare and equip boats to sail to Norway.<sup>34</sup> (Ebain himself does not go to meet his bride.) Theirs is a diplomatic mission, but also a show of wealth and power; perhaps the ships bound for Scandinavia are the same ones the English recently used there in the war. The envoys feel pleased to learn that their mission will be to escort their future queen to England:

Il n'i a celui cui en poise,  
Qu'avoir en cuident grant redos  
Et de la guerre estre en repos.<sup>35</sup>

[None of them are troubled by this,  
Because they expect to get great help from it  
And to gain relief from the war.]

Their response shows that even the characters on the winning side of a war are glad to anticipate peace. Next, as planned, the delegates bring the bride-to-be to England; only three days later begins the large, expensive wedding.<sup>36</sup> The wedding episode is notably unromantic, but without falling outside the range of subjects typical of Old French romances. In the foreground is both sides' desire to end the drawn-out war. In the background is the muddled question of whether the bride consents to marry Ebain, and matters of lineage that neither the king nor the narrator raises directly. The wedding episode does not specifically foreshadow that the bride might turn out to be unhappy—not to mention unpleasant and unethical, extra-maritally involved, and also childless.<sup>37</sup> The arrangement

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valuable thing" as a noun (*Silence*, 10).

<sup>32</sup> *Silence*, 10, vv. 192–5 (see note 7).

<sup>33</sup> *Silence*, 12, v. 223 (see note 7).

<sup>34</sup> *Silence*, 12, v. 225 (see note 7).

<sup>35</sup> *Silence*, 12, vv. 210–12 (see note 7). I am interpreting "redos" from v. 211 as the noun *rados*, defined as "shelter, help, defense, support, guarantee"; Greimas, *Dictionnaire*, 495 (see note 1).

<sup>36</sup> *Silence*, 12, v. 247 (see note 7). At the end of the romance, Silence's wedding to Ebain likewise takes place at the same court after a space of just three days (312, vv. 6669–77).

<sup>37</sup> In Old French romances, adulterous queens are usually childless, as Peggy McCracken has pointed out in *The Romance of Adultery: Queenship and Sexual Transgression in Old French Literature*, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 26, following Christiane Marchello-Nizia, "Amour courtois, société masculine, et figures du pouvoir," *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 36 (1981): 969–82; here 980. See also Molly Robinson Kelly, "Sex and Fertility in Marie de France's *Lais*," *Sexuality in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: New Approaches to a Fundamental Cultural-Historical and Literary-Anthropological Theme*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 3 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 241–56.

establishes not an absolute peace but a compromise, early in the romance, that generates conflicts, which in turn motivate further plotlines.

Another peace-weaving noblewoman, in Hue de Rotelande's *Ipomedon*, is the mother of La Fiere, married off in order to resolve a conflict between her brother and his enemy the duke of Calabria, who becomes her husband.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps this family history helps to explain the strong-minded way in which La Fiere, whose name portentously means "The Proud Woman," refuses to enter into an arranged marriage like her mother's. During the hero Ipomedon's two-year-long absence, La Fiere refuses all other suitors, despite repeated efforts by her duchy's peers to make her agree to an engagement with someone else. Her continued refusal to marry creates a diplomatic crisis marked by repeated outbreaks of violence:

Cil de Calabre unt souvent guerre,  
 Suvent est trublee la terre,  
 Kar lur veisins tuz les plusurs  
 Lur rendirent mult grans esturs ;  
 Eschar lur sembla de la Fiere,  
 Mult la heent de grant manere,  
 K'ele out refusé plusurs d'eus,  
 Si en unt mult grans ires e dols.<sup>39</sup>

[The Calabrians are often at war,  
 (And) their land is often disturbed  
 Because so many of their neighbors  
 Made many major attacks against them.  
 They desired La Fiere (one-sidedly).  
 Many hate her a great deal,  
 Because she had refused several of them;  
 They are very enraged and upset about it.]

Hoping to solve this military and economic problem, all the Calabrian barons then decide to meet, in order to try to persuade the orphaned young duchess to choose a husband and thus stop the violence that damages the "land" and the larger community in several ways:

Ne volent plus souffrir ne atendre,  
 Kar trop i perdent leidentement  
 De lur terres e de lur gent,  
 E si nel poent plus souffrir,  
 Ffort lur est si terre tenir

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<sup>38</sup> *Ipomedon*, 65–66, vv. 87–99 (see note 21).

<sup>39</sup> *Ipomedon*, 146, vv. 1809–16 (see note 21).

Senz cunseil, senz meintenement,  
Nel volent mes souffrir neent.<sup>40</sup>

[They do not want to wait or delay any longer,  
Because they are losing too terribly much  
Of their land and too many of their people,  
And indeed they cannot tolerate it any longer.  
It is hard for them to hold their lands  
Without help, (and) without support.  
They do not want to tolerate it any more.

The nobles blame La Fiere for the delay and resultant suffering, both concepts expressed by the verb *souffrir* (used three times in this short passage). I note that the barons do not hold the hero responsible for it, despite his long absences and his habit of misrepresenting himself. Even though the above passage is angled from the barons' self-interested point of view, the land and people matter where questions of war and peace are concerned. The military problem in Calabria affects not only the young duchess and her vassals, but also "their people."<sup>41</sup> Here, as in many other texts, the concept of "lands" includes both a kind of social footprint and an ecological one, almost conflating the places with the communities of unnamed citizens who live there.

Next follows an intensified phase of the conflict: because of the hero's long absence and comically cruel disguises, La Fiere cannot (yet) have the love-match that she wants, but she refuses to accept an arranged marriage; then she must confront a third prospect, of potentially having to surrender to a forced marriage without a peace-weaving function. A cruel and skilled foreign warrior named Leonin attacks La Fiere's duchy, but no local knight dares to stand up to him. King Egeon tells Ipomedon that the attacker "has nearly conquered all of Calabria"<sup>42</sup> and is seizing lands and castles.<sup>43</sup> La Fiere's envoy Ismeine laments that "Calabria has been destroyed by war."<sup>44</sup> Leonin threatens the young duchess personally as well as politically: Egeon describes the standoff outside the capital,

Pres de Candres est ja venuz,  
Sur le bois ad ses tres tenduz ;  
Il ad ja mandé a la Fiere  
Ke amee l'ad de grant manere  
E ke il la volt prendre a muiller,  
Ki ke s'en deive curucer,

<sup>40</sup> *Ipomedon*, 147, vv. 1822–28 (see note 21).

<sup>41</sup> "Lur gent": *Ipomedon*, 147, v. 1824 (see note 21).

<sup>42</sup> "Tute Calabre ad pres cunquise": *Ipomedon*, 400, v. 7679 (see note 21).

<sup>43</sup> "Lur terres, lur chateaus purprent": *Ipomedon*, 400, v. 7684 (see note 21).

<sup>44</sup> "Destruite est Calabre de guerre": *Ipomedon*, 413, v. 7992 (see note 21).

E ke el le deit prendre a barun  
Mut tost, que qe li peist u nun.<sup>45</sup>

[He has already arrived near Candre<sup>46</sup>  
(And) has set up his tents by the forest;  
He has already sent (a message) to La Fiere  
(Claiming) that he “loves” her a great deal  
And that he wants to take her as his wife,  
No matter who may object angrily, and (he insists)  
That she must take him as her husband  
Very soon, whether she likes it or not.]

The immediate prospects are threatening in multiple ways. Leonin threatens to “take” La Fiere by force; clearly she would not consent to his advances. The threat against the young duchess is far more intimidating because it is emblematic of the army’s parallel potential to harm large numbers of her subjects. Later, Ipomedon makes that likeness explicit when he challenges Leonin,

Vus volez par force cunquere  
E a nun resun ceste terre,  
A force volez femme prendre,  
Jo par resun la voil defendre . . .<sup>47</sup>

[You are trying to conquer this land  
By force, not by right.  
You are trying to take a wife by force;  
I am trying to defend her by right . . .]

These lines establish a parallel between the land (“terre”) and the virgin duchess who inherits it; Leonin is attempting to take both “by force” whereas Ipomedon intends to defend both “by right.” In addition to the explicit threat that “Leonin” (here actually Ipomedon in disguise) may take La Fiere away to India,<sup>48</sup> there is also an implicit threat of rape extending to the “ladies and maidens” collectively.<sup>49</sup> Roberta Krueger rightly points out that near the end of the tale when Ipomedon disguises himself with Leonin’s insignia, claiming to have beaten Ipomedon and threatening to carry her off to India: “The implications of this ‘joke’ are serious for La Fièrre and the women of her realm.”<sup>50</sup> Also grieving are the townspeople in

<sup>45</sup> *Ipomedon*, 400–401, vv. 7685–92 (see note 21).

<sup>46</sup> “Candre” is Catanzaro, the capital of Calabria (Holden, *Ipomedon*, 611), located near the coastline of the Gulf of Squillace.

<sup>47</sup> *Ipomedon*, 483, vv. 9717–20 (see note 21).

<sup>48</sup> *Ipomedon*, 491, vv. 9934–40 (see note 21).

<sup>49</sup> “Dames e puceles”: *Ipomedon*, 492, v. 9954 (see note 21).

<sup>50</sup> Roberta L. Krueger, “Misogyny, Manipulation, and the Female Reader in Hue de Rotelande’s *Ipomedon*,” *Courtly Literature: Culture and Context: Selected Papers from the 5<sup>th</sup> Triennial Congress of*

general ("burgeis"), including men<sup>51</sup>; the narrator states that they are afraid both for their lady and for themselves.<sup>52</sup> All of the citizens implicitly risk enslavement, over-taxation, oppression, famine, violence, economic ruin, and loss of control over their land.<sup>53</sup> The military threat comes to bear on multiple levels of La Fiere's life and the society around her: the attacker intends to deprive her dynasty of control of the land and its flow of tax revenue; he also threatens the lady personally, and the risk of rape implies not only personal violation and dishonor, but also the possibility that she might give birth to the invader's heir. At this juncture, rather than submit to "Leonin," La Fiere quickly leaves the country by boat, abandoning her position of leadership and leaving behind her vassals to cope with the foreign invasion.<sup>54</sup>

Just as the problem in Calabria is a collective, military matter as well as a personal one for the long-suffering noble lovers, so too is its solution. When Ipomedon and La Fiere are finally reunited and married, this leaves them very pleased.<sup>55</sup> Joy is also felt by everyone else anticipating the wedding and coronation, partly because this new configuration of the duchess's relationship with Ipomedon presages peace in their countries:

La joie est granz enz el chastel,  
 Il n'i ad nuls ne seit mut bel  
 En la terre, en la cité,  
 Ke or quident estre a pes torné.  
 Par tut en vet la renomee,  
 Grant joie funt en la cuntree,  
 Heitez sunt tut cil de l'honor,  
 Mut le desirent a seignur,  
 Mut li rendent merciz e grez,  
 De servage les ad ostenz.<sup>56</sup>

[In the castle the joy is intense.  
 In the country (and) in the city, there is  
 Nobody who is displeased,  
 Because now they expect to be brought to peace.

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*the International Courtly Literature Society, Dalfsen, The Netherlands, 9–16 August 1986*, ed. Keith Busby and Erik Kooper. Utrecht Publications in General and Comparative Literature, 25 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1990), 395–409; here 404.

<sup>51</sup> *Ipomedon*, 492, v. 9953 (see note 21).

<sup>52</sup> "Pur lur dame . . . / E pur eus meisme": *Ipomedon*, 492, vv. 9948–49 (see note 21).

<sup>53</sup> *Ipomedon*, 492–93, vv. 9965–80 (see note 21).

<sup>54</sup> *Ipomedon*, 492–493, vv. 9961–70 (see note 21).

<sup>55</sup> It extends to the obscene, as I have observed elsewhere: "Desire, Parody, and Sexual Mores in the Ending of Hue de Rotelande's *Ipomedon*: An Invitation Through the Looking Glass," *Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, 429–48 (see note 37).

<sup>56</sup> *Ipomedon*, 512, vv. 10445–54 (see note 21).

The news of it travels everywhere;  
 In the country they are very joyful;  
 Everyone in the empire is happy.  
 They really want him to be their lord;  
 They thank him and are very grateful.  
 He has saved them from enslavement.]

This passage expresses the extent of the celebration not so much by mentioning people as by naming inclusively their locations: "in the castle," "In the country [and] in the city," "Everywhere," "In the country," "[in] the empire." ("enz el chastel," "En la terre, en la cité," "Par tut," "en la cuntree" and "l'honor"). The general happiness of "everyone in the empire" seems to include not only the Calabrians but also the people who live in Ipomedon's land, Púglia, nearby in southern Italy. The two lands now come under the dominion of a single family. In this context of social interdependence, the lovers' finally establishing a stable and advantageous marriage relationship is significant on multiple levels: it reduces the military threat and increases the chances of economic stability (not to mention a steady food supply) for the larger community of people in their land. Because the love relationship brings peace,<sup>57</sup> likely everyone in the land will benefit from greater stability and prosperity than in wartime. Their now assuaged fear of enslavement ("servage") makes sense in light of the danger of invasion by angry, spurned pretendants from other lands, and the economic and personal risks faced by ordinary people under hostile rule.

In the aesthetics of Old French romance, with its crystalline fictionalizations of personal desires and socio-economic tensions, the element of peace in plot resolutions is arguably as important as the element of love. The values and possibilities in tension, between warlike elements and pacifist ones, and between collective chaos and collective order, help to drive the episodic plotlines. In these fictions, peace is represented as a necessary good; it is collective and a subject of powerful emotion; it is fragile and not taken for granted; it is a goal that unites and motivates characters of each social status. This set of patterns and assumptions seems to constitute part of the literary genre of romance, without necessarily simply reflecting historical reality nor merely proposing changes to it. For the Old French romances, one connection between marriage and order, if all goes well, is peace, a necessary precondition for economic stability and a steady food supply. In these narratives, love can motivate war, or love can motivate peace, or the absence of love can motivate war, but the absence of love does not motivate peace.

Individual and dynastic concerns alone do not explain the romances' representation of war and peace. Important elements of romances neither ultimately concern aristocrats nor even individuals after all, but rather they deal

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<sup>57</sup> "pes": *Ipomedon*, 512, v. 10448 (see note 21).

with the well-being of communities, usually described as all the inhabitants of a land, in which the concept of “land” includes broadly the social, agricultural, and economic well-being of common people and their environment. One cannot go so far as to call Old French romance a populist genre, but a consideration of peace in these texts shows a certain preoccupation with collective well-being. While rarely placing “common” people at the center of whole episodes, romances nonetheless presuppose a social and economic context that gives meaning to plotlines about their aristocratic protagonists’ adventures. The metonymy moves in both directions: a fictional populace is a useful barometer of larger forces that matter for aristocratic heroes and heroines, while conversely, noble characters’ actions also have meaning partly because they affect everyone who inhabits their land. Even though romances place aristocrats on center stage, and the populace usually occupies margins of their imagined social world, the representation of peace shows how necessary such margins are, since they form and position the center and give it significance.



## Chapter 10

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### Kiss and Make Up? Ritual Peacemaking in Frankish Morea and Its Narrative Reflections

An epistemological issue has garnered much attention in the profession as of late: is ritual a function of the narrative strategies of the accounts through which we reconstruct it? This, of course, is part of the longstanding quest, as launched by the great historian Leopold von Ranke's provocative dictum (1824), to determine whether we can know medieval history "wie es eigentlich gewesen ist" (as it truly, essentially was). Study of form, especially in conflict resolution and peacemaking, has taken this perennial historical anxiety to new heights. The old position that modern heuristic tools allow us to "know" medieval ritual has been countered by a rigorous claim that all we can know are the discourses through which we endeavor to learn about its existence.<sup>1</sup> A case study of a specific conflict and its ritual resolution in thirteenth-century Frankish Greece sheds some light on the core of this controversy: the relationship between ritual and narrative. It offers the advantage of half a dozen accounts of a ritual practice that have been thoroughly scrutinized recently from a variety of perspectives, including my own.<sup>2</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Most notably by Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> For different perspectives on the peacemaking ritual, see works by Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual* (see note 1); also: Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992); Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997); Patrick Geary, "Vivre en conflit dans une France sans État," *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 41 (1986): 1107–33; Stephen D. White, "Feuding and Peace-Making in the Touraine around the Year 1100," *Traditio* 45 (1986): 195–26, id., "Pactum . . . legem vincit et amor iudicium. The Settlement of Disputes in Eleventh-Century Western France," *The American Journal of Legal History* 22 (1978): 281–308, and

juxtaposition of two epistemological approaches focusing, respectively, on the significance of ritual in narrative strategies on the one hand, and on the inquiry of its meaning and function as a reconstructed past practice on the other, suggests that the controversy might have gone too far. On a functional level, ritual as a narrative device appears to resemble closely what ritual was as a social and cultural instrument of conflict resolution.<sup>3</sup>

## 1. The Conflict as History

Morea (or “*the Morea*”; adj. = Moreot) was the medieval name for the Peloponnese peninsula in southern Greece, occupied by the Franks since the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople (1204). In 1255, Carintana dalle Carceri, the second wife of Guillaume, Prince of Achaia (1246–1278), and baroness in her own right of the northern third of the nearby island of Euboea, died without male issue. The prince, feudal overlord of the island, immediately claimed the barony for himself and even minted coins with the legend “Triarch (lord of one-third) of Negroponte (now Chalkis)” to legitimize his claim. This step synchronized with his program of subduing Greek opposition in the Morea and uniting all the Frankish baronies by means of requesting homage for all fiefs under his control. In view of his aggressive policies on the mainland, the barons of the other two thirds of the island, Guilelmo da Verona and Narzotto dalle Carceri, disregarded both their liege obligations and personal bonds with the prince. Following an agreement they had made some years before, they rejected Guillaume’s claim for Euboea’s

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Kiril Petkov, *The Kiss of Peace: Ritual, Self, and Society in the High and Late Medieval West*. Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions, 17 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003). On the kiss of peace, see also Hanna Vollrath, “The Kiss of Peace,” *Peace Treaties and International Law in European History*, ed. Randall Lesaffer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 162–83. See also Klaus Schreiner, “‘Er küsse mich mit dem Kuß seines Mundes’ (*Osculetur me osculo oris sui*, Cant 1, 1). Metaphorik, kommunikative und herrschaftliche Funktionen einer symbolischen Handlung,” *Höfische Repräsentation: Das Zeremoniell und die Zeichen*, ed. Hedda Ragotzky and Horst Wenzel (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1990), 89–132; id., “Gerechtigkeit und Frieden haben sich geküßt (Ps 84: 11): Friedensstiftung durch symbolischen Handeln,” *Träger und Instrumentarien des Friedens im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, ed. Johannes Fried. Vorträge und Forschungen. Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für Mittelalterliche Geschichte, 43 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1996), 37–85; and Yannick Carré, *Le baiser sur la bouche au Moyen Age: Rites, symboles, mentalités, à travers les textes et les images, XIe–XVe siècles* (Paris: Le Léopard d’Or, 1992).

<sup>3</sup> [Note by the editor: Cf. now the contributions to *Codierungen von Emotionen im Mittelalter*, ed. C. Stephen Jaeger and Ingrid Kasten. Trends in Medieval Philology, 1 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003); Albrecht Classen, “*Mai und Beaflo*r: Familientragödien, die Macht der Gefühle und rationales Kalkül in einem ‘sentimentalen’ Roman des späten 13. Jahrhunderts,” *Futhark 4* (2009): 85–107; Peter Dinzelsbacher, *Warum weint der König? Eine Kritik des mediävistischen Panritualismus* (Badenweiler: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2009).]

northern barony and his sovereignty, transferred their allegiance to Venice, and installed Narzotto's nephew, Grapella, in the barony.

This unfortunate act, for which the barons were soon duly summoned to the prince's court and arrested, set in motion a train of events that pitted two coalitions of Franks against each other. The Venetian representative who dealt with such matters, known as a *baillo*, Marco Gradenigo, urged by the wives and relatives of the arrested feudatories, weighed the merits of the case and the interests of his government and decided that the prince had gone too far. Venice mobilized its fleet and ground forces and, as the war stalled and the princes' offensive proved quite effective, cast about for allies. The Venetians did not need to look far. Prompted by his older brother Guillaume, lord of Veligosti, Guy de la Roche, the great lord of Athens, joined the fray, apparently after Guillaume requested his homage. Guy had received the lordship of Athens in 1225, when Othon de la Roche, the conqueror baron of central Greece, transferred it to him and departed to his beloved Franche-Comté to spend his last days in peace. Guy was Guillaume's direct vassal for Argos and Nauplion by this inheritance, but he ruled over a principality that rivaled the prince's domain. He must have been alarmed by Guillaume's centralizing policies. So must have been other great lords, such as Thomas II, lord of Salona, Ubertino Palavicini, marquis of Boudonitza, and Geoffrey de Bruyères, lord of Karytaina, nephew and sworn liegeman to the prince, and a man in the mold of the heroic conquerors of old, who was also Guy's son-in-law. They all sided with Guy de la Roche against Guillaume.

To counter them, Guillaume mustered his loyal vassals, enlisted the help of the Genoese, and in the summer of 1258 inflicted a crushing defeat on the coalition of his opponents at the battle of Mount Karydi. The great lord of Athens sought refuge in Thebes along with the barons who had supported him. Intent on completing the business once he attained the momentum, Guillaume invested the fortress and laid waste to the area. Men on both sides, however, most of them relatives, were not happy to observe their rich domains despoiled and burned. With the assistance of the archbishop of Thebes, negotiations began through which Guy and his barons agreed to seek reconciliation. They took a solemn oath never again to bear arms against the prince and to submit to such punishment as he saw fit. Guillaume agreed and withdrew to his headquarters at Nikli.

A few days later, Guy de la Roche and his followers rode there to offer their homage. In a ritual submission, the great lord pleaded for, and received, mercy, and then did homage to the prince. This gave Guillaume the formal suzerainty that he sought, but apparently did not eliminate the fact that Guy had borne arms against his rightful lord: an offense normally punished by disinheritance. Guillaume's council, however, was hesitant to punish such a great lord so severely. To wash their hands of it, they referred the case to King Louis IX, the future St. Louis. Guy agreed, and in the spring of 1259, took the long journey to

France. Louis's court heard his case and acquitted him. The king was impressed with Guy and treated him with honor. The great lord seized the occasion and asked to be granted the title of duke. His argument was shaky—he claimed Athens had traditionally been a “dukedom”—but the king graciously agreed.<sup>4</sup>

While all this was happening, and Guy was delayed in France by another suit, events back in the Morea also took an unfortunate turn for the prince of Achaia. For in September 1259, during the battle of Pelagonia, the only encounter in a misconceived and poorly executed attempt to halt the Byzantine advances in continental Greece, Guillaume suffered a disastrous setback at the hands of a Nicaean coalition and was taken prisoner. Guy de la Roche returned to his domain to find Guillaume in a Byzantine prison and Frankish Greece in disarray. What the two had planned for the future we will never know. The situation that the Frankish lords in Greece now faced made their conflict irrelevant. What we do know is that when the wives and widows of the knights killed or captured at Pelagonia convened to decide the future of Frankish Greece and pressed to have their captured husbands returned to them, Guy de la Roche argued against Guillaume's release at the expense of surrendering three of his principal castles to Michael VIII Palaeologos. Guy also offered to take Guillaume's place in prison or mortgage his principality to raise the prince's ransom. When all such offers failed, he acquiesced to the ladies' sentiments and surrendered the fortresses to free the knights. Sometime later, when Guillaume finally returned home, Guy welcomed him to Euboea with honor, escorted him to his capital of Thebes, and there brokered a peace between the prince, the Venetians, and the barons of Euboea.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The title of duke elevated Guy de la Roche onto a level with the Duke of Naxos and, technically, with the prince of Morea. However, it is not clear whether Guy did indeed gain the title of duke in 1259. It was only his son and second successor, Guillaume de la Roche, who is documented in numismatic evidence as a duke ca. 1280. If so, the title might have been given to him by Charles d'Anjou, who, as Prince of Morea, was suzerain of the lords of Athens. See the conjectures of Longnon in works cited in note 4, below.

<sup>5</sup> For narrative overviews of the battle of Pelagonia and its consequences, see Sir Rennell Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea: A Study of Greece in the Middle Ages* (London: Edward Arnold, 1907), esp. 192–97, and William M. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566)* (London: John Murray, 1908), 97–108. For the rule of Guillaume Villehardouin (1246–1278) to 1259: Jean Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris: Payot, 1949), 217–51, 222, and id., “Problèmes d'histoire de la principauté de Morée,” *Journal des Savants* (1946): 77–93, 147–61, and esp. 90–91 for the granting of the title of duke to Guillaume II de la Roche, possibly in 1280. For the duchy of Athens and Thebes, though rather sketchy: Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London and New York: Longman, 1995), 86–87.

## 2. The Conflict as Chronicle: Sources

The principal sources for these events are the *Chronicle of Morea* and the history by Marino Sanudo Torcello, *Istoria di Romania* (composed, most likely, ca. 1336; History of the Kingdom of Romania). The *Chronicle*—also generally referred to as the Moreot chronicle—narrates the Frankish conquest and rule of central Greece and the Peloponnesus, as preserved in four parallel accounts, each written in a different language: Greek, Old French, Aragonese, and Italian.<sup>6</sup> None of the above is the original chronicle and there is a great deal of disagreement about the primary language of the original text and what this prototype might have looked like. This, however, need not concern us here. What matters to this inquiry is that the versions differ in their renditions of the conflict between Guillaume and Guy de la Roche and the manner of its resolution. The Italian version is a case in point. It appears to be a condensed translation of the prototype and is habitually seen as a “careless” or “badly executed” translation.<sup>7</sup>

Be that as it may, closer examination reveals that the Italian text followed its own logic in rendering the conflict and peacemaking. The same applies to the Aragonese version. A rather thoughtful reflection, it was composed in 1393 by Juan Fernandez de Heredia, Master of the Knights Hospitallers. Heredia possessed considerable experience in the affairs of Frankish Greece but he wrote a century and a half after the events, with, it seems, Aragonese custom equally on his mind and on the tip of his pen.

The versions with strongest claims for primacy—the Greek and the Old French texts—while closer to each other than to either of the other two versions, differ sufficiently to allow us to detect a discrete logic of peacemaking informing their accounts. Although both derive from a common source, the texts as we have them now are independent and are at a considerable distance from the incident. The

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<sup>6</sup> *The Chronicle of the Morea, TO XPONIKON TOY MOREΩΣ: A History in Political Verse Relating the Establishment of Feudalism in Greece by the Franks in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. John Schmitt (London: Methuen, 1904); English translation in Harold E. Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea*, translated from the Greek with notes and introduction (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1964) [Henceforth = “Lurier”]; *Livre de la Conquête de la Princée de l’Amorée. Chronique de Morée (1204–1305)*, ed. Jean Longnon, Société de l’histoire de France, 353 (Paris: Renouard, 1911) [Henceforth = “Longnon, Livre de la Conquête”]; *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues avec notes et tables généalogiques*, ed. Charles H. F. J. Hopf (Paris and Berlin: Weidmann, 1873) [Henceforth = “Hopf”]; *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del Principado de la Morea compilado por comandamiento de Don Fray Johan Ferrandez de Heredia, maestro del Hospital de S. Johan de Jerusalem; Chronique de Moree aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles publiée & traduite pour la première fois pour la Société de l’Orient Latin*, ed. Alfred Morel-Fatio (Geneva: Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1885) [Henceforth = “Morel-Fatio”]. See also Teresa Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece*, Oxford Studies in Byzantium (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors*, 35 (see note 5).

prototype of the French version must have been completed by the first decade of the fourteenth century. The Greek version, for its part, can be dated to its last quarter and betrays a different spirit. The second major narrative, the *Istoria* by Marino Sanudo Torcello (henceforth = Sanudo), is considerably closer to the events it describes. Sanudo had even interviewed some of the Frankish knights captured during the Venetian-Moreot conflict of 1256. Sanudo, however, treats the incident from a Venetian point of view. While quite useful for reconstructing the political events that sparked the formal conflict among the Frankish barons, his account omits their internal arrangements and most of the circumstances of the specific act of peacemaking almost entirely.<sup>8</sup> Finally, the institutional part of the controversy is covered by contemporary legal provisions.<sup>9</sup>

### 3. Causality and Agency in Conflict: Law, Politics, Emotions, and the Divine in the Chronicles

When verified against each other, the accounts of our sources allow for a fairly logical reconstruction of the conflict in which the great feudatories of Frankish Greece became embroiled in 1258–1259 and the manner in which they resolved it. As is usually the case with large-scale conflicts, the confrontation between the Frankish lords was a complex phenomenon with several dimensions. The sources are not equally sensitive to all of them. Each of the accounts is finely attuned to a specific cultural sphere, deploys a specific type of historical causation, and accords that type of causation primacy among all other causal explanations of the events. Scholars have noted some of these differences in their attempts to reconstruct the genealogy of the Moreot chronicle and its prototype; for example, the widely-traveled Venetian merchant Sanudo's emphasis on the affairs of Venice is transparent. Another example is differing interpretations we find of the meeting at Nikli. We shall discuss these and other aspects in detail later, but in general,

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<sup>8</sup> Published in Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 99–170 (see note 5), and recently in a critical new edition with commentary: Marin Sanudo Torsello, *Istoria di Romania*, ed. Eutychia Papadopoulou. National Hellenic Research Foundation, Sources, 4 (Athens: Institute for Byzantine Research, 2000) with corrections to Hopf's edition from the unique manuscript in Biblioteca Marciana, Venice.

<sup>9</sup> The legal code of Morea was contained in the *Assizes of Romania*, published by Georges Recoura, *Les Assises de Romanie. Édition critique avec une introduction et des notes* (Paris: Champion, 1930); English translation in Peter Topping, *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania, the Law Code of Frankish Greece* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949). Contemporary and much more detailed discussion of feudal law is provided in the Assizes of Jerusalem: see John of Ibelin, *Le Livre des Assises*, ed. Peter W. Edbury. The Medieval Mediterranean, 50 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003) [Henceforth = "Edbury"].

each version's particular socio-political preoccupation informs its narrative strategy.

The most conspicuous interpretative dimension of the conflict derives from the field of feudal law and custom. For the two primary versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* (the Greek and the Old French), the conflict between Guillaume and Guy is above all a legal issue. The legal framework subsumes even that of politics. As Harold Lurier points out, the author of the prototype of the *Chronicle of Morea* (a Frankish clerk, according to Lurier's reconstruction) manifests an intense interest in feudal custom and court procedure.<sup>10</sup> The French version does indeed betray a markedly legalistic mind, acutely conscious of the presence of the legal component of the conflict and its resolution and deeply familiar with the significance of legal formalism. To the French author, the conflict arose from a legal issue gone awry and was resolved within the same framework. The account makes feudal law almost an agent of itself, an enveloping edifice that prompted and structured men's actions in a manner that left little room for political initiative or any other. Within this framework, men functioned as automatons reacting rather than acting, like objects set in motion and navigated by legal guidelines.

The author introduces the incident as he does all of his material, beginning each with "And now we will stop talking about [ . . . ] and will tell you how began the war between Prince Guillaume and Lord Guy de la Roche, who later became duke of Athens."<sup>11</sup> The French author draws no connection to the prince's quarrel with the barons of Euboea and Venice. There is also no indication that the legal formalism of the feudal arrangement had a social and political core. In beginning his account by establishing its legal background, the author notes that Boniface de Monferrat, the Latin king of Thessaloniki (1205–1207), bestowed the homage of the lords of Athens, of the marquis of Boudonitza, and of the barons of Euboea to the "Champenois," that is, the conquering lords Guillaume de Champlitte and Geoffrey I de Villehardouin. The account confuses two generations of Frankish lords and a good many feudal arrangements not pertinent to this study. The author then proceeds to introduce Guillaume's request to Guy de la Roche to perform the homage due to him on the grounds of Boniface's grant. Guy's response, however, is a legal challenge. He stated that he held his domain by right of conquest, just as Guillaume did.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors*, 55 (see note 5), concludes that the author might have been a clerk or notary in the court of the Prince of Achaia.

<sup>11</sup> As in all versions, the text has Guy as "Guillaume de la Roche," Longnon, *Livre de la Conquête*, 80, paragraph 220 (see note 5).

<sup>12</sup> " . . . et que il lui estoit de riens entenus senon d'amour et de bonne compaignie" (and he owed him nothing but fellowship and companionship), Longnon, *Livre de la Conquête*, 81 (see note 5). Of course, "amour" is a highly technical term, implying that Guy considered himself liable to maintain friendly relations with Guillaume, but it was a liability freely taken by him and not tied

He had received Argos and Nauplion from him, but he had helped in the conquest of Corinth and Monemvasia, implying, again, that even these fiefs he held by right of conquest.<sup>13</sup> Convened to offer counsel, Guillaume's barons denied the legality of the claim. They declared that Guy's answer was disdainful, that he was therefore a rebel and the prince could wage war on him as on his mortal enemy.<sup>14</sup> Guillaume promptly did just that. The lord of Athens, for his part, mobilized his followers to defend his lands and honor. According to the author, God decided the victory belonged to Guillaume. As the prince followed up with destructive raids on Guy's domain some of the barons convinced the lord of Athens to submit and offer amends. At the meeting of the lords, Guillaume pardons him, but commanded Guy to go to the king of France to be judged for his legal trespass as a liegeman who had failed his lord, had borne arms against him, and had fought against him. Geoffrey of Karytaina too was pardoned, but on harsher terms. His fief was confiscated and then returned to him on the new condition of inheritance only through heirs of his body.

The author is similarly conscious of legal technicalities in his rendering of Guy's appearance before Louis IX. The king, he says, immediately realized that the prince of Achaia was according him great honor by sending his liegeman to him for trial. The implication is that Louis had no formal right to pass sentence on Guy. The author is careful to note that it was the king's reputation rather than legal custom that had guided Guillaume's actions. He then proceeds to give a detailed account of the court's deliberations and Guy's acquittal on a technicality. Since Guy had not done homage to the prince nor performed any services prior to his bearing arms against him, nor had his ancestors, he could not be considered his liegeman. However, since his homage was transferred by Boniface of Monferrat, whom he knew he had to obey, he was liable to do homage and not bear arms against the prince, and this was an offense that put him at the prince's mercy and pardon. Yet, since he had undergone the hardship of a long journey from Greece to Paris to subject himself to Louis's judgment and thereby increased the king's honor, he had already suffered enough of a punishment for his trespass, in Louis's estimation.

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to any duty on his part as homage would have demanded.

<sup>13</sup> Argos and Nauplion were granted by Geoffrey I to Othon de la Roche, who had assisted him in capturing both in 1210–1212. Guy was in Greece by 1208 and, although very young, might have accompanied his uncle in these campaigns but he held them as he held everything else except his half-share of Thebes, as inheritance from Othon. This explains why he had not done homage to Guillaume of Achaia for these two fiefs. As for the baronies of Euboea, the suzerainty over them was granted to Geoffrey Villehardouin in 1232 by Emperor Baldwin II.

<sup>14</sup> The legal provisions are in Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 433, paragraph 174, (see note 8) and Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, 25–26, paragraph 6 (see note 8).



The account ends with one last legal touch, noting that all this was duly explained in letters to Guillaume, certified by the king's and his barons' seals. The Greek version's narrative unfolds in a similar vein and opens by observing that, with Monemvasia in his hands, Guillaume "had no reason to fight with any man in the world." Having the right of homage, as the Greek-speaking chronicler explains in the same way as in the French text, Guillaume now exercised it, requesting it from all the chief feudatories. Because they demurred, Guillaume's council declared them rebels and traitors, and the prince then gathered his loyal vassals and marched against them. He was clearly in the right, the Greek version avers, since God, the highest judge, "cast for the prince and he won the battle" of Mount Karydi. Legalistic language pervades the remainder of the account. When Guillaume blockaded the survivors in Thebes and began raiding and despoiling their fiefs, Guy had to swear an oath to do homage and make restitution, as justice required, for whatever felony he had committed against the prince. As this version recounts it, after Guy's ritual humiliation, Guillaume, now the acknowledged suzerain, ordered Guy to redress his felony by submitting to the king of France's judgment. Similarly, Geoffrey of Karytaina, whose ritual submission was even more conspicuous, received pardon for deserting his rightful lord, but as his crime was so great, he lost his fief and then was re-invested on restrictive conditions. The author then narrates how Guy duly fulfilled Guillaume's order and how Louis's court acquitted him of the accusation of felony since he had not done homage to Guillaume before taking arms against him. As in the French version, the last technicality, the fact that Guy's homage had been transferred to the prince of Achaia, thus making him still guilty of trespass, was remedied by Guy's arduous journey to Paris.<sup>15</sup>

The anonymous Italian rendition lays the groundwork by succinctly recounting the story of the transfer of homage among the great lord of Athens, the barons of Euboea, and the marquis of Boudonitsa, together with Guillaume's request and the barons' disdain of it. Nevertheless, this version omits the indication that God granted the victory to the man who had the better legal claim. This account appears to have a different emphasis, since it mentions the intervention of the metropolitan of Thebes, the pardon, and the formal reconciliation. Legality enters the narrative with Guy having to make redress for his trespass by presenting himself to the judgment of the king of France: how that decision was reached, however, the Italian author does not consider important enough to report. The formalities of the submission of Geoffrey of Karytaina and his pardon receive a short description, followed by that of Guillaume's decision to pardon his contumacious vassal on the condition of restricting his right to his fief. Guy's

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<sup>15</sup> Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors*, 166–74 (see note 5).

journey to Paris merits as much attention as the court's decision to acquit. This account is shortened and somewhat confusing after that, but the main argument—that the lack of homage justified Guy's actions and he did not therefore deserve to be disinherited—is duly stated.<sup>16</sup>

The author of the Aragonese version, Heredia, is similarly well aware of due legal process and its importance in the conflict. He mentions that Guillaume's request for homage was according to custom as well as Guy's legal reason to decline: the fact that his father had not done this homage. Heredia is also the only chronicler to report that, upon Guy's answer, Guillaume's court issued a citation according to the establishments of the Empire,—the Assizes of Romania—that Guy disregarded. Furthermore, Heredia is the only source that puts direct speech in the mouth of Guillaume de Villehardouin at the peace-making meeting, in his address to Guy de la Roche and Geoffrey of Karytaina, and the only time we are openly informed that, through this offense, Guy and Geoffrey had forfeited not only the full control of their fiefs and the right to bequeath, but also their lives as well.

Yet Heredia does not reduce the conflict to a legal confrontation nor is law to him a subject with agency. Legal injunctions structure the interaction between the feudatories and provide them with formal reasons to justify actions. His emphasis on the need for such justification, however, casts a shadow of doubt on the role of feudal law as "primary mover." Legal custom operates as a parallel force, sometimes facilitating, sometimes obstructing, political and personal relations.<sup>17</sup> After legal causality, the second causation chain arises from the distribution of political power and the major figures' positions within the delicate web of the Frankish conquerors' political society. Here too, the sources differ in the extent to which they emphasize or engage discussion of power, political action, motivation, and agency as components of the conflict and its resolution.

For Sanudo, the confrontation was provoked by the Euboea's Italian barons, based on a mutual agreement, and triggered the dispute with Guillaume. Thereafter, official Venetian involvement dominates the account. With the Venetians now portrayed as the main actors, the de la Roche brothers appear as merely their allies. Sanudo attributes the first step to the elder sibling, Guillaume, who had been granted a guarantee against loss of his fiefs. Guy is only mentioned incidentally alongside his brother with no explanation for his involvement provided. Having detailed the military confrontation on the island, Sanudo then moves to cover briefly events unfolding elsewhere, that is, the clash between Guillaume of Achaia and Guy on the mainland and the battle at Mount Karydi. After his victory, Guillaume called his council, invoked the great expense incurred in the war which Guy had started, the latter's breach of fealty, and requested that

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<sup>16</sup> Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 438–40 (see note 5).

<sup>17</sup> Morel-Fatio, *Libro de los fechos*, fol. 49–52 (see note 5).

on these grounds Guy should lose his principality and be disinherited. The barons responded they could not pass a sentence since they were not Guy's peers and therefore could not try him; he was to go to France and subject himself to the judgment of the king of France and his court.<sup>18</sup> This is Sanudo's only, though quite important, reference to the key role of Frankish law in the conflict. Because of his preoccupation with Venetian affairs, Sanudo does not even hint at the power struggle between Guillaume and Guy as the possible motive behind the conflict. Instead, the clash between Guillaume and Guy is almost an afterthought to him, a side effect of the larger power struggle of Venice to control her domain overseas and assert her role as overlord. Sanudo does not inscribe the political agency controlling Guillaume and Guy's rivalry within the latter confrontation.

Similarly, for Juan de Heredia, the Aragonese chronicler, the incident was clearly a political issue. However, in his narrative, the agency-producing environment lies squarely within the Frankish lords' power contest. Heredia sets the background by beginning his account with Guillaume de Villehardouin's campaign against the Greek-held portions of the peninsula immediately after he took over the principality of Achaia. The prince did not want to rest "mas quiso recobrar toda la tierra de la Morea & ferla vna senyoria" (but sought to take over the entire land of the Morea and turn it into (his) domain).<sup>19</sup> In this, Guillaume was aided by Guy de la Roche, whom he rewarded with the city of Argos and the castle of Nauplion.<sup>20</sup> As soon as the campaign was over and the prince had finished his building program, he sent to Guy to request his homage, as was the custom. Guy demurred, responding that he would not do homage since his father has not done homage to Guillaume's father and brother.

Heredia skips the episode with Boniface of Monferrat's transfer of the homage of the lords to the prince. Against this background Guillaume's request appears as politically motivated as Guy's refusal. The confrontation acquires a legal dimension only when Guillaume asked his barons to cite Guy.<sup>21</sup> For Heredia, therefore, political causality informed the conflict. He makes it clear that the prince sought to transform his nominal authority into effective suzerainty. Legal custom was an instrument of the parties' political will. Politics motivated the conflict's resolution as well. Guillaume's barons initiated the reconciliation since they

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<sup>18</sup> Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 103–06; for reference to peerage, see 105 (see note 5). The *Assizes of Romania* and Ibelin's law book provide the legal background shoring up their decision; see Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, 41 and 43 (see note 8).

<sup>19</sup> Morel-Fatio, *Libro de los fechos*, 48, paragraph 210 (see note 5).

<sup>20</sup> Morel-Fatio, *Libro de los fechos*, 48, paragraph 212 (see note 5). Similarly to the other versions, Heredia confuses two generations of Franks and the names of the de la Roche brothers.

<sup>21</sup> See David Jacoby, *La Féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les "Assises de Romanie": sources, application, et diffusion* (Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1971), 24; for the above citation, Morel-Fatio, *Libro de los fechos*, 50, paragraph 220 (see note 5).

"greatly loved Guy de la Roche, and among his followers there were some of their relatives." Feudal "love" was not a tender sentiment, of course, but a technical term for established political relations. This was the inspiration behind the baron's plea to Guillaume on the lord of Athens's behalf. Perceiving that "grant amor" (great love), Guillaume in turn set the conditions for Guy's pardon.

The barons' "grant amor" was similarly decisive in the pardon of Geoffrey of Karytaina. From then on, Heredia follows the legal and ritual twists and turns of the reconciliation until its resolution and Guy's acquittal by the French High Court. Throughout, however, he is aware of the role of political considerations, which clearly outweighed legal technicalities. When Guy and Geoffrey threw themselves at his feet requesting mercy, the prince stated that out of "love" for his barons he had granted Guy his life. According to the law, however, Guy was to lose his fief, unless King Louis's court decided otherwise. The same considerations applied for Geoffrey de Karytaina, only here the prince defined his punishment himself. The prince acts and speaks throughout; there is no indication that he was constrained and his role was that of his court's spokesman. Agency is thus entirely his. Heredia adds, as do the other versions, that the lord of Athens was content to hear that and did homage; the legal developments seemed politically acceptable to him.

The Italian abridgment too incorporates political logic into its account, although on a different level. It begins with Boniface's transfer of homage to the Champenois out of his "love" for them and Guillaume's request immediately upon his taking over, passing over all the events in between. This promises a legally informed account. The barons' reply however, immediately introduces interpersonal politics: they told Guillaume they "non lo voler conoscer per superior, nè degnarsi da lui" (would not acknowledge him as their superior or lower themselves before him).<sup>22</sup> Reconciliation too is politically tinged since the barons on both sides initiated it and the great lords agreed. The prince is the major protagonist, acting on the supplication of the culprits and the mediation of his barons, but making decisions by himself. The Italian text disregards the importance of feudal legal provisions detailed in his prototype, to the extent of stating that Geoffrey of Karytaina's punishment entailed eschewing the right to bequeath his fiefs. Even more pronounced is the political logic of Guy's submission to the French king's court.

The passage is mangled, but the logic behind it emerges as quite lucid. The court found that, as Guy had not done homage to Guillaume beforehand as he had to the king of Thessaloniki, he was not the prince's liegeman and was not to loose the right to bequeath his fief. The thinking is, as in the case of Geoffrey of Karytaina,

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<sup>22</sup> Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 438 (see note 5).

that breaking the feudal contract entails the transformation of hereditary fief into a life-only grant. Right afterward, the text adds “ma per grandezza de esso Rè se li perdonava” (but for the honor of the king pardoned him).<sup>23</sup> The phrase seems out of context, since the Italian had omitted his prototype’s detail about Guy still being liable to offer homage and thus liable for punishment for not doing it. The logic behind retaining these words, however, is consistent with the text’s insistence on the importance of interpersonally defined political considerations. Guy had humbled himself before Louis’s court and thus increased the king’s honor. He surely deserved pardon for that, legal technicalities and reason of state notwithstanding.

In the Greek version, when Guillaume issued his request for homage, the five chief barons met together, discussed the request, and responded that they only recognized him as their peer, owed him nothing, and would not condescend to do him homage. As in the French version, Guillaume’s council, declaring the barons rebels and traitors, advised waging war. The political overtones here are clearer, but then again, just as in the other texts, the Greek version does not foreground the power contest, nor does it include it in any politically informed causality chain within the conflict. In the course of his narration, the author inserts a few clues indicating that purely political factors influenced his train of thought. To begin with, although five major feudatories opposed Guillaume, Guy de la Roche and Geoffrey of Karytaina are the only ones who have to make redress, ritual and factual. Secondly, as this account has it, the prince then commands Guy to go to France.<sup>24</sup> In fact, the prince could not have issued such a command unilaterally. The chronicle completely neglects the legal facet—the decision of Guillaume’s court—and focuses on the power relationship reflected in Guillaume’s order and Guy’s acquiescence.

In the French version, after completing the pacification of the Morea, Guillaume requests homage to be duly performed by all lesser lords. There is no indication of why the request was made at this point. The author makes no causal connection between the request and the prince’s policy to restructure the distribution of power in Frankish Greece. Guy’s reply is as legal as it is political. The phrasing of the text places his position vis-à-vis Guillaume not within the legally and hierarchically structured feudal relationship but rather within the realm of practical politics. They were comrades in arms and peers, Guy stated, fighting for a common cause. Guillaume had won his land by the sword, and so had he. He owes the prince nothing but “amour et de bonne compaignie” (friendship and companionship).<sup>25</sup> The prince’s reaction to this reveals the political core of his legal

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<sup>23</sup> Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 440 (see note 5).

<sup>24</sup> Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors*, 170 (see note 5).

<sup>25</sup> Longnon, *Livre de la Conquête*, 81, paragraph 223 (see note 5).

move. Enraged, Guillaume swore that he would not rest “jusques que il auroit mis sot lui le seigneur d’Atthenes” (until he put the lord of Athens under himself). From this point on, with the exception of Geoffrey of Karytaina’s decision to desert Guillaume, the events are governed according to the provisions of feudal law. The realm of politics and power appears again during the Frankish barons’ preparations to make peace: Guy riding to Nikli in full splendor, the prince succumbing to the pleading of the prelates and barons and pardoning him, and the prince acting as sole authority when commanding Guy to appear before the king of France for trial.

The third layer in the narratives is that of personal feelings, grievances, and considerations: a multi-layered level in its own right. In the first place, terms signifying emotion are positional and thus employed to denote the characters’ stance on legal and political issues. What seems at first to be conventional language in these texts is actually a code language, laced with some technical terms, so that words such as “love,” “anger,” and “grief” acquire new meaning in this context.<sup>26</sup> The French and the Aragonese versions frequently limit themselves to coded language through emotional terms, apparently taking them as self-explanatory. In both texts, for example, as we have observed in another context, the prince’s barons were displeased and deeply grieved to see Guy’s domain ruined and intervened to make peace out of “love” for the lord of Athens. The Greek text cites emotions just as frequently but seeks to rationalize them as well, suggesting a distance between its author’s thinking and the mentality and the vocabulary of the Western texts. It notes that the barons sought to restore the “love” between the prince and the lord of Athens; by contrast, the French version uses “peace” on this occasion. However, the Greek text specifies that the barons were prompted to act when they saw their relatives who sided with Guy and whom they “loved” losing their villages.

No less technical is the meaning of “anger.” In the French version, Guy’s refusal to do homage angered the prince mightily; in his anger, he swore to have no comfort until the lord of Athens was subdued. The Greek text’s term translates as “enraged.” The Italian redaction uses “offended” (“sdegnato”), as it does when reporting on the prince’s reaction to the news that Geoffrey of Karytaina had deserted him, adding that he was seized by “grief” as well. Farther on, the French text relates that the barons too, agreed that Guy’s denial of prince’s authority over him was a mark of utter disdain. Geoffrey of Karytaina, for his part, was seized by grief when the lord of Athens requested his help, since he was unable to decide whom he was to join: his uncle and liege lord Guillaume or his father-in-law, Guy.

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<sup>26</sup> Longnon, *Livre de la Conquête*, 81, paragraph 221, 223, etc (see note 5). On anger, see *Anger’s Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1998).

The source sadly remarks that his decision, which he had debated and made by himself, turned out to be the wrong one. The proper legal way would have been to seek counsel.

Secondly, emotional terms are used to indicate what we would properly call emotions in the conventional sense: feelings emancipated from technical meaning. Seeing that the lord of Karytaina had chosen to join him at Thebes, Guy de la Roche was all joy and gladness. Conversely, the prince of Achaia was not joyful at all at his nephew's and liegeman's betrayal. The wordings of the Italian and French versions imply that Guy was quite pleased with the decision of the prince's barons, as was Louis IX with his appearance at his court and the honor this accorded him.

Thirdly, emotions are invoked as prime movers. The French and the Aragonese versions inform us that the lord of Karytaina, torn between his competing loyalties, finally succumbed to his "love" for his wife, Guy de la Roche's daughter. The Greek version, on the contrary, persists in cold, pragmatic reasoning: Geoffrey figured that if things went wrong his uncle would pardon him anyway. When it came to that, the French version reports that Guillaume's "anger" at Geoffrey made him "moult fiers et durs" (very angry and stubborn) and quite unwilling to pardon him; it took a good deal of pleading until he gave in.

The fourth dimension in the accounts of the conflict is the involvement of the supernatural. The sources are sparing in their invocation of the divine and not all of them attribute much agency to it. In the French version, the battle of Mount Karydi was decided by God, who granted the victory to the prince of Achaia. The prince realized it was God's deed and acknowledged it by giving thanks to the Lord. The chronicler does not elaborate on why God had inclined toward Guillaume. The Greek version is more detailed and offers the rationale: since God is the judge, the chronicler notes, he judges on the right, and he cast for the prince. The second reference occurs solely in the French version, included in the barons' plea with Guillaume to pardon Geoffrey of Karytaina for God's sake and because of his noble station and character. The divine also intervened indirectly. The negotiations that led to the reconciliation between the great lords were initiated by a representative of God, the archbishop of Thebes. Finally, an indirect connection to religious practice transpires in Guy's acquittal by the French High Court. The invocation of the hardship that he had suffered on his journey to Paris suggests a link to penance and the imposition of pilgrimage as a form of penance.

#### 4. Conflict Resolution: Peacemaking as Ritual

The peacemaking at Nikli was thus designed to address matters legal, political, emotional, and divine. The role of each of these aspects was assigned its relative

weight in the process according to each above-described Moreot chronicle's logic. That is, while all these versions identify in common four components in the process—supplication, (re-)creation of the feudal bond, pardon, legal amend, and interpersonal peace—each version emphasizes a different one.

Except for some slight differences, the French and the Greek versions follow the same scenario. Peacemaking for them was structured around the (re-)creation of the feudal bond. After swearing to subject himself to Guillaume's judgment, Guy de la Roche rode into Guillaume's camp. There the great lord of Athens presented himself to the prince, fell on his knees, and asked his forgiveness for carrying arms against him and fighting him on the field of battle. Swayed by the pleas of his prelates and barons, the prince agreed, pardoned him, and received Guy's homage and fealty. Guillaume then commanded Guy to make amends for the offense he had committed against him by going to the French court, where his punishment for carrying arms against his liege lord was to be determined. With this, peace and accord were made between Guy and Guillaume.

Then came the ritual supplication of the lord of Karytaina. Geoffrey was led before the prince, a rope around his neck, while all the high barons fell to their knees, pleading on his behalf. Yet more entreaties were required for Guillaume to give in. Eventually he did pardon Geoffrey, though not without curtailing his feudal rights. The author repeats, "in this manner, as you have heard, peace and accord was made between the lord de la Roche and prince Guillaume," and, as soon the peace was done and completed, the young knights staged a grand feast with jousts, breaking of lances, and carousing.<sup>27</sup>

The legal form thus reigns supreme in the account of the peacemaking as it did in the narrative of the conflict. The two chroniclers (French and Greek) understood peace as the existence of a perfectly organized, all-encompassing feudal structure in which every man did his part and fulfilled his feudal obligations. The focus of the narrative is the rite that (re-)established the legal relation, the acts of homage and fealty: procedures so well known that the French-speaking author does not even dwell on how they were performed. The Greek version adds a nuance here, mentioning that, after having been forgiven, Guy "did the homage that he owed and kissed him upon his mouth and the two restored the love between themselves."<sup>28</sup> In both cases, the peacemaking act was accomplished through each agent or party's full and unconditional acknowledgment of the feudal principle of

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<sup>27</sup> Longnon, *Livre de la Conquête*, 87–88, paragraph 242 (see note 5).

<sup>28</sup> Schmitt, *The Chronicle of the Morea*, 223, ll. 3337–41 (see note 5); Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors*, 170 (see note 5), translates it "and they were reconciled;" literally the phrase reads, "they restored the love (between themselves)." The kiss as a gesture of fealty is recorded by Ibelin; see Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 443, paragraph 176 (see note 8), and by the Assizes of Morea, Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, 22–24, paragraph 3, (see note 8).



interdependence and its legal implications. Within this ethical system, fighting, legal contest, and perpetration of violence do not constitute breach of the peace. Accepting punishment for one's transgression amounted to recognition of the same provision.

The Aragonese version, while adhering to the same scheme, differs in one important respect. Peacemaking for Heredia centered primarily on the prince's pardon of his recalcitrant vassals. He stresses the humble pleas of Guillaume's barons on behalf of Guy and Geoffrey before Thebes and the prince's conditions for pardon. At Guy's (and Geoffrey's) ritual supplication, the prince asserted that they deserved to loose both their lives and their fiefs.<sup>29</sup> He spared their lives, but imposed the condition of redress in taking Guy's fief *before* the homage was done. The lord of Athens heard the prince's verdict, accepted it, "Et dicho aquesto, micer Guillem de la Rocia fue contento" (and lord Guy de la Roche was satisfied with what was said), rose to perform his homage, and was kissed on the mouth. The lord of Karytaina was treated in similar manner. He offered his supplication, heard the verdict restricting his feudal rights, and expressed satisfaction with it, "Et micer Jufre fue mucho contento" (and lord Geoffrey was very satisfied). Then the prince lifted him to his feet—unlike Guy, who rose by himself—and kissed him on the mouth.<sup>30</sup> After these ceremonies, there was rejoicing and great feasting for many days. Heredia's sensitivity to rank and levels of transgression is evident in his detailed attention to them when describing the different ways in which Guillaume interacted with the lords of Athens and Karytaina. But for Heredia, the resolution of the conflict lay in the pardon: a conditional and discretionary act by the prince of Achaia; neither peace nor accord is mentioned. Guillaume's position is one of sovereignty limited by peer pressure and the necessity of consent from those involved. He could exercise discretion in regard to the law and enforce it directly or conditionally, but not vis-à-vis his barons and even his contumacious vassals. Guy and Geoffrey were subjects in trespass, but they were bound by their will and the will of their peers rather than by the provisions of institutionalized law. Conditionality is thus built into peacemaking by default.

The anonymous Italian version not only condenses the account but follows a different sequence as well. The reconciliation begins with Guy riding to Nikli and sending his barons ahead to placate Guillaume. The prince heard them, received the great lord, pardoned him, kissed him, and made him do homage. Although this version depicts matters as having been placated by these gestures, the great

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<sup>29</sup> The legal texts make no specific reference to conditions in which one forfeited one's life as well, but the provision must have implicitly followed from the court's decision to declare both feudatories as having broken their fealty and being "traitors." See the detailed notes of Ibelin in Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 433, paragraph 180 (see note 8).

<sup>30</sup> Morel-Fatio, *Libro de los fechos*, 52 (see note 5).

lord still had to go to France to be tried for his trespass. To the Italian, therefore, the proper peacemaking act—the pardon and the kiss of peace—were central to the foundation of the restoration of the feudal bond and Guy's further fate, while the journey to Paris seems secondary. Peace to him is an interpersonal act between two great men, unencumbered and unrestrained agents. Accordingly, sorting out their differences was above all a matter of personal reconciliation, with all other provisions following suit.

Sanudo, in his *Istoria*, does not mention peacemaking at all. According to him, the victorious Guillaume requested that his barons consider the trespass and breach of fealty committed by Guy and the great expense incurred in the war, and demanded that Guy be disinherited. As we already know, the barons made the political decision to wash their hands of the matter and advised sending Guy to France. The great lords agreed to subject themselves to this judgment. Once acquitted and back in the Morea after the battle of Pelagonia and Guillaume's capture, Guy de la Roche was concerned to not let his past action be held against him; he served Guillaume loyally, even at the expense of agreeing to the politically disastrous decision of the ladies' parliament to surrender Mistra, Maina, and Monemvasia to Michael VIII Palaeologos.<sup>31</sup> To Sanudo, all the trappings of interpersonal interaction—the supplication, pardon, act of homage, and ritual kiss—appear immaterial to conflict resolution. His hallmark tendency looks to the interests of the state, within whose overarching metaphysical yet tangible framework all legal provisions and discretionary human acts occurred.

## 5. The Lessons of Peacemaking: Ritual Practice and Chronicle Narrative

Can the role of ritual in this conflict and its resolution add something to our understanding of the incident? The question was asked recently—and emphatically—by Philippe Buc. He answers that discussion of ritual can add value only if rituals are seen as autonomous practices quite divorced from the role of epiphenomena (secondary phenomena) in power relationships.<sup>32</sup> Were ritual practices enmeshed in and reproductive of power relationships in the peace of Nikli?<sup>33</sup> Certainly. Enough work has been done on ritual reconciliation to warrant that conclusion. Two things, however, should be noted. First, the question of how

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<sup>31</sup> Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 108 (see note 5).

<sup>32</sup> Philippe Buc, "The monster and the critics: A ritual reply," *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007): 441–52, at 452. Buc's conclusion applies to later medieval ritual as well.

<sup>33</sup> The major works in the field concur; see, for example, Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, passim (see note 2).

exactly ritual played the role of power epiphenomenon has been far from thoroughly explored. Elsewhere I have argued that the cluster of rites centered on the kiss of peace worked as a cross-cutting device linking distinct paradigmatic fields of being in the medieval world and opened a window for conditional negotiation of future status quo.<sup>34</sup> In the present case, the kiss efficiently—and economically—consolidated feudal custom (the bond of fealty), pardon, and reconciliation into a single act. The reconciliation at Nikli fits neatly into that interpretation. I see no reason to elaborate further on the functionality of peacemaking rites in that context.

Second, if that conclusion can be taken as a conditional premise for scrutinizing the juxtaposition of ritual “as it really was” to descriptions of ritual as narrative strategy, I would argue that added value materializes itself on an epistemological level. What this discussion explores is not the meaning and function of ritual in the act of peace but the epistemological value of its presence (or absence) and its significance in the discursive strategies of the chronicle narratives on which we base our understanding and reconstruction of peacemaking. As one of my premises is strictly functionalist, the comparison has to be narrowed down to that level if it is to remain valid. Narrowing down to compatibility, of course, does not mean reduction. Other levels of analysis apply; it is just not my aim to address them here. My interest is in highlighting typological similarities in the functioning of past practice and its role in narrative.

Four conclusions present themselves in this respect. First, ritual is only present in the narratives that locate agency in competing nodes of power, arbitrariness and conditionality. Accounts building their narrative strategies around causality vested in structural phenomena with hegemonic status in the logic of the narration efface ritual. Second, where ritual is present, the reason for its inclusion appears to have been the need of a meta-discursive interface. The detailed discussion of the logic of the accounts I have offered on the preceding pages demonstrates that, although each author prefers to locate agency within different paradigms, all authors eschewed mono-causality. Herein lies the need to bring ritual into the description. The description of the ritual supplication and the kiss that characterize the peacemaking act collapses the typological distinctions between the multiple levels of causality explicitly or latently present even in the most focused of the narratives. As a components of narrative strategy, descriptions of ritual allow authors—and presumably, their audience—to integrate, through ritual’s cross-cutting valence and referential capacity, the chief strands of causality on which they have based their accounts.

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<sup>34</sup> Petkov, *The Kiss of Peace*, passim (see note 2).

As a sort of “prop” of narrative strategy, therefore, description of ritual is a crucial device upholding the principle of economy of the representation of practice in narrative. Third, since the peacemaking ritual is an integrated sequence, its rearrangement in the narratives permits a hierarchy of causality, highlighting the one assigning agency while still accounting for complexity. Fourth, this does not necessarily mean that ritual and its description are reduced to the role of (meta-) communicative devices. The meaning and function of the peacemaking practice overlapped typologically with the meaning and function of its description. As practice, ritual worked by establishing cross-cutting ties between paradigms. As plot device, description of ritual works by establishing cross-cutting links between different strands of causality. From a functionalist point of view in which the source’s narrative strategy permitted its existence, ritual and its description were the same thing.

# Chapter 11

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## The Power of Sermons in War and Peace: The Example of Berthold of Regensburg

We are easily deceived by the history of the Crusades and other military conflicts in our assessment of how medieval society, and also the Christian Church, justified violent measures to achieve their goals in the broadest sense of the word: that is, to realize their values, ideals, and material objectives. This problem also concerns, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, the institution of chivalry. For us it seems considerably easier, and also much more attractive, to discuss the history of wars, weapons, battles, fortresses, sieges, and the like than to turn to the very opposite: the absence of authorized, large-scale, organized violence.<sup>1</sup> Not surprisingly, because of their broad, multi-level origins and impact, war and peace have been regarded from rather contrastive perspectives throughout time, as the vast body of pertinent scholarship, literary documents, and art work indicates.<sup>2</sup> Although knighthood (chivalry) bore the greatest practical and symbolic meaning in the Middle Ages, we would be mistaken in assuming that entire medieval societies were determined by militaristic thinking and brutal, violent behavior as a result.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Malte Prietzel, *Krieg im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), 8, correctly argues that the study of war can reveal much about the particular society in which it occurs. However, the same could be said for its opposite—peace—though peace is less readily definable, except for by what it is not.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Dominique Barthélémy, *L'An mil et la paix de Dieu: La France chrétienne et féodale 980–1060* (Paris: Fayard, 1999). See also the contribution to this volume by Charles W. Connell.

<sup>3</sup> The degree to which medieval society relied on rituals and performative actions to overcome conflicts and to handle difficult political tensions has been thoroughly examined by Gerd Althoff in a number of studies, see, for instance, his collection of seminal articles in *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997). There is, of course, also a certain danger in overemphasizing the relevance of rituals, as if they were all hollow acts

In fact, not even the discourse of peace can be deemed a product of modern times; rather it can be traced much farther back at least to late Antiquity, though those voices addressing the need to contain war and establish peaceful communications were, perhaps just like today, few and far between. Yet these voices remain meaningful for us today, not only as incidental precursors, but also, more precisely and significantly, as instructive models for speaking out strongly for peace against a dominant military framework within their society, amidst the overwhelming, glorious aura of the Crusades and many other war campaigns.<sup>4</sup>

Knighthood and related military endeavors were not necessarily the ultimate ideal of the aristocratic class, though they certainly functioned, as they do today, as an expedient means toward gaining power, money, and influence.<sup>5</sup> However, we have to be careful not to confuse naively the modern term “peace” with its medieval conceptual counterpart. The latter may best be defined via detailed examination of the various contexts in which the word appears. We can be certain, for instance, that knightly discourse treated the concept of peace differently from that of clerkly discourse—to cite one of the most common dichotomies governing medieval writing style—and so forth.<sup>6</sup>

Already St. Augustine, who, as a founding theologian, may thus be considered a prototype for the clerkly voice, appealed to his contemporaries to pursue a peaceful way of life because, as he saw it, violence can only engender violence, leading to an endless and vicious cycle of aggression that would victimize everyone: “Why do you treat those who are bad violently?” To which, he answers himself: “As soon as you treat them violently, you add yourself to them.”

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without specific meaning or would not reflect true motifs, emotions, and desires; see Peter Dinzelbacher, *Warum weint der König?: eine Kritik des mediävistischen Panritualismus* (Badenweiler: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Bachmann, 2009). See also the contribution to the present volume by Kiril Petkov.

<sup>4</sup> One of the harshest criticisms against military violence can be found in the heroic text, *Diu Klage*, in which the devastating consequences of the desperate battle in the *Nibelungenlied* are bitterly commented on; see Albrecht Classen, “*Diu Klage* – A Modern Text from the Middle Ages?” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 96 (1995): 315–29; id., “Rituale des Trauerns als Sinnstiftung und ethische Transformation des eigenen Daseins im agonalen Raum der höfischen Welt. Zwei Fallstudien: *Diu Klage* und *Mai und Beafloer*,” *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 36 (2006): 30–54. See also Elisabeth Lienert, “Der Körper des Kriegers: Erzählen von Helden in der ‘Nibelungenklage’,” *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur* 130.2 (2001): 127–42.

<sup>5</sup> Ludwig Quidde, *Histoire de la paix publique en Allemagne au moyen âge*, The Hague Academy of International Law, *Recueil des cours*, 1929, 3 (Paris: s. n., 1930); *Krieg und Frieden im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit: Theorie, Praxis, Bilder*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt and Patrice Veit. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz. Beiheft, 52 (Mainz: von Zabern, 2000); Nicolas Offenstadt, *Faire la paix au Moyen Âge: discours et gestes de paix pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans* (Paris: O. Jacob, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> Albrecht Hagenlocher, *Der guote vride: Idealer Friede in deutscher Literatur bis ins frühe 14. Jahrhundert*. Historische Wortforschung, 2 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1992), 1–33.

Although he did not reject all authorities, the military, and the penal system, he still insisted on a peaceful frame of mind, or conceptual approach to life: "I urge you, please, by the Lord and his gentleness, to live gently and peaceably; and to allow the authorities to do their job in peace."<sup>7</sup> Other theologians and philosophers, poets and artists formulated similar ideas, though they have remained mostly hidden in the shadow of medieval history, as if they did not belong to the mainstream of the public discourse.<sup>8</sup>

In order to bring to light one of the many voices arguing for peace and to contribute to Peace Studies scholarship from a medieval perspective,<sup>9</sup> I have chosen to examine one of the most popular late-medieval preachers, the Franciscan Berthold of Regensburg (ca. 1210–1272) who utilized his many opportunities as a public speaker/preacher to remind his audiences of the grave dangers resulting from violence and aggressive behavior: that is, the lack of peace.<sup>10</sup> But he meant "peace" in a somewhat different context from what we might assume, and also from what many of his contemporaries might have expected. If we turn, for instance, to the vast corpus of didactic poetry, such as the rather popular gnomic stanzas by the fourteenth-century Viennese poet Heinrich der Teichner, we would discover many parallel positions and arguments against war, though there expressed in much more concrete, specific terms directed against military threats against the civilian population.<sup>11</sup> In fact, a careful examination of medieval literature quickly yields numerous usages of the term 'peace' in a wide variety of contexts, forcing us to modify our notion of 'peace' considerably.<sup>12</sup> Berthold

<sup>7</sup> Quoted from Albrecht Classen, "Introduction: Violence in the Shadow of the Court. Violence in the Past and Present: Theoretical and Literary Investigations," *Violence in Medieval Courtly Literature: A Casebook*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Routledge Medieval Casebooks (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 1–36, at 6.

<sup>8</sup> See the excellent anthology of relevant texts compiled in *The Ethics of War: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, ed. Gregory M. Reichberg, Henrik Syse, and Endre Begby (Malden, MA, Oxford, and Carlton, Victoria, Australia: Blackwell Publishing, 2006).

<sup>9</sup> A[rthur] C[hables] F[rederick] Beales, *The History of Peace: A Short Account of the Organised Movements for International Peace* (London: G. Bell/New York: Dial Press, 1931); Linda Rennie Forcey, "Introduction to Peace Studies," *Peace: Meanings, Politics, Strategies*, ed. eadem (New York, Westport, Conn., and London: Praeger, 1989), 3–14; at 4, defines Peace Studies as "Learning how we should change our thinking..." She continues: "Peace studies attracts those who seek a more liberating education, one that demands a willingness of both teachers and students to assume personal and social responsibility for lifelong education." See also Benjamin Ziemann, *Perspektiven der historischen Friedensforschung. Frieden und Krieg: Beiträge zur historischen Friedensforschung*, 1 (Essen: Klartext, 2002); Ranabir Samaddar, *Peace Studies: An Introduction to the Concept, Scope and Themes* (London: Sage, 2005).

<sup>10</sup> For a brief overview, see Debra L. Stoudt, "Berthold von Regensburg," *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John M. Jeep (New York and London: Garland, 2001), 52–53.

<sup>11</sup> Albrecht Classen, "Heinrich der Teichner: Commentator and Critic of the Worlds of the Court and the Aristocracy," *Orbis Litterarum* 63.3 (2008): 237–61.

<sup>12</sup> Stefan Hohmann, *Friedenskonzepte: Die Thematik des Friedens in der deutschsprachigen politischen Lyrik*

pursued one of these in great detail and in a sophisticated method, employing his peculiar Franciscan perspectives.

By way of introduction, however, I would first like to discuss the history of sermons as a literary genre in the Middle Ages, with an emphasis on the situation in medieval Germany. I shall then turn to Berthold's remarks themselves as contained in some of his sermons, which will allow us to gain a solid understanding of how war and peace were discussed at least in clerical, specifically Franciscan, circles.

Contrary to common assumptions, the medieval manuscript tradition yielded enormous numbers of texts of almost any conceivable genre, content, and format, though only a fraction of those have actually survive today. The printing press took decades before it really developed into a serious competitor with manuscript ateliers in textual production and gained in momentum only by the end of the fifteenth century, whereas the world of handwritten texts, especially since the thirteenth century, experienced an astonishing proliferation, generating entire libraries throughout Europe.<sup>13</sup> Not surprisingly, sermons proved to be some of the most popular and influential textual genres, even by the early Middle Ages, both in Latin and in the various vernaculars,<sup>14</sup> such as the *Exhortatio ad plebem christianam* (Exhortation to the the Christian Populace) from the ninth century, the Venerable Bede's sermons in Anglo-Saxon (ninth century),<sup>15</sup> and fragments of sermons from the twelfth century. A collection of seventy sermons is contained in the *Speculum ecclesie* (Mirror for the Church) in a Benediktbeuren manuscript from the middle of the twelfth century. Since then, the production of sermons and corresponding collections increased dramatically, such as the *Leipzig Sermons*, the *Oberaltaich Sermons*, the *St. Pauler Sermons*, and the *St. George Sermons*. All of them were based, one way or the other, on Latin sources, from which they expanded and extrapolated, each sermon contributing in its own way to the explosive

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*des Mittelalters*. Ordo. Studien zur Literatur und Gesellschaft des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 3 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1992); see also Hagenlocher, *Der guote vride* (see note 6). For the late Middle Ages and early modern times, see Horst Brunner, et al., *Dulce bellum inexpertis: Bilder des Krieges in der deutschen Literatur des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Imagines Medii Aevi, 11 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2002).

<sup>13</sup> Uwe Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch. Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Quantitative und qualitative Aspekte*. 2 vols. Buchwissenschaftliche Beiträge aus dem deutschen Bucharchiv München, 61 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998).

<sup>14</sup> See now the contributions to *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson, Sermo, 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008). Now see also the contributions to *Die Predigt im Mittelalter zwischen Mündlichkeit, Bildlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit*, ed. René Wetzels and Fabrice Flückiger, together with Robert Schulz. Medienwandel – Medienwechsel – Medienwissen, 13 (Zürich: Chronos, 2010).

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, Milton Mc[Cormick] Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Aelfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1977).



dissemination of vernacular religious literature during the high and late Middle Ages.

Berthold von Regensburg emerged as a famous preacher of the thirteenth century, followed by the better-known mystic and philosopher Meister Eckhart (ca. 1260–ca. 1328). Some of the most famous sermon collections were the *Schwarzwälder Predigten*, heralding the fourteenth-century flowering as evidenced in sermons by Johannes Tauler, Nikolaus von Straßburg, Nikolaus von Landau, Hartwig von Erfurt, Hermann von Fritzlar, Jordan von Quedlinburg, Heinrich von Egwint, Marquard von Lindau, and into the fifteenth century via Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl.<sup>16</sup> These authors' sermons deserve to be studied from many different perspectives because they represent the moral and ethical perspectives pursued by the Church, then because they contain personal opinions and reflections of local conditions, and finally because they reveal much information about the history of mentality, aside from their literary, rhetorical, and of course, religious qualities.<sup>17</sup> Irrespective of the preacher's individual position regarding any particular topic of public relevance, his comments illustrate in one way or another certain strands of the general discourse. This can be demonstrated, for instance, with regard to the discourse on love, marriage, and sexuality,<sup>18</sup> but so also concerning politics, the laws, ethics, morality, and hence also war and peace.

With the founding of the preaching orders—the Franciscans and the Dominicans—in the early thirteenth century, the sermon as a rhetorical genre gained considerably in weight and significance.<sup>19</sup> Although they did not invent the genre of sermons as such, the Friars, above all, proved to be so effective in their efforts to reach out to the laity by way of sermons because they intensified the

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<sup>16</sup> *Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter 1250–1370*. Second Part: *Reimpaargedichte, Drama, Prosa*, ed. Ingeborg Glier, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 3, 2 (Munich: Beck, 1987), 318–20. For a detailed study of one major corpus, see Hans-Jochen Schiewer, *'Die Schwarzwälder Predigten': Entstehungs- und Überlieferungsgeschichte der Sonntags- und Heiligenpredigten. Mit einer Musteredition*. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 105 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996).

<sup>17</sup> See the fascinating approach to sermons by Aaron J. Gurjewitsch [Gurevich], *Mittelalterliche Volkskultur*, trans. by Matthias Springer (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1987); orig. *Problemy srednevekovoi narodnoi kul'tury* (Moscow: Izkusstvo, 1981).

<sup>18</sup> Albrecht Classen, *Der Liebes- und Ehediskurs vom hohen Mittelalter bis zum frühen 17. Jahrhundert*. Volksliedstudien, 5 (Münster, New York, Munich, and Berlin: Waxmann, 2005).

<sup>19</sup> D. L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris Prior to 1300* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1985), 25, emphasizes: "The success of both heretical preachers and Jacques de Vitry's 'pseudo-preachers' suggests that the period around 1200 was a critical point in the history of the relations between popular religion and the institutional Church. Almost any kind of wandering preacher, it would seem, had a chance of winning a following . . ." See also H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1993).

religious and moral-ethical teachings and the emotional emphasis.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, they made it obligatory for all members of the Orders to offer sermons. We know of ca. 200 Franciscans in the period between 1226 and 1526 who composed ca. 350 major collections of sermons, of which, unfortunately, still a vast majority has not been published in modern times. Only by the end of the thirteenth century did those corpora pursue specific themes, such as the discussion of the structure, obligations, and duties of the three estates, such as by Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240), Guibert of Tournai (d. 1284), and Humbert of Romans (d. 1277). Guibert of Tournai preached on the subjects of death and the Seven Last Words of Christ; Giovanni da Gemignano (ca. 1260/1270–1333) sought to foster contempt for the material world, while urging his listeners provide assistance to the dying and consolation to the living. There were sermons on fasting, on special books or passages in the Bible, and on mystical visions, not to mention the countless aspects of daily life requiring religious regulation, as the clerics saw it.<sup>21</sup>

Of course, sermons in the various vernaculars had been preached already in the early Middle Ages, as documented by Charlemagne's legislation in 813 regarding the need to have preachers address the laity in their own language. But the real importance of sermons surfaced only by the early thirteenth century. The tenth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) insisted, for instance, that the bishops had the responsibility to find and appoint trustworthy preachers. Some of the best-known preachers were Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), Stephen Langton, the later archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1228), Peter the Chanter (d. 1197), Robert of Courson (d. 1219), and John of Abbeville (d. 1237). Many sermons were obviously delivered in the vernacular, but they were then written down in Latin, such as those by Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris (d. 1196). Bernard of Clairvaux addressed monks in Latin, the ordinary people, however, in their own language. Quite commonly, a participant in the audience even copied down excerpts from the sermon and later developed those into the fully-fledged text.<sup>22</sup>

Berthold von Regensburg (ca. 1210–1272), the focus of our attention here, enjoyed some of the greatest popularity as a preacher and left behind an impressive

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<sup>20</sup> For a broader perspective, see the contributions to *Emotions and Sensibilities in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Stephen Jaeger and Ingrid Kasten. Trends in Medieval Philology, 1 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2003). For Franciscan preaching, see Daniel R. Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1989).

<sup>21</sup> J. Longère, "Predigt: Ursprünge und Recht," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 7 (Munich: Lexma Verlag, 1995), 171–74. See also, in this same volume, H[ans]-J[ochen] Schiewer, "Predigt: Volkssprachliche Literaturen des Westens," 174–75, usefully citing the relevant research.

<sup>22</sup> Phyllis B. Roberts, "Preaching and Sermon Literature, Western Europe," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer. Vol. 10 (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1988), 75–82.

number of sermons in Latin and Middle High German.<sup>23</sup> Though we know hardly anything about his youth, it seems probable that he studied in Magdeburg, along with David von Augsburg, his later companion (*socius*).<sup>24</sup> He began with his preaching career in Augsburg in 1240. Since 1253 he worked in Bohemia, then in Landshut (Bavaria), in 1254 and 1255 we find him active in Speyer, Colmar, then in various cities in Switzerland, and in Austria. His success as a preacher must have been stupendous, though claims that he attracted up to 200,000 people appear exaggerated. In 1263 Pope Urban IV appointed him, along with Albertus Magnus, as a preacher against the heretics, and this commission led him through Germany, France, and Switzerland. He died in 1272, but further details about his life escape us.

His Latin sermons, which he compiled and edited himself between 1250 and 1255, seem to be authentic,<sup>25</sup> whereas his German sermons were assembled only posthumously in ca. 1275 by the same group of Franciscans who copied the *Deutschenspiegel* and the *Schwabenspiegel*, important customals “mirroring,” that is, documenting legal practices and establishing fundamental sets of laws.<sup>26</sup> The necessary distinction between the preacher who actually delivered the sermons and the composers of the written versions—both could be one and the same person depending on the specific case—indicates how influential a successful sermon could have been, involving mostly a team of intellectuals working together on the creation and publication of the text that served multiple functions both for the learned and lay audiences.<sup>27</sup> Berthold was highly sought after and seems to

<sup>23</sup> For a more recent bibliography, a biography, and some text excerpts online, see <http://www.berthold-von-regensburg.de> (last accessed on April 11, 2011).

<sup>24</sup> For David von Augsburg, see Kurt Ruh, *Geschichte der abendländischen Mystik*. Vol. 2: *Frauenmystik und Franziskanische Mystik der Frühzeit* (Munich: Beck, 1993), 524–37; Claudia Rüegg, *David von Augsburg: historische, theologische und philosophische Schwierigkeiten zu Beginn des Franziskanerordens in Deutschland*. Deutsche Literatur von den Anfängen bis 1700, 4 (Bern and New York: Peter Lang, 1989).

<sup>25</sup> Laurentius Casutt, *Die Handschriften mit lateinischen Predigten Bertholds von Regensburg, ca. 1210–1272* (Freiburg, Switz.: Universitätsverlag, 1961); idem, “Die Beziehung einer Freiburger Handschrift zum lateinischen Predigtwerk Bertholds von Regensburg,” *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 56 (1962): 73–112; 215–61.

<sup>26</sup> Frank G. Banta, “Berthold von Regensburg,” *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*. 2nd, completely rev. ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1978), 1: 817–23. See also Dieter Richter, *Die deutsche Überlieferung der Predigten Bertholds von Regensburg. Untersuchungen zur geistlichen Literatur des Spätmittelalters*. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 21 (Munich: Beck, 1969).

<sup>27</sup> Berthold von Regensburg, *Deutsche Predigten (Überlieferungsgruppe \*Z)*, ed. Dieter Richter. *Kleine deutsche Prosadenkmäler des Mittelalters*, 5 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1968), 16–20. See also the still seminal study by Anton E. Schönbach, *Studien zur Geschichte der altdeutschen Predigt, IV–VI: Die Überlieferung der Werke Bertholds von Regensburg*, Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse, 153 (Vienna: Gerold, 1906).

have considerably influenced his contemporaries, some of whom were so moved by his preaching that they radically changed their lives and relinquished property to which they were allegedly not entitled.<sup>28</sup> Numerous chroniclers reported on Berthold's outstanding talent for arousing his listeners through the force of his words, via such laudatory Latin and German terms as: "hette grosse gnaden in seinen predigen" (1253); "reversus est frater Bertoldus" (1255); "der guot sêlig landprediger" (1255); "egregius predicator" (1255); "eximius predicator" (1255), or: "omnium sua ætate fuit opinione celeberrimus. Magnus eo prædicante hominum concursus fiebat" (1266).<sup>29</sup>

As is to be expected from such a prolific and popular preacher, Berthold's many sermons addressed a wide range of topics that deal with theological and ethical issues. For instance, he discussed good behavior (sermon 1), the seven planets (4), angels (7), murderers (9), heaven (10), sin (14), the Ten Commandments (19), marriage (21), confession (22), good hearts (25), virtues (28), holy mass (31), bodily sickness and death (32)—all in the first volume, and many of those and others are repeated in the second volume, where he also addressed fasting (38), the sickness of the soul (41), the servants of the devil (51), the meaning of the seven planets (61), etc., though neither verbatim nor even in the same structural pattern.<sup>30</sup> In fact, we might identify him as one of the most encyclopedic and popular orators of the entire German Middle Ages, stirring the hearts and minds of massive audiences throughout northern Europe.<sup>31</sup> As scholars have repeatedly confirmed, both his writing style and probably his oral delivery as well must have been most impressive, as he seems to have left his huge crowd of avid listeners virtually spellbound.<sup>32</sup>

The seventeenth sermon specifically addresses peace, that is, the ideal and dream of peace as it is implanted in all people: "Der fride ist ein dinc, des alliu diu werlt begert und anders niht danne des frides. Und allez daz der mensche begert unde tuot, daz tuot er anders niht danne durch den fride" (236; Peace is a thing that the entire world yearns for, and nothing else but peace. Although many scholars have pored over Berthold's sermons, the particular theme of peace does

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<sup>28</sup> *Berthold von Regensburg*: Vollständige Ausgabe seiner deutschen Predigten mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen von Franz Pfeiffer und Joseph Strobl. Mit einer Bibliographie und einem überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Beitrag von Kurt Ruh. Deutsche Neudrucke. Reihe: Texte des Mittelalters (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965), "Einleitung," 1: 13–14. Henceforth = *Berthold*, ed. Ruh.

<sup>29</sup> *Berthold*, ed. Ruh, 1: 22–27 (see note 28).

<sup>30</sup> Regarding heavenly matters in his sermons, see Christa Oechslein Weibel, "Ein übergülde aller der sêlikeit--": *Der Himmel und die anderen Eschata in den deutschen Predigten Bertholds von Regensburg*. Deutsche Literatur von den Anfängen bis 1700, 44 (Bern and New York: Peter Lang, 2005).

<sup>31</sup> Christian Wilhelm Stromberger, *Berthold von Regensburg, der grösste Volksredner des deutschen Mittelalters*. Rpt. (1877; Walluf bei Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1973).

<sup>32</sup> Berthold de Rastisbonne, *Péchés et Vertus: Scènes de la vie du XIIIe siècle*. Textes présentés, traduits et commentés par Claude Lecouteux et Philippe Marco (Paris: Editions Desjonquères, 1991), 13–16.

not seem to have attracted significant interest.<sup>33</sup> Everything what man desires and does, he does only in order to achieve piece). Berthold compares the need for peace with the same instinct that drives man to eat when he is hungry, to drink when he is thirsty, or a fire to warm himself when suffering from cold. Peace, likewise, emerges as a fundamental necessity for which man will do anything to fulfill. For the preacher, peace can be defined as a means to overcome a deficiency or affliction and to achieve individual happiness. In this sense peace can be characterized, according to Berthold, as the essential basis of all existence: “Und alsô begert alliu diu werlt eht niht wan frides, noch der vogel in dem lufte noch der visch in dem wâge noch daz tier in dem walde noch der wurm in der erden, und alliu diu geschäft die got ie geschuof diu begert des frides” (237; thus the entire world desires nothing but peace, both the bird in the air and the fish in the water, both the animal in the forest and the worm in the soil; all creatures that God has ever created need peace). Moreover, the entire creation is defined by peace, as the preacher emphasizes. He connects Christ’s birth with the coming of peace, citing the passage in the New Testament in which the angels sing their praise of God in front of Christ’s manger: “‘gloria in excelsis deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis’” (237).

Berthold refers his listeners to Christ’s common greeting here on earth: “‘pax vobis’” (237), both before and during His Passion, and even at the moment of His ascension to heaven. God ordered man to obey peace, thereby enabling many more people to join Christ in the afterworld. Peace, however, needs to be divided into three aspects, and only those who can realize all three would be granted access to heaven. Berthold does not identify these at first; instead he refers to the devils that strive to undermine God’s efforts at rescuing mankind by evoking humanity’s natural desire for peace and pretending to honor it. The devils’ strategy involves creating false coins on the noble peace, on the just peace, and on the merciful peace.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> The aspects in Berthold’s sermons having attracted the most attention pertain to rhetorical elements, his connections with other sermon writers, editorial issues, the concept of sin, his appeal to the audience, and criticism of the feudal system. See, for instance, Dagmar Neuendorff, “Brüoder Berthold spricht – aber spricht er wirklich? Zur Rhetorik in Berthold von Regensburg zugeschriebenen deutschen Predigten,” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 101.2 (2000): 301–12; Volker Mertens, “‘Der implizite Sünder’: Prediger, Hörer und Leser in Predigten des 14. Jahrhunderts: Mit einer Textpublikation aus den ‘Berliner Predigten,’” *Zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur des 14. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Walter Haug, Timothy R. Jackson, and Johannes Janota. Beiträge zur Literatur- und Sprachwissenschaft, 45 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1983), 76–114. Both Hohmann, 57–60 (see note 12), and Hagenlocher, *Der guote vride*, 117–22 (see note 6), offer brief discussions of Berthold’s approach to peace; the first emphasizing the influence of Augustinian thinking on this preacher, the latter underscoring the noteworthy distinction between good and bad peace.

<sup>34</sup> Hagenlocher, *Der guote vride*, 119 (see note 6).

This metaphor obviously worked well because Berthold was already aware of the prevalence of coins, many of which bore lesser value or were even worthless because they were composed of cheap copper instead of silver or gold, as the result of an inflationary, deceptive fiscal policy promoted by territorial lords and others:<sup>35</sup> “als der rehte valsche kupferîne pfenninge sleht, die valsch unde kupferîn sint, ûf guote pfenninge” (237; just as the true cheater coins copper coins that are false and made out of copper, as if they were good coins). The reference to coins has primarily ethical and moral meaning, yet it also indicates the extent to which a monetary system had already been established—and also been abused by the dishonest.<sup>36</sup> Although Berthold does not specify it outright, he still equates the unholy alliance of lust for money with lust for violence, since those who accept money, particularly false coins, or distribute it, cannot reach heaven, “daz in got geheizen hete” (238; that God had offered them).<sup>37</sup>

Only then does the preacher present a detailed discussion of the three types of peace: peace with God, peace with oneself, and peace with one's neighbor. The first protects man from the devil's temptations and from God's own wrath toward man. This peace can be achieved by avoiding all deadly sins, since God had already expelled thousands of angels who had failed to uphold their pledge to Him. Those who break the peace with God can never hope to regain it. Adam was also banned from Paradise once he had betrayed God's trust, but since he had been seduced into doing so because of his ignorance, Christ came down to earth and rescued man again. By contrast, the angels had deliberately turned against God out of hubris, which rendered their redemption impossible. Berthold utilizes this criticism against the fallen angels also as a warning for the powerful leaders of his time who also have become guilty of arrogance and hence break the peace with God: “die sint sâ zehant fridebrecher; oder swelher leie sünde ez ist, daz houbetsünde sîn, sô ist fride ûz” (238; they are the destroyers of peace; irrespective of what major sin it might be, it ends the peace). The relationship between man and God is predicated on peace, and all people could easily maintain it, if they

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<sup>35</sup> In German this is called “Münzverrufung,” or denigration of coins, see Bernd Sprenger, *Das Geld der Deutschen: Geldgeschichte Deutschlands von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Paderborn, Munich, et al.: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1991), 64–67.

<sup>36</sup> Albrecht Classen, “The Role of Wealth and Money in Medieval and Late-Medieval German Literature,” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 101 (2000): 415–28; id., “Die Bedeutung von Geld in der Welt des hohen und späten Mittelalters. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Zeugen der mittelhochdeutschen Literaturgeschichte: Walther von der Vogelweide bis Sebastian Brant und *Fortunatus*,” *Studi Medievali* 42 (2001): 565–604. See also Dieter Kartschoke, “*Regina pecunia, dominus nummus, her phenning*. Geld und Satire oder die Macht der Tradition,” *Geld im Mittelalter*, ed. Klaus Grubmüller and Markus Stock (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), 182–203.

<sup>37</sup> For his use of metaphors in his sermons, see Eugenie Nussbaum, *Metapher und Gleichnis bei Bertold von Regensburg* (Vienna: self-published, 1902).

were not constantly tempted by the devil to transgress ethical and moral norms and values: “Unde dar umbe sô hânt die tiuvel valsche geslagen ûf den edeln fride, den ein ieglich mensche haben solte mit gote” (238; Therefore the devils have coined falsely the noble peace which each person should have with God).

The second type of peace, peace with oneself (“fride mit dir selber”) (238), implies an introspective approach to the thorny issue at stake, while the third type, to which the preacher turns immediately afterward—peace with one’s neighbor—is peace of a social, and thus more external kind. Looking around, Berthold tells us, he observes only false peace everywhere on earth, but he blames the devils for this wrongdoing and undermining of the divine command. In fact, life has become topsy-turvy, with man making peace with the devil instead of with God (239), making peace with the flesh, or lustfulness, instead of with oneself, and making peace with the material pleasures of this world instead of peace with one’s fellow human beings.

Peace with the self is defined as a harmonious balance between the needs of the soul and the needs of the body: “alsô daz der lîp niht begern sol danne daz der sêle guot ist” (239; so that the body should not desire for anything but what is good for the soul). Similarly, peace with one’s neighbors implies, in reality, peace with the entire material existence (“der werlte sûezekeit,” 239, the sweetness of the world). Again, Berthold does not reject mundane life, as long as moderation, harmony, and balance prevail. Problems always arise, as the preacher emphasizes, because of the influence exerted by the devil, whereas God had originally commanded people to pursue peace with each other.

Adding a sudden social-critical perspective, he metaphorically underscores mankind’s unequal chances for salvation by comparing it to when one person unnecessarily wears two or three coats, while another, without such protection, might freeze in the cold wind. This injustice could only lead to the loss of all worldly pleasures on both sides. Only those who would practice love for God and for one’s neighbor—analogue to coats against sinful winds—could count on gaining access to heaven. However, Berthold quickly discriminates and warns of following, or loving, those neighbors who are guilty of sinful behavior, a deceptive strategy initiated by the devil.

The irony, then, would be that those who do have the careless mind of a robber, would follow others prone to such criminal behavior. Thus loving one’s neighbor unconditionally does not suffice, since s/he could be an evil person. To solve this dilemma, Berthold emphasizes that all people are brothers, and they should embrace this concept with love, whereas the devil misleads everyone with his deceptive, false coins (240). Of course, there does not seem to be an easy formula for resolving the intricacies of human relationships as projected by the preacher, since he never instructs us as to how to distinguish between good and bad neighbor models, without which one risks such undesirable dilemmas as peace

among criminals. Berthold's sermon only admonishes us against taking the Christian command to love one's neighbor too literally.

Similarly, regarding love for oneself, the preacher emphasizes the need to avoid all sins to achieve that goal, though he does not specify how to discriminate between the wrong and the right approach which is so relevant for him. Countering some arguments, Berthold insists that the soul is the master of human life, and if it accepts sinfulness, the body also fails and loses the peace he so ardently seeks (240). Of course, sins happen all the time and do not necessarily cause the downfall of man because there are just too many (241). The only ideal solution consists in allowing the self (body and soul) to be governed by the more virtuous soul: "sô ist eht ein ganzer fride zwischen lîbe unde sêle" (241; then there will be complete peace between body and soul). In real life, however, the situation is just the opposite, with the body determining the course of the individual, irrespective of the soul's desires (241). The reasons for this are plain to see for Berthold because the body is made out of matter, so it desires material things that threaten the well-being of the soul. Only the opposite course could achieve the divine peace: "Daz ist der fride, dâ mite der unedel lîp der edelen sêle volgen sol, unde sol ir gehôrsam und untetænic sîn" (242; That is the peace according to which the ignoble body should follow the noble soul, and must be obedient and submissive to her).

Of course, these suggestions are of no practical applicability and must have left the audience wondering how to realize those ideals extolled by Berthold regarding peace in its threefold manifestation. When turning to the third kind of peace, peace with God, the preacher identifies first all those who have turned their back to Him: heretics and, generally speaking, recalcitrants who refuse to be converted or have turned away from godly behavior; adamantly rejecting all efforts to rescue those whom the devil has misled (243). Significantly, for Berthold, hardened heretics can never be rescued for Christianity and stay their own course, blind to all of God's commands (243), unless they have turned into heretics only recently and still could be reached.

The third group of sinners who have blocked their minds and do not want to obey God's laws are those who are fighting even against the Holy Spirit, a threat to the soul of which the preacher does not even dare to speak: "dâ engetürren wir niht von gereden, wan daz ist eht uns verboten" (243; we do not dare to speak about it because it is forbidden to us). But he characterizes some of them as greedy people ("gîtigen liute," 243) who act contrary to God's laws by practicing usury, committing bribery, robbery, and theft, making deceptive purchases, or engaging in any other kind of misbehavior purely for monetary gain (243). Whereas all other sinners, whether murderers or adulterers, gamblers or sorcerers, occasionally take respite and thus do not sin constantly, the avaricious never rest as they ceaselessly pursue their evil goals because they have signed an agreement with the devil:



"Daz ist dâ von, daz sie fride mit dem tiuvel habent" (244; The reason is that they have established peace with the devil).

In other words, there is good peace and bad peace, and the former leads to ultimate happiness, the latter to destruction, strife, conflict, greed, and violence. Particularly the usurers irritate Berthold, who lashes out against their greed and their inability to understand God's commands because they destroy peace among people as a result of their exclusively materialistic thinking. The more they sin the more they enjoy pursuing their trade (245) insofar as the capitalistic profit margin grows for them through every monetary transaction. Surprisingly, Berthold details his charge in those specific terms, indicating how much he was aware of the impact that money exerted over his society and of the disrupting consequences of usury for the peaceful relationships among people: "Pfi, gîtiger, wie gar gelîch dû dem tiuvel bist" (245; Yuck, you greedy person, you are so similar to the devil). But even more surprisingly, contrary to general stereotyping of Jews as being the only usurers, he never even mentions them and only accuses people, whether Christians or Jews, of committing a deadly sin if they take interest on a financial loan.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, comparing other sermons produced in the thirteenth century, usury generally arises as one of the worst sins and was systematically and radically condemned, as Jacques le Goff has already observed: "With virtually no excuses available, the usurer remained, during the thirteenth century, one of the few men whose trade was condemned *secundum se*, 'in itself,' *de natura*, 'by its very nature.' He shared this unhappy fate with prostitutes and acrobats."<sup>39</sup>

Berthold might have also realized that his words would not necessarily reach their target, since he assumes that those whom he has identified as greedy would not be able to feel any remorse, just like the heretics and those who sin against the Holy Ghost (245). Nevertheless, he appealed to them to relinquish their peace with the devil and to turn instead to having peace with God. Only then would some of the most burning issues in society be resolved, in hopes that widespread peace would find general acceptance. The first step toward peace would be if the rich would return some of their ill-gotten wealth (246). The only true goal should be

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<sup>38</sup> Markus J. Wenninger, "Juden und Christen als Geldgeber im hohen und späten Mittelalter," *Die Juden in ihrer mittelalterlichen Umwelt*, ed. Alfred Ebenbauer and Klaus Zatloukal (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 1991), 281–99; Winfried Frey, "zehen tunne goldes: Zum Bild des 'Wucherjuden' in deutschen Texten des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit," *Sô wold ich in fröiden singen: Festgabe für Anthonius H. Touber zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Carla Dauven-van Knippenberg and Helmut Birkhan. *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 43–44 (1995): 177–94. See also Hans-Jörg Gilomen, "Wucher und Wirtschaft im Mittelalter," *Historische Zeitschrift* 250 (1990): 265–301.

<sup>39</sup> Jacques le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages*, trans. Patricia Ranum (New York: Zone Books, 1988), 50; orig. *La Bourse et la vie: économie et religion au Moyen âge* (Paris: Hachette, 1986).

divine love (*minne*), which would never expire and thus be there forever. Next, Berthold urges them to consider their love for God as the prerequisite for changing their avaricious behavior, thereby establishing a basis for a peaceful interaction with all people. The natural gratitude for the life given by God should also convince the usurers to abandon their old habits and to cease their sinful dealings (247).

Finally, reminding them of the Virgin Mary, he appeals to the sinners to return to a life without sinning: "Nû lât hiute unrehtez guot durch aller der êre willen, die mîn frouwe sant Mariâ hât bî ir heiligem trûtkinde, unde daz ir die iemer mit ir niezet êwiclîchen" (248; Now let go of all sinfully acquired goods in the name of all the honor which my Lady, Saint Mary, enjoys with her beloved child so that you can enjoy it together with her forever). Finally, however, Berthold seems to despair because he has lost all hope of converting the greedy away from their sinful behavior: "Wan swaz ich mit disen gâtigen liuten gerede, daz ist verlorn: wan ez ist ein sô stæter fride, den sie mit dem tiuvel habent gesichert, daz er nû niemer mêr zerbrochen wirt" (248; Whatever I am talking about with the greedy people will be wasted. It is such a strong peace that they have established with the devil that it never will be broken). By contrast, all other sinners, those who are in love with the pleasures of the flesh and with the pleasures of this world, could easily develop true repentance and change their habits and minds. Having accomplished this, they would also be able to work toward peace with God, with themselves, and with their neighbors.

Berthold examines peace from a religious perspective and identifies as its premises the rejection of sinful behavior, of the devil, and of the temptations of this world. He does not discuss practical aspects within society, such as violence, war, the military class, etc. Instead, he appeals to his audience to consider his teachings regarding love of God, love for oneself, and love for one's neighbor. Most interestingly, basic peace is not, as he sees it, threatened by physical violence, robbery, theft, or war, though he does not ignore those aspects either. The true danger rests in usury and its horrific consequences for those who practice it and those who suffer from it. Of course, Berthold relies deeply on the allegorical interpretation of the term "peace," but his discussion equally addresses fundamental conflicts in society that can be dealt with constructively if properly approached with God in one's heart. After all, if we return to Berthold's preliminary ruminations, peace is the most basic need all people strive to fulfill, and peace is what God granted humankind when he sent His son down to earth (237).

Of course, here we identify some of the fundamental concerns of the Church expressed since the earliest days, perhaps best formulated by St. Augustine. For him, deeply influenced by St. Paul, the true, eternal peace can only be hoped for in the future, after this *saeculum* (era). But peace can also be achieved here in this

world: “pax in rebus terrenis.” Nevertheless, earthly peace can only be the basis for the eternal peace in God’s city, the *civitas Dei*, which finds many parallels in Berthold’s teachings.<sup>40</sup>

Significantly, our preacher returned to the same issue at a later time and discussed peace in a second sermon (2: 49). In a manner very similar to his first sermon, here he insists on the natural desire for peace found in all creatures, animals and people alike: “Fride, fride, seht, alsô heizet ez. Wan es ist diu werlt begernde und alliu krêatiure, ez sî vogel oder tier, daz tuot ez allez durch den fride” (126; Peace, peace, see, that’s the word for it. The world and all creatures desire it, whether birds or animals, they do everything for peace). So for him, as well as for Augustine, peace represented the highest ideal, the realization of which made possible the entry into heaven. Peace represents, as in the former sermon, the opposite of—indeed the remedy to—all need, whether food against hunger, water against thirst, money against poverty (thief) or greed, clothing against external cold, etc. Again, as Berthold emphasizes, the devils decided to intervene and prevent people from striving for heaven by creating conflicts and discord among them, as expressed through the image of the false coins here as well (127). Those who uphold the three types of divine peace are granted access to Heaven, whereas all others are condemned for eternity to hell: “Wan alle die den valschen fride haltent, die sint verdampft zuo der êwiten marter, aber alle die den rehten fride haltent, die sint des rîchen küniges gesinde, der ein sô schœnez himelrîche hât” (127; All who subscribe to the false peace are condemned to suffer eternal torture, but all those who subscribe to the right peace are servants of the rich king who owns such a beautiful kingdom).

The wrong types of peace, introduced by the devils, are now called “ungeordent fride” (127; disorderly peace), which he defines more specifically, in the first category, as excessive lust for food, or gluttony, for drink, and for sex (“mit andern bösen gelusten, sô lânt sie diu ougen fliegen hin und her” (127; along with other evil desires, and they allow their eyes to roam around everywhere). Sexual transgressions threaten the peaceful interactions among people, expressed by grabbing and groping (nowadays sexual harassment), evil gestures, sexual promiscuity, and also lack of service to God (127). In contrast to the first sermon, Berthold here includes an interlocutor who wonders whether the soul would not be free of guilt when the body turns to lustfulness and sinful behavior, but this man is immediately told that the soul is like the master in the house and in charge

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<sup>40</sup> Wolfgang Huber, “Friede. V. Kirchengeschichtlich und ethisch,” *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1983), 11: 618–46; here 621. Augustine’s concept of peace is discussed numerous times by the other contributors to the present volume. See also my Introduction.

of everything the body does, hence just as guilty in that case as the body, if not more so (127–28).

The second type of peace, as in the first sermon, concerns the interaction with all people, and here Berthold differentiates among people above, next to, and below oneself. The interlocutor intervenes again and provides a concrete example of how conflicts arise. Since he is serving a lord, and the latter forces him to participate in warfare and battles, which results in burning and pillaging, he would not know how to preserve peace. Refusing that service would result in imprisonment or permanent banishment from the lord's favor (128). In fact, the preacher here brings up one of the most common dilemmas for most of his audience since such people earned their living by following orders and participating in all kinds of military campaigns.

Berthold's reply is first predicated on the notion that there is a higher lord, God, and that the individual should work to achieve peace with Him rather than with worldly noblemen, their employers, so to speak. He then invokes man's most precious basic attributes for survival: his eyes, hands, and feet. Yet, if one of these were to seduce man to commit a deadly crime, it would be better to remove the offending member, instead of ending up in Hell intact. Similarly, if a lord tries to force a servant to commit a crime and thereby destroy peace, it would be much better, nay, necessary, for the servant to refuse that request: "Got der nert dich doch wol. Er sî ritter oder kneht, frouwe oder man, sô sult ir doch keinem iuwern übergenôzen weder durch liebe noch durch leide noch vorhte niemer tœtliche sünde getuon" (129; God will certainly sustain you. Whether you are a knight, a squire, a woman or a man, never commit a deadly sin against your superiors neither because of love nor sorrow and fear). From this it follows that it would be most preferable for a vassal to ascend to heaven at life's end without one's lord than to descend to Hell together with him.

As to interactions with one's fellow man, according to Berthold's second category these include brothers, relatives, and friends. But this would not necessitate obeying their requests to commit a deadly sin; rather, in that case better to decline and sever that relationship in favor of preserving one's peace with God. The third group of people with whom one ought to enjoy peace consists of one's children and wife. Berthold warns that the economic demands of supporting one's family could lead to sinful behavior, while emphasizing that it would better to remain poor and continue to work as a servant than to lose peace with God (130). Fittingly, he summarizes his teachings up to that point: "Und alsô hûetet iuch alle samt vor dem valschen fride, den der tiuvel hât geworfen in den rechten fride" (130; Protect yourself from the false peace which the devil has thrown into the right peace).

After having examined various types of sinful behavior, the preacher once again turns to greed and usury which he characterizes as the worst sin man can commit,

since these function as catalysts in disrupting, if not destroying peace, particularly because avarice drives people relentlessly, in contrast to all other all other sinners, who at least allow God some rest: “Ir andern sünder, ir lât doch got etewenne geruowen doch die wîle ir slâfent” (131; all you other sinners grant God some rest while you are sleeping). As illustrative examples, he mentions murderers and adulterers, as above, who are not constantly working toward their evil goal, whereas the usurers keep working all the time: “dîn pfluoc gât alle zît” (131; your plow works constantly). In this sense they prove to be like devils, who sow strife among people and cause discontent, especially because they destroy the basic peace that is supposed to exist in society. Much more concretely than in his first sermon, Berthold here specifies what usury means for the ordinary person: “dû bist aber sît ê vier eir rîcher worden: sô hât jenem sîn kneht ouch vier pfenninge ze ungelte genomen” (133; you have since then become richer by four eggs; another one’s servant has taken away unlawfully four pennies). In other words, for the preacher the true problem rests with dishonest handling of money and its devastating impact on human relationships, destroying the basic peace that is supposed to rule among them all. For this Franciscan preacher, early forms of capitalism have already become noticeable, and he harshly attacks them as being most destructive to human life and thus the most severe threat to peace on a social level.

Not unlike a modern-day Southern Baptist preacher, Berthold then tries his hardest to convince the greedy ones among his audience to cast off their sinfulness at least once that day in consideration of God as the king over heaven and earth. He promises them that they would be able to keep their livelihood and would gain their salvation. If that does not work, they should think of the Virgin Mary as the most beautiful woman ever (135), which should mellow their hearts as a result, since most men would not be able to resist such a woman’s request. Raising his voice and intensifying the fervor of his sermon, he goes so far as to ask the angels whether they have ever seen such recalcitrant sinners, he then turns to the wives to request their help, and finally addresses the children, advising them to run away from their parents if they are so enmired in their sinful behavior that they might endanger their own eternal lives (135).

Subsequently, having admitted that he had extended his sermon on the greedy sinners at too great a length, Bertold nevertheless continues to discourse on the peace between man and God, stressing its attainment through confession and repentance (135). Significantly, he also draws upon a well-known military image when one side in a war realizes that it has lost and can no longer continue to fight. In that situation the loser is forced to ask for peace: “sô sendet er an iuch umb einen fride” (135; he is sending emissary for peace to you). From here the sermon quickly reaches its conclusion, addressing only the peace between the soul and the body to avoid further sinning by the latter, and then peace among all people, yet

with the important proviso: “daz dir kein mensche alsô liep sol sîn, daz dû toetliche sünde durch sîne liebe tuost” (136; you should not love anyone so much that you are willing, in return for his love, to commit a deadly sin). Finally, though only as a fleeting thought for the conclusion, Berthold also underscores that one should not seek revenge for wrongdoing; instead forgiveness would be the only right answer, and to be happy for the other if he gained what he had sought, legally or not (136).

Although his second sermon follows the first one fairly closely in structure, in arguments, language and imagery, here Berthold goes into much more detail, significantly elaborating on his invective against usury and all those who greedily collect money. He also refers to actual situations in war, thereby reminding his audience that he is not only talking in allegorical terms. Most important for him, however, is to assert how peace can function as the all-pervasive force both in human life and in the relationship between the soul and the Godhead. In this regard, usury turns out to be destructive and destabilizing for all involved, causing the victims to suffer materially and the perpetrators to suffer spiritually. Because Berthold was certainly aware of his own limitations, he does not attempt to address any political or military issues as potentially instrumental in establishing peace. Instead he appeals to his audience to consider where peace rests in its essential form and discerns its roots in the most private relationships between people, as well as that most special one between man and God.

For Berthold, there was no need to consider peace on a larger, political, level because he held no official power in those domains, or simply did not want to intervene in those matters. But both his sermons serve as fascinating textual documents of the profound discourse on peace already flourishing in the thirteenth century. Not that Berthold was the first or the most important spokesperson for peace. Many political theorists throughout the Middle Ages addressed this topic in lofty philosophical terms as part of a serious effort to alert the mighty rulers of their time to the catastrophic consequences of war, injustice, and civil unrest—all involving the absence of peace.<sup>41</sup> As a preacher, and thus as one speaking in simpler language, Berthold aimed for broader impact by attempting to instill a sense of empowerment within his audience by touching each listener personally through his sermons’ skilful, passionate, yet unadorned rhetoric. Without peace within themselves, without rejecting deadly sins, especially greed, which then leads to usury, and without peace with God there would not be, as he suggested, any peace at all.

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<sup>41</sup> See the studies by Hagenlocher, *Der guote vride* (see note 6), and Hohmann, *Friedenskonzepte*, (see note 12), for a broader overview.

Nevertheless, in another sermon, “Von drin Mûren” (no. 23, 1: 357-72), he also appealed to the worldly lords to do their job and guarantee justice and peace in their lands: “Ir künige und ir herzogen, alle die, den der almechtige got den gewalt geben hât unde daz gerihte bevolhen hât, swâ ir niht guoten fride machet also verre als ir müget unde niht reht gerihte habet, dâ verfluochet iuch got umbe” (364; You kings and dukes, all you whom God Almighty has given the rulership and the power over the courts, if you do not realize the good peace as far as it might be possible for you, and do not have just courts, God will condemn you). From a good justice system comes peace for all (365). However, in reflecting upon reality, Berthold laments that those very rulers care only for monetary enrichment while neglecting their responsibility to ensure peace for all their subjects.

Though in other words, reflecting a distinctly more secular perspective, Walther von der Vogelweide had voiced the same concern in his didactic stanza “Ich saz ûf eime steine” (8.4) in which he muses: “gewalt vert ûf der strâze / fride unde reht sint sêre wunt / diu driu enhabent geleites niht diu zwei enwerden ê gesunt” (vv. 20–22; “Violence on the roadway riding. / Peace and Justice wounded sore. / Those three shall not have safe passage till the two are whole once more”).<sup>42</sup> Tragically, however, these lines refer to a previous dilemma concerning how to achieve harmony and unity among three aspects most important in human life: honor and material wealth on the one hand, God’s love on the other. One is tempted to deem this triangular relationship impossible, for even if peace and justice were to rule in public, one of the three sides would not fit the pattern. Many other poets joined this discourse by repeatedly presenting as an ideal character a ruler successful in establishing peace and justice in his country, such as in the late-thirteenth-century anonymous romance *Mai und Beafloer*:

Mit vride stalt er sin lant.  
 Vrliuge vnd haz er shlihte  
 vnd schuef gute gerihte,  
 daz man ninder anderswa  
 [. . .] so gut geriht vant als da.<sup>43</sup> (vv. 3814–18)

[Peace he established in his country.  
 Feuding and hatred he overcame

<sup>42</sup> Walther von der Vogelweide, *The Single-Stanza Lyrics*, ed. and trans., with introduction and commentary by Frederick Goldin (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 140, no. 27.

<sup>43</sup> *Mai und Beafloer*. Herausgegeben, übersetzt, kommentiert und mit einer Einleitung von Albrecht Classen. Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, 6 (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin et al.: Peter Lang, 2006); there are many other allusions and references to peace in this text, see the Salzburg databank at: <http://mhdadb.sbg.ac.at:8000/mhdadb/App?action=TextQueryModule&string=vride&texts=!&startButton=Start+search&contextSelectListSize=1&contextUnit=1&verticalDetail=3&maxTableSize=100&horizontalDetail=3&nrTextLines=4> (last accessed on Dec. 15, 2010).

and set up such good courts  
that no better ones  
could be found anywhere.]

By the same token, Berthold's vehement attacks against usurers seemingly unwilling to change their way of life and destined to end in Hell as a result of their greed, as he envisions it in both of his sermons, reflect a certain sense that peace represents a worthwhile and noble goal, perhaps even utopian,<sup>44</sup> but perhaps also, like utopia, unattainable. However, such reflections do not need to be part of our investigations because the essential and more or less innovative aspects prove to be Berthold's exclusive dedication to the issue of peace and its religious interpretation in two of his many sermons. Significantly, if he does not openly discuss peace in the wider political and military context, he does not entirely ignore it either. Instead he primarily probes the meaning of peace in a spiritual, moral, and ethical sense, thereby laying an important foundation for subsequent discussions about peace in other contexts. For him, peace between soul and body, then between the individual person and the collective other, and finally, and most importantly, peace between man and God, represent the essence of all life. In this regard Berthold's lengthy discussions, that is, his two sermons dedicated to this topic, represent important contributions to a rather extensive, heretofore assuredly underestimated discourse on peace in the Middle Ages.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> *En quête d'Utopies*, ed. Claude Thomasset et Danièle-Raoul, Cultures et Civilisations Médiévales (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2005). Surprisingly, none of the contributors even considers the topic of peace as a utopian notion.

<sup>45</sup> For some specialized approaches, see Bruce R. O'Brien, *God's Peace and King's Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Randall Lesaffer, ed., *Peace Treaties and International Law in European History: From the Late Middle Ages to World War One* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004). See also *Les fondements de la paix: des origines au début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Colette Beaune and Pierre Chaunu (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1993).



## Chapter 12

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### Promoting Peace in Medieval Siena: Peacemaking Legislation and Its Effects

#### I. Private Peacemaking in Judicial Procedure

On a Sunday night in the summer of 1345, on a street in the small village of Resta to the southeast of Siena, Jacobinus Thure was involved in a fight with two brothers, Minoccius and Jannellinus Scelti.<sup>1</sup> The brothers punched Jacobinus a few times in the face. Jacobinus retaliated by striking Minoccius in the face and biting Jannellinus's nose, which was the only injury to cause bleeding.<sup>2</sup> Two days later (Tuesday), they concluded a formal peace agreement—an *instrumentum pacis*. On Friday, the local *sindicus* (the official responsible for reporting crimes), Vanninus Jannini of Percena, reported the events before the podestà's judge, with two witnesses.<sup>3</sup> Immediately afterward, Jacobinus, Minoccius, and Jannellinus presented their peace agreement to the judge. The judge ordered the three to pay the *gabelle* (tax) for registering the peace, which was less than one percent of the

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<sup>1</sup> Archivio di Stato di Siena (henceforth = ASS) Podestà 41, fol. 28rv. This is the record of the podesterial inquest into this incident.

<sup>2</sup> ASS Podestà 41, fol. 28r recounts these men's deeds thus: "quod dictus Minoccius et Jannellinus in ipsa rixa manibus vacuis percusserant dictum Jacobum in faciem ipsius Jacobi duabis vicibus pro quolibet sine sanguinis effusione. Et tunc ex ad verso dictus Jacobus percuxerit dictum Minoccium in vultum ipsius Minoccii manu vacua semel sine sanguinis effusione et momordit nasum dicti Jannellini cum sanguinis effusione semel."

<sup>3</sup> The podestà was a foreigner (i. e., non-Sienese) hired for a six-month term as the commune's chief judicial official (and, at times, chief military officer). Charged with enforcing the statutes, he was closely watched to preserve his immunity from the influence of local families and political factions. He brought with him his own judges and police force.

penalty prescribed in the statutes for assault, and then pronounced that the inquest would proceed no further.

To modern observers—historians definitely among them—this use of peacemaking seems to run contrary to the goals of a judicial system; it lacks a harsh retribution to punish or deter, diminishes claims that an offense also constitutes an injury to the *res publica* (polity), and would seem to erode the commune's own authority. If the commune could not enforce the statutes on assault, what authority did it have? But it was these same statutes that developed and elucidated the procedure which Jacobinus and the Scelti brothers employed. Their doing so can be seen as a victory for the commune's justice system. They made peace quickly after a violent episode, procured a notarized document that placed future offenses under severe penalties, ventured into Siena's halls of power and paid a fee, thus recognizing communal authority as legitimate at several stages in the process.

The commune of Siena employed private peacemaking as part of a broad attempt to prevent violence and restore peaceful relations, an effort that also introduced weapons restrictions, curfews, graduated fines, sentences of banishment, and state-initiated inquests.<sup>4</sup> The commune, however, used private

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<sup>4</sup> A growing literature now addresses many of these violence prevention measures, though usually individually and in specific contexts. On these topics, see Mario Ascheri, "La pena di morte a Siena (sec. XIII – XV): tra normativa e prassi," *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* 110 (2003): 489–505; Marco Bellabarba, "Pace pubblica e pace private: linguaggi e istituzioni processuali nell'Italia moderna," *Criminalità e giustizia in Germania e in Italia: Pratiche giudiziarie e linguaggi giuridici tra tardo medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Marco Bellabarba, Gerd Schwerhoff, and Andrea Zorzi. *Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico in Trento: Contributi* 11 (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2001), 189–213; Osvaldo Cavallar "Regulating Arms in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italian City-States," *Privileges and Rights of Citizenship: Law and the Juridical Construction of Civil Society*, ed. Julius Kirshner and Laurent Mayali. *Studies in Comparative Legal History* (Berkeley, CA: Robbins Collection, 2002), 57–126, and id., "Ledere Rem Publicam: Il trattato 'De portacione armorum' attribuito a Bartolo da Sassoferrato e alcune *quaestiones* di Martino da Fano," *Ius Commune* 25 (1998): 1–38; Trevor Dean "Violence, Vendetta, and Peacemaking in Late Medieval Bologna," *Crime, Gender, and Sexuality in Criminal Prosecutions*, ed. Louis A. Knafla. *Criminal Justice History*, vol. 17 (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood, 2002): 1–18, and id., *Crime and Justice in Late Medieval Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Gabrielle Guarisco, *Il conflitto attraverso le norme: Gestione e risoluzione delle dispute a Parma nel XIII secolo. Itinerari medievali*, 9 (Bologna: CLUEB, 2005); Peter Pazzagli, *The Criminal Ban of the Sienese Commune: 1225–1310*. *Quaderni di "Studi Senesi,"* 45 (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1979); Massimo Vallerani's many works, in particular, *Il sistema giudiziario del comune di Perugia: Conflitti, reati e processi nella seconda metà del XIII secolo*. *Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l' Umbria: Appendici*, 14 (Perugia: Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria, 1991), "Pace e processo nel sistema giudiziario del comune di Perugia," *Quaderni storici* 101 (1999): 315–53, and id., *La giustizia pubblica medievale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005); and Andrea Zorzi, "The Judicial System in Florence in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Crime, Society and Law in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Trevor Dean and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), and "Negoziazione penale, legittimazione giuridica e poteri urbani nell'Italia comunale," *Criminalità e giustizia in Germania e in Italia* (see

peace agreements to link fines, banishment, and inquests in an interconnected system. Siena legislated that a peace agreement with the victim was needed for a sentence of banishment to be removed.<sup>5</sup> More important, the commune allowed anyone brought before the podestà's judges to avoid prosecution if they presented a peace agreement with the alleged victim within a narrow time frame. Both procedures lowered the exorbitant fines prescribed in the statutes to manageable amounts. Steep fines, bans and inquests represented extensions of communal authority unknown in the early thirteenth century. Making a private contract to keep the peace thus acted to mitigate the extension of public authority while achieving ambitious communal goals for violence prevention.<sup>6</sup> Or at least such was the intent.

But what were the effects of this legislation? Did Siena's attempt to control violence with little increase in state expenditure or personnel really bring peace? Did it modify the dispute process? Were the commune's incentives to make peace enough to encourage rapid peacemaking after acts of violence? These are wide-ranging, difficult, and in some cases, unanswerable questions. I will, however, attempt to answer them as much as the sources allow. I will detail how Siena's legislation on peacemaking developed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, comparing it to the statutes of other communities, and then assess their effects as they appear in criminal court records.<sup>7</sup>

## II. Sienese Peacemaking Legislation

The earliest statute redaction in Siena, from 1262, required the podestà and *capitano del popolo* (another communal official who competed for judicial authority from 1252–1271) to enforce the pacifications of their predecessors; this statute also outlined the benefits and restrictions of peacemaking for the parties.<sup>8</sup> The

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above in this note), 13–34. This list is far from being exhaustive.

<sup>5</sup> Pazzaglini, *The Criminal Ban*, 87–88 (see note 4).

<sup>6</sup> This is the primary argument in my dissertation, "Making Peace in Medieval Siena: Instruments of Peace, 1280–1400," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2005.

<sup>7</sup> I have limited my investigation here to the period immediately following the commission of a crime. The following week was typically when denunciations were made and inquests initiated. Those who did not make peace and were found guilty were sentenced to banishment—in fact nearly all presented a peace or fled in anticipation of the ban. Peacemaking was an essential element of the lifting of the ban (*rebannimentum*) and offers of amnesties. Neither of these uses later in the dispute process will be examined here.

<sup>8</sup> *Il costituito del comune di Siena dell'anno 1262*, ed. Lodovico Zdekauer (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1897), 79, dist. I, rubr. clxxxviii. From the mid-thirteenth century both offices played significant roles in law enforcement. The responsibilities of the office of *capitano del popolo*, which was revived in 1289, went through numerous and drastic changes during the following century, with the podestà

mitigation of penalties was substantial: all fines and penalties could be avoided if the peace was concluded before the *querimonia*: a critical stage in the proceeding during which the parties expressed their desire to press on with the accusation.<sup>9</sup> Even if the complaint came quickly, a peace made within three days of the offense, however, still reduced the statutory penalties by one half. This applied even in cases of homicide, if the peace included the victim's father, sons and brothers—a tall order for just three days.<sup>10</sup>

The Consiglio Generale, a council of 300 involved in approving—if not formulating—nearly every policy the commune adopted, revised the benefits and limitations of use of peace agreements. They did so primarily during the 1290s and these policies remained in effect throughout the fourteenth century. The Consiglio adopted a measure in 1298 that emphasized a shorter time for the benefits of a peace: the offender now had ten days from the offense in which to make peace, after which time the podestà must impose the full penalty. A second window of opportunity was created if there was a significant gap between the offense and judicial proceedings. If the peace was made within three days of the “accusation and denunciation or the inquest, counting from the day of the inquest, or from the cause of the denunciation,” the podestà could impose no more than half of the penalty, though in practice this meant no fine was collected except for a *gabelle* on registering the peace.<sup>11</sup> These parameters were included in the 1309–1310 statutes and retained in the 1337 redaction.<sup>12</sup>

By the middle of the fourteenth century, the procedure at the podesterial court was well established. As we observed in the case beginning this essay, the *sindicus* (a representative of the *contrada* to the commune) reported crimes having come to his attention to the judge of the podestà, as he was legally bound to do.<sup>13</sup> The *sindicus* denounced those involved, giving an account of what had happened and presenting witnesses, thus triggering the inquest. If the denounced were not present, the judge ordered them to be notified (the *citatio*) at their homes by a communal official and they had three days in which to appear. At that time, if they failed to appear, the accused were placed under a temporary condemnation and

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typically in a more powerful position. For an excellent overview of Sienese legislation, see Mario Ascheri, “Legislazione, statuti e sovranità,” *Antica Legislazione della Repubblica di Siena*, ed. Idem. Documenti di storia 7 (Siena: Il Leccio, 1993), 1–40.

<sup>9</sup> Lodovico Zdekauer, “Il frammento degli ultimi due libri del più antico costituito senese (1262–1270),” *Bollettino Senese di Storia Patria* 1 (1894): 271–84; here 275, rub. LXV.

<sup>10</sup> Zdekauer, “Il frammento” (see note 9), 275, rubr. LXIII.

<sup>11</sup> *Il costituito del comune di Siena volgarizzato nel MCCCIX–MCCCX*, ed. Alessandro Lisini (Siena: Sordomuti di L. Lazzeri, 1903), vol. 2, dist. V rubr. XCVII, 275.

<sup>12</sup> ASS Statuti di Città 26, fol. 169v.

<sup>13</sup> The Sienese *contado* was divided into three sections, known as *terzi*, which reflected the division of the city itself into three *terzi*. These *contado terzi* were further subdivided into districts called *contrade*. This is not to be confused with the seventeen modern *contrade* divisions of the city.

ban. The party then had three days in which to appear before the ban became officially registered. If the denounced presented an *instrumentum pacis* with the victim at any point from the start of the inquest until the ban became permanent, the proceedings were halted. The accused was ordered to pay an administrative fee to the Biccherna (the financial magistrature which also maintained the banishment lists) typically fourteen *soldi* by the 1340s, and the inquest ended. In practice, the “no more than half” penalty was subsumed by the “all penalties removed,” and the question became whether one was enrolled on the banishment lists or produced a peace and paid the *gabelle*.

The statutes clearly created a financial incentive to make peace. The total costs involved included the payment of fourteen *soldi* to the Biccherna for the registration of the peace and the dismissal of the inquest and the payment to the notary, typically less than five *soldi*. So for less than one *libra* Sienese (twenty *soldi*), the party could avoid fines of 100 to 400 *librae* for the various categories of assault.<sup>14</sup> This was still not pocket change. To put the amount in context, the very same semester, the artist Giovanni di Sera was paid 13 *soldi* nine *denari* to paint 33 coats of arms on the books of the podestà.<sup>15</sup> At 14 *soldi* per accused (not per peace), the numbers from the 1340s indicate that income from registering peace agreements covered about one-tenth of salary paid to the podestà and his staff. Siena was not unusual in its attempts to promote peace, though it may have allowed greater effects with fewer restrictions than other communes.

The effects of presenting a peace agreement were significant, despite variations. In the 1314 statutes of San Gimignano, for those crimes which were allowed to be covered by a peace, a peace reduced the penalty to one-quarter of what the statutes prescribed. It eliminated the penalty in the cases of offenses which occurred between relatives, up to the third degree. Likewise, members of the *casati* (those defined as magnate families) who made peace within these ten days were held to no penalty.<sup>16</sup> In Poggibonsi (1332) the peace also reduced the penalty to one quarter, but required four witnesses.<sup>17</sup> Some statutes carried even more benefits for a peace. As in Siena, the entire penalty was remitted in Parma (1266) and in Grosseto (1421).<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> By establishing such high statutory fines for assault, the commune was encouraging offenders to make peace. The high fines also allowed the commune flexibility to reduce significantly the fines paid in times of amnesty, while still collecting substantial sums.

<sup>15</sup> Hayden Maginnis, *The World of the Sienese Painter* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 285.

<sup>16</sup> *Gli albori del Comune di San Gimignano e lo statuto del 1314*, ed. Mario Brogi. Documenti di storia 13 (Siena: Edizioni Cantagalli, 1995), dist. III, rubr. 82, 153.

<sup>17</sup> *Una comunità della Valdelsa nel Medioevo: Poggibonsi e il statuto del 1332*, ed. Silvio Pucci. Linee storiche (Poggibonsi: Lalli, 1995), dist. III, rubr. 55, 195.

<sup>18</sup> *Statuta communis Parmae digesta anno MCCLV*, ed. Amadio Ronchini. Monumenta historica ad

The mandatory time limit within which the parties were to make peace over the offense in order to receive procedural benefits varied as well, being counted usually from the day the offense occurred: in San Gimignano (1314) and Grosseto (1421), it was ten days, not counting the day of the offense;<sup>19</sup> in Todi (1275) four days<sup>20</sup>; in Parma (1266), it was within eight days of the offense.<sup>21</sup> Less frequently, the time given referred not to the offense, but to a particular stage in the inquisitorial process. In Poggibonsi (1332), the window for making peace was significantly larger than Siena's, allowing for up to fifteen days from "the day of the examination made after the accusation or denunciation."<sup>22</sup>

Certain offenses fell out of the bounds of the benefits for a peace (at least for reduced or eliminated fines). Each statute on what a peace agreement could cover displays a balancing act in which the commune decided which conflicts could not be resolved with a peace, which represented a greater offense to the public good than to any private party, and in which cases offering a reduced penalty might be viewed as an encouragement to commit such acts. In Grosseto (1421) a peace agreement could not be used to lessen the penalties for sodomy.<sup>23</sup> In Bergamo's statutes of 1331, a peace was not allowed for the higher ranges of theft. City or district residents who stole 100 *soldi* or more were not able to benefit from a peace.<sup>24</sup> Foreigners, who were typically subject to harsher penalties and more severe restrictions, could not benefit from peace for any theft of 20 *soldi* or more. In 1353, the statutes of Bergamo also specified that a peace could not be employed in cases of homicide or robbery.<sup>25</sup> This was also the practice in Siena. In Padua, a rubric from the 1275 redaction, dating back to 1236, allowed for a peace to be made within a month in cases involving a capital sentence, but a rubric from 1266 excluded cases of voluntary homicide.<sup>26</sup> In Perugia (1279), lawmakers excluded the

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provincias Parmensem et Placentinam pertinentia (Parma: ex officina P. Fiaccadorii, 1856), 268. *Statuto del comune di Grosseto del 1421*, ed. Maura Mordini (Grosseto: I Portici Editori, 1995), 183–84, rubr. 94.

<sup>19</sup> Brogi, *San Gimignano 1314* (see note 16), 153, dist. III, rubr. 82; Mordini, *Grosseto 1421* (see note 18), 183–84, rubr. 94.

<sup>20</sup> *Statuto di Todi del 1275*, ed. Getulio Ceci and Giulio Pensi (Todi: A. Trombetti, 1897), 86, rubr. LIV.

<sup>21</sup> Ronchini, *Parma 1255* (see note 18), 268.

<sup>22</sup> Pucci, *Poggibonsi 1332* (see note 17), 143, dist. III, rubr. 55.

<sup>23</sup> Mordini, *Grosseto 1421* (see note 18), 180, rubr. 81. On sodomy in war and peace, see Scott Taylor's essay in this volume.

<sup>24</sup> *Lo statuto di Bergamo del 1331*, ed. Claudia Storti Storch. *Fonti storico-giuridiche / Statuti*, 1 (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1986), dist IX, rubr. xxi, 170–71.

<sup>25</sup> *Lo statuto di Bergamo del 1353*, ed. Giuliana Forgiarini. *Fonti storico-giuridiche / Statuti*, 2 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1996), dist. IX, rubr. xxxii & xxxiii, 204–05.

<sup>26</sup> Vallerani, "Pace e processo," 321 (see note 4).

crimes of homicide, forgery, breaking of a truce, assaults to the face which left scars, the debilitation of a limb, theft, and robbery on the roads.<sup>27</sup>

The seriousness with which the communal governments viewed peace agreements is evident in the statutes regarding the violation of these agreements. Early in the thirteenth century, when peace agreements were often made orally and as yet had few statutory benefits, the penalties tended to be less severe. For instance, the statutes of Volterra set the fine for breaking a peace at fifteen *librae* in 1210, though this amount had increased to 50 *librae* only fourteen years later.<sup>28</sup> By the end of the century, penalties throughout Italy had become steeper and eventually applied only to peace agreements redacted by notaries. In Bologna (1288), the penalty for breaking the peace with homicide or a physical assault included the seizure of the offender's goods, which were then divided between the commune and the victim or his heirs.<sup>29</sup> In Perugia (1279), the offender faced a capital sentence with a perpetual ban and the destruction of his goods.<sup>30</sup>

Several other communes were not quite as severe, though they did punish offenses that resulted in breaking a peace more harshly than the same offense that did not. In San Gimignano (1314), the breaking of a peace was punished with a fine of 200 *librae*.<sup>31</sup> In Bergamo (1353), the podestà added 100 *librae* to the fine of anyone who broke a peace by physical assault (50 *librae* for property damage), which was then shared between the commune and the victim.<sup>32</sup>

Since Siena's statutes provided some of the most generous benefits to making peace, it is not surprising that the most detailed section on the breaking of peace, and one of the harshest, comes from Siena. In 1262, the penalty for breaking a peace was simply double the normal statutory penalty for the offense committed.<sup>33</sup> A measure passed by the Consiglio Generale in 1292 and included in the statute redactions of both 1310 and 1337 increased the penalties.<sup>34</sup> For the breaking of the

<sup>27</sup> Vallerani, "Pace e processo," 332 (see note 4).

<sup>28</sup> *Statuti di Volterra I (1210–1224)*, ed. Enrico Fiumi (Florence: Deputazione di storia patria per la Toscana, 1951). For 1210: dist. I, rubr. xxxvii, 21; For 1224: dist. II, rubr. clxixBclxx, 197–98.

<sup>29</sup> *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*, ed. Gina Fasoli. Studi e testi no. 73 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1937), 215, dist. IV, rubr. lvi.

<sup>30</sup> Vallerani, "Pace e processo," 321 (see note 4). Though the penalties of death and a perpetual ban may seem redundant, it did have its uses. By issuing multiple harsh sentences the commune could negotiate for the surrender of fugitives, allowing a lesser sentence in exchange by beginning with an extremely high penalty. Placing the criminal under the ban also engaged penalties for those who assisted him.

<sup>31</sup> Brogi, *San Gimignano 1314*, 152B53 (see note 16), dist. III, rubr. lxxxi.

<sup>32</sup> Forgiarini, *Lo statuto di Bergamo del 1353*, 203–04 (see note 25), dist. IX, rubr. xxxi.

<sup>33</sup> Zdekauer, "Il frammento," 275 (see note 9), rubr. LXV.

<sup>34</sup> These measures are included in Lisini, *Il costituito di Siena 1309–1310* (see note 11), vol. 2, dist. V rubr. L, 253 for the 1310 redaction. The 1337 redaction of this rubric is in ASS Statuti di Città 26, fols. 149v–150r, though the content is unchanged from the 1310 version. A Latin version of the rubric exists from the first decade of the fourteenth century in ASS Statuti 17 and ASS Statuti 18

peace by homicide or wounding, the podestà was to impose a capital sentence and seize all of the offender's goods for the commune of Siena. In addition, if the offender and his sons were not able to be apprehended, then they were to be placed under a perpetual ban with no possibility of *rebannimentum*. Following the legal commentaries on this point, the statutes state that "the peace is not understood to be broken by injurious words or other offenses, insults, and injuries [. . .] if no blow to the body intervenes."<sup>35</sup> Such actions, however, were punished: the podestà imposed a 100 *librae* fine for injurious words for those involved in a peace and triple the normal penalty for all other offenses which did not lead to blows.<sup>36</sup>

The statutes of communities within Siene territory reduced the Siene penalties in their own statutes, reinforcing the fact that Siena's penalties were among the most severe. The statutes of Grosseto, for instance, which mimicked those of Siena, while keeping the harsh penalty for homicide, decreased the penalties for all other violations to a mere five *librae* for injurious words and double, rather than triple, the usual penalty for all other offenses.<sup>37</sup> Siena alone penalized advocating the breaking of a peace. The measure (1310) established a fine of ten *librae* for anyone advocating breaking a peace, but specifically singled out those in positions of greatest influence over a party's legal options, mentioning judges and advocates in particular.<sup>38</sup>

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and is transcribed in Enzo Mecacci, *Condanne penali nella Siena: tra normative e prassi*. Documenti di Storia, 33 (Siena: Università degli studi di Siena, 2000), 118 and 120.

<sup>35</sup> Lisini, *Il costituito di Siena 1309–1310* (see note 11), vol. 2, dist. V rubr. L, 253 from 1310; ASS Statuti di Città 26, fol. 150r: "Salvo quod pax vel treugua non intelligatur rupta vel fracta nisi corporalis percussio intervenerit" from 1337, which was shortened from the 1310 text. Mecacci, *Condanne penali nella Siena* (see note 34) 120 transcribes the Latin text from 1310: "Salvo quod pax vel treugua non intelligatur rupta vel fracta pro aliquibus verbis iniuriis nec pro aliis offensionibus contumeliis et iniuriis quocumque modo factis vel commissis, aliter quam de persona in personam et de corpore in corpus. Et intelligatur de persona in personam et de corpore in corpus si percussio intervenerit et non aliter." On the debate in legal commentaries only what constituted breaking a peace, see Kumhera, *Making Peace*, 52–56 (see note 6).

<sup>36</sup> Lisini, *Il costituito di Siena 1309–1310* (see note 11), vol. 2, dist. V rubr. L, 254; ASS Statuti di Città 26, fol. 150r: "Sed pro verbis iniuriis puniatur qui iniuriam dixerit illi cum quo pacem vel treugam habuit in centum libris denariorum pro qualibet vice. Et pro aliis offensionibus, iniuriis vel contumeliis quocumque modo commissis et factis extra corpus inter predictos pacem vel treugam habentes puniatur faciens vel committens in triplici pena qua alius puniretur." Mecacci, *Condanne penali nella Siena* (see note 34), 120, for the 1310 Latin text.

<sup>37</sup> Mordini, *Grosseto 1421*, 175 (see note 18), rubr. LXVII.

<sup>38</sup> Lisini, *Il costituito di Siena 1309–1310*, vol. 2, dist. V rubr. L, 253: "et che neuno giudice o vero avvocato o vero alcuna persona debia advocare per quello cotale el quale la pace rompesse. Et chi contrafarà sia punito, per ciascuna volta, al comune di Siena, in X. libre di denari"; The specific mention of advocates and judges is left out in the 1337 text. ASS Statuti di Città 26, fols. 149v–150r: "Et nulla persona advocet pro tali qui pacem frangeret pena libris decem denariorum pro qualibet in vice."



Sienese legislators had constructed a system in which ideally those involved in criminal activities, both offenders and victims, would quickly resolve to make peace. This peace would obligate them not to harm each other further under the serious penalties of death and confiscation of property. The second penalty would also harm heirs and, while the individual could run away, their property could not. The ridiculously high fines in the statutes promoted a choice between making this peace and paying a relatively small fee and flight from the commune's reach in anticipation of banishment, which would also serve to preclude further violence between the same individuals. In the case of some of the more heinous crimes—homicide and arson, in Siena—the choice was to turn oneself in or flee. If peace agreements were promoted successfully and actually worked, then the system required a minimal amount of staff to function: the judges and court staff, the *sindici* who reported crime, and a reliable system for reporting the breaking of a peace.

### III. The Effects: Legislation in Practice

The frequency with which notaries redacted peace agreements in the fourteenth century indicates that the benefits of a peace outlined in Sienese legislation provided ample incentive. Peace agreements account for almost five percent (4.82%) of all documents contained in the eighteen notarial *imbreviature* that I sampled for the century.<sup>39</sup> Each year, these notaries redacted several peace agreements. On occasion a notary redacted only three or four per year, but more often the number rose into the teens, with the most I encountered in a single year being 21 (Laurentius Jacomi in 1399–1400), though Francesco Petri redacted twenty-three over a fourteen-month period from 1360 to 1361.<sup>40</sup> The surviving podesterial records from the 1340s show that the podestà's judges were presented with at least 250 peace agreements each year.<sup>41</sup> The Consiglio Generale was

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<sup>39</sup> *Imbreviature* were the registers kept by notaries of the acts they redacted. While the documents were often abbreviated (excluding the most formulaic elements), the *imbreviature* versions constituted the official record in case of a later dispute, and therefore were preserved by the guild after a notary's death. The *imbreviature* sampled were chosen for a number of reasons. I selected a sampling from a number of different notaries over the course of the fourteenth century, but also used several *imbreviature* by the same notary to examine variations from year to year for the same region and clientele. Also, I examined several *imbreviature* from the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala to compare them to those by other notaries. These eighteen are ASS Archivio Notarile antecosimiano 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 53, 69, 70, 75, 89, 119, 120, 121, 141, 147, 165 and 234.

<sup>40</sup> These are ASS Notarile antecosimiano 234 for Laurentius Jacomo (21 of 262 documents, 8.02%) and ASS Notarile antecosimiano 75 for Francesco Petri (23 of 408 documents, 5.64%).

<sup>41</sup> The corresponding records for the capitano del popolo do not survive. I would expect the numbers of peace agreements there to be substantial, though less than what the podesterial judges

routinely presented with peace agreements as part of releases from incarceration and the lifting of banishment. When the Consiglio offered amnesties, they were presented with several hundred in a period of a few months (over 500 in less than three months in 1329).<sup>42</sup>

When it came to peacemaking to preclude an inquest, the legislation exerted a surprisingly profound impact on the operations of the court. There are two extant volumes of podesterial inquests from Siena which include both those cases prosecuted fully and those dismissed because of peace agreements. These volumes, containing inquests (no accusations) from the second semesters of 1343 and 1345 are quite illuminating. In the second half of 1343, the court of the podestà heard 197 cases and of these, 125 were dismissed upon the presentation of a peace (63.5%).<sup>43</sup> In 1345, there were 133 cases, of which 98 (73.7%), were concluded with a peace agreement.<sup>44</sup> This large number of dismissals, 223 of 330 total cases (67.6%), is startling. The case of Jacobinus and the Scelti brothers with which I began was one of these cases. It was typical in that peace agreements were most utilized in unarmed assault cases: 62 of 75 (82.7%). Other cases from the podesterial records also demonstrate how the process dictated by the statutes worked in practice.

On 7 November 1343, the *sindicus* of Roccastrada, Johannes Sini, denounced three men of that commune — Meus Ferragonis, Nellus Ghezzi, and Cione Chelis — to the podestà's judge for incidents during the first three days of that month.<sup>45</sup> Two of the three separate denunciations construct the picture of a single ongoing conflict. In the first, Meus, "moving from place to place with bad intentions, made insults, threats, and aggressions toward Nellus Ghezzi, saying 'I'll pay you back'."<sup>46</sup> Nellus was denounced for likewise blocking the path of Johannes Ferragonis, Meus's brother, and making insults and threats against him at a later time. Nellus, however, was armed with a knife and a lance. He struck Johannes's left hand with

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heard by the 1340s, reflecting the decline in judicial authority of the *capitano del popolo* in the previous decades.

<sup>42</sup> Such amnesty petitions are contained in ASS Biccherna 731 and 732 for the amnesties of 1321 and 1329.

<sup>43</sup> From ASS Podestà 36. Five of these cases were homicides or arsons and no peace was presented for them.

<sup>44</sup> From ASS Podestà 41. Ten of the cases that did not result in the presentation of a peace agreement were homicides and arson, resulting in an even higher percentage when they are removed from the potential pool of defendants. In neither semester did anyone summoned by the podestà choose an option other than presentation of a peace or non-appearance.

<sup>45</sup> ASS Podestà 36, fols. 261v–263r.

<sup>46</sup> ASS Podestà 36, fol. 261v: "movendo se de loco ad locum, irato animo et malo modo, fecet insultum, impetum et aggressionem adversus et contra Nellum quondam Ghezzi de dicto loco, dicendo 'io te ne pagarò'."

the lance, causing bleeding.<sup>47</sup> The third, seemingly unrelated, case involved Cione threatening one Nerus Ugucii on the street, saying "you are lying through your teeth."<sup>48</sup> Following the denunciations, a procurator for all three of the men presented the judge with two *instrumenta pacis*, both redacted by the same notary on 4 November, three days earlier. The instrument that named the procurator to go to court was also redacted on the fourth, indicating that the men were well aware that the *sindicus* would be denouncing them.

Another report by a *sindicus* to the *podestà*'s judges relates an incident that took place on the street outside the Abbey of Berardenga, northeast of Siena.<sup>49</sup> This was a brawl occurring on 11 November 1343, involving a Brother Filippus from the monastery on one side, and a Brother Blaxius, also of the monastery, and his own brother Guerinus Gori, along with two other men—Cecchus Nerii of Colamagna and Gorus Andreini of Berardenga—on the other. The background to the fight is not provided in the testimony, but the consistent juxtaposition of brothers Filippus and Blaxius indicate that this was likely the continuation of a dispute from within the monastery which escalated when Blaxius enlisted the help of family and friends. Given the four-to-one odds, Brother Filippus took the worst of it, "screaming and shouting because of a wounded bleeding left hand."<sup>50</sup> The matter was brought before the judge the next day. Those involved, however, had already concluded a peace agreement the same day of the incident. Brother Blaxius and his brother Guerinus appeared immediately following the denunciation to present the agreement; brother Filippus the following day (13 November), and finally Cecchus and Gorus on the fifteenth. The investigations of all of them were ordered brought to a halt (and the commune gained 56 soldi).

The Consiglio Generale's emphasis on quickly making peace had affected the dispute process. In every case in which it is recorded that a peace was presented to the judge, the peace had been made before, or on the day, the inquest began. In

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<sup>47</sup> ASS Podestà 36, fol. 262r: "quod Nellus quondam Ghezzi de dicto loco, armatus armis offendilibus et defendilibus videlicet lancea, tabulaccio et cultello de ferro, irato animo et malo modo, movendo se de loco ad locum, fecit insultum, impetum et agressionem adversus et contra Johannem Ferragonis de dicto loco, et ipsum percussit et vulneravit in manu sinistra dicti Johannis cum dicta lancea cum sanguinis effusione."

<sup>48</sup> ASS Podestà 36, fol. 262r: "Cione filius Chelis quondam Pieri de dicto loco fecit insultum et agressionem adversus et contra Nerum quondam Ugucii de Lateraia comitatus Senarum, dicendo 'menti per la gola'." A literal translation would be "you are lying in your throat." See Dean, *Crime and Justice in Late Medieval Italy*, 113 and 116 (see note 4), for other examples of the same insult.

<sup>49</sup> This case is contained described in ASS Podestà 36, fols. 272r–273r.

<sup>50</sup> ASS Podestà 36, fol. 272r: "similiter et adinvicem fecerunt rixam et meschiam in mercato de Sancto Martino erga abbatiam predictam et predicti frater Blaxius, Guerinus, Cecchus, et Gorus eundem fratrem Filippum percusserunt in manu eius sinistra cum sanguinis effusione exclamando et gridando."

at least sixteen instances (out of 171) the peace was actually redacted on the same day as the offense.<sup>51</sup> More than one-fifth of the agreements presented were made the day of the offense or the following day and two-thirds were made within a week—these were mostly assault cases. Such figures indicate people's awareness that, after the commission of an offense, one needed to make a peace agreement.<sup>52</sup> The Sienese legislators had placed a great emphasis on quickly moving from offense to peace, both at the time of the crime and, if that did not occur, at the time when a denunciation was made; their incentives did not go unnoticed.

Though the necessity of making a peace agreement after the commission of a crime seems to have been well known, the exact process was probably less understood. An instructive example is the case of Pietrus Gonzini, who, in April of 1350, petitioned the Consiglio Generale for the cancellation of his sentence of banishment in the amount of 200 librae.<sup>53</sup> Pietrus had been fighting with two men when he struck one with a stone and was himself stabbed with a knife several times. The parties had quickly made peace and the other party had presented their peace to the podestà, but Pietrus, "in his good-natured simplicity and ignorance," had not done so and was subsequently sentenced. The petition was successful and the Consiglio Generale lifted his sentence. William Bowsky used this case to illustrate the concern for equity by the government of the Nine, but it also demonstrates how widespread the knowledge of peace agreements was.<sup>54</sup> Pietrus, despite being simple and ignorant, knew that he needed a peace agreement; he just did not know what to do with it.

#### IV. The Effectiveness of Peacemaking Legislation

Did Siena's policies make the city more peaceful? That is the nagging question. And given the types of records kept and their survival, an answer that truly

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<sup>51</sup> Most of the podesterial records from these two semesters (171, out of 223) include the date of the original offense and the date of the peace, but the rest indicate only the month and have not been factored into these figures. All do include the dates relevant to the stages of the inquest. Those cases in which the presentation of a peace was not recorded may nevertheless have yielded peace agreements once the time of the inquest had ended.

<sup>52</sup> I am only examining the cases here in which peace agreements were presented to the podestà. Those cases in which the parties did not present a peace usually provoked a sentence of banishment, which often resulted in peace pacts being made years later. On peace made for the lifting of banishment sentences in the case of Bologna and possible motivations regarding the timing see Shona Kelly Wray, "Instruments of Concord: Making Peace and Settling Disputes through a Notary in the City and Contado of Late Medieval Bologna," *Journal of Social History* (2009): 733–60; here 747–48.

<sup>53</sup> ASS Consiglio Generale 146, fols. 32v–33r.

<sup>54</sup> William Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena under the Nine, 1287–1355* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 104.

satisfies modern desires to see a quantifiable drop in reported crimes is beyond reach. The many statutes and their repeated use definitely spread knowledge of peacemaking and produced more peace agreements. But that does not produce a valid answer; it would be naïve to assume that peace agreements were somehow immune from the same problems and challenges facing other contracts. Besides, an increase in peacemaking could reflect an increase in violence as much as a drop in it.

Matters are not helped when one looks for evidence of peace-breaking to judge effectiveness. To ensure that violations of peace agreements were punished, the Nine required the *sindicus* to report breaches of peace agreements and also selected two members of each company of the Society of the *popolo*—who served as the night watch and assisted in quelling riots—to serve as *paciarri* (peacekeepers). These peace officials, chosen for a six-month terms, were required to report to high communal officials—by the late 1330s the War Captain—any infractions of private peace agreements among members of their companies.<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately those records are not extant. The surviving podesterial records include no cases of peace-breaking brought by a *sindicus*. The only evidence I have found of someone being punished for breaking a peace—and indeed with a capital sentence and perpetual banishment—comes from a second peace agreement made to release the peace-breaker from the sentence.<sup>56</sup>

Perhaps, then, the best way to assess their effectiveness, particularly since the standard of what was effective could be said to vary over time, is to look at what contemporaries changed about peacemaking legislation when they had the chance. There are two such instances from the 1350s.

In the first, occurring in 1350, the Consiglio Generale passed a measure requiring those using peace agreements to end inquests to pay five percent of the fine for the crimes of which they had been accused.<sup>57</sup> This was quite an increase from solely the payment of the *gabelle*.<sup>58</sup> William Bowsky interpreted this measure as a way

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<sup>55</sup> William Bowsky, "The Medieval Commune and Internal Violence: Police Power and Public Safety in Siena, 1287–1355," *American Historical Review* 78 (1967): 11–12, citing ASS Statuti 26, fol. 195rv. It is important to note that, unlike the Florentine officials also called *paciarri*, the Siennese peacekeepers' sphere was limited to the members of the military companies protecting the regime.

<sup>56</sup> ASS Diplomatico, Archivio Generale dei contratti 25 March 1339. Antonius Vannis of Vignaglia broke the peace by striking Sozzo Porconis of Querciagrossa in the face, causing bleeding. The second peace was made with Sozzo's son.

<sup>57</sup> ASS Consiglio Generale 147, fol. 23v.

<sup>58</sup> In the case of unarmed assault that did not cause bloodshed, the statutory penalty was 100 *librae*. This would raise the penalty for the most popular use of peacemaking at the podesterial court from 14 *soldi* to 100 *soldi*, more than a seven-fold increase. That peace agreements continued to represent the same percentage of overall documents redacted by notaries probably indicates that

"to prevent the state from being deprived of its fine by collusion between the offender and offended."<sup>59</sup> Bowsky's interpretation was based upon his view — by far the prevailing one at the time — that the use of peace agreements was a sign of weakness on the part of the commune.

There is, however, a better explanation for this legislation and its timing. In the wake of the Black Death, Siena enacted legislation designed to raise income without overburdening its own contado. In early 1349, the Consiglio Generale offered to cancel death sentences upon payment of 600 florins and to compound other fines at 10 to 25%.<sup>60</sup> They also increased indirect taxes and required more forced loans in the years after the plague, measures that actually produced a nearly balanced budget by 1353.<sup>61</sup> Requiring the peacemaking parties to pay a larger portion of their fines fits more firmly within the commune's post-plague financial policies than it reflects concerns about collusion of the parties. If the Consiglio had been concerned with collusion of the parties, they could have enacted the fine decades earlier or at a steeper rate. Their motivation in this instance was to find a delicate balance enabling them to increase revenue without raising the fine to a prohibitive level. A steeper fine would have deterred people from availing themselves of the benefits of peace and would thus have been counterproductive in the commune's efforts to restrain and prevent violence through peace agreements.

The second instance in which peacemaking was addressed in the 1350s took place in 1355. Upon the fall of the government of the Nine in that year, the statutes were revised.<sup>62</sup> The revision of 1355 represents the only significant change in the statutes of Siena from the redaction of 1337 until the mid-sixteenth century. These revisions addressed peace agreements twice concerning the issue of ratification, a topic rarely treated in previous statutes. The first of these concerned peace made through friends, *amici*. The statutes of 1262, 1310, and 1337 briefly mentioned this procedure when discussing peace, allowing the benefits of peace to be extended to parties making peace with each other or through *amici*. The revision of this

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the benefits were still far too lucrative to be affected by the measure.

<sup>59</sup> Bowsky, "Medieval Commune and Internal Violence," 13 (see note 55). The measure proved to be effective, since 635 individuals took advantage of the reduced penalties by mid-1349, paying 23,600 librae in fines.

<sup>60</sup> William Bowsky, "The Impact of the Black Death upon Sienese Government and Society," *Speculum* 39 (1964): 1–34; here 22.

<sup>61</sup> Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune*, 306 (see note 54).

<sup>62</sup> While the second half of the fourteenth century saw the rise and fall of several governments in Siena (the Dodici, the Riformatori, and the Priori were the major three) there was much more consistency in policy and method than changes in government would otherwise suggest.

rubric added that, if the peace were to be considered valid, the *instrumentum pacis* made by the friends must be ratified by the parties within ten days.<sup>63</sup>

The second rubric revision required that, for any peace to be valid, all male relatives—maternal if no paternal ones existed, to the fourth degree (using the civil law reckoning of degrees), or the majority of them—had to ratify it. Failure to obtain this ratification resulted not only in the parties being denied the benefits of peace, but also in a fine of 500 librae.<sup>64</sup>

The revisions made in 1355 addressed only a small portion of the existing statutes.<sup>65</sup> These were clearly areas of concern which they perceived to have been abused. The issue of ratification was viewed as problematic because it was open to fraudulent use. Although the validity of an *instrumentum pacis* made between the parties may have been difficult to challenge when peace was broken, one that had been made through *amici* and never ratified would not have been. Likewise, family members who had not ratified a peace could use this loophole to pursue vengeance in which the principle figures were excluded by a peace without being subject to the harsh fines for peace-breaking. Such usage circumvented the commune's goals, particularly when the peace had already been used to obtain a reduction in penalties. Their profound concern with verifying that the parties were subject to an *instrumentum pacis* also attests to their continued faith in the ability of these agreements to prevent further conflicts.

Did these statute revisions affect the practice of peacemaking? I have found no evidence to support the inclusion of a wider range of family members in the extant peace agreements for the remainder of the fourteenth century; the figures remain consistent with around three-fifths of peace agreements concluded between two individuals. The revision regarding *amici* did have an effect. The use of friends to make peace was extremely rare before the statute revisions. From 1355–1400, however, 18% of all peace agreements that I have examined use friends to make peace. Such a drastic change seems to indicate that the use of friends to make

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<sup>63</sup> ASS Statuti di Città 26, fol. 275v (revision to the rubric *de remissione et mitigatione pene propter pacem*): “quod si pax quocunque modo fiet per amicos, quamvis non apareat de assensu si infra decem dies ratificati subsequenter, valeat talis pax et beneficium pacis consequatur.”

<sup>64</sup> ASS Statuti di Città 26, fol. 275v (also a revision to the rubric *de remissione et mitigatione pene propter pacem*): “quod si superessent aut filii vel fratres carnales et successive alii consanguinei usque ad quantum gradum vulgariter intellectum et ipsi consanguinei vel maior pars in eodem gradu existentes dictam pacem ratificent. Et si ex latere patris non superessent tunc et eodem casu consanguinei proximorum, ex latere matris vel maior pars eorum simili modo possint pacem predictam ratificare et valeat dicta pax et ratificatio et pacis beneficium consequatur. Et si ex utroque parente consanguinei non superessent, quod tunc eo casu conde[m]pnetur in quingentis librarum denariorum senensium.”

<sup>65</sup> They addressed only 83 of 1502 rubrics by revising or canceling them. My own count is taken from Donatella Ciampoli, *Il Capitano del popolo a Siena nel primo Trecento*. Documenti di storia 1 (Siena: Consorzio universitario della Toscana meridionale, 1984), 121.

peace had been considered so open to challenge before 1355 that parties looked unfavorably upon its legitimacy and opted instead for more formal procurators. What were the effects of Siena's peacemaking legislation? They unquestionably generated an impressive number of peace agreements. They also influenced the behavior of those involved in violence, particularly in cases of assault, in the hours and days after the incident. They brought in a steady stream of revenue and required contado residents to reiterate their subjugation to Sienese jurisdiction, even if they were paying less than a percent of the statutes' stated fines. Did this bring about a more peaceful state?

That so many officials were involved in reporting broken peace contracts shows that the documents were far from perfect. But if their methods of applying peace agreements had failed miserably, the legislators would have made significant changes in the benefits of peacemaking—particularly since who the legislators were changed significantly over the century. Considering the nature of the 1355 revisions, even those concerned with fixing loopholes and shortcomings in the commune's policies regarding peace agreements did so with a belief in their ability to prevent future violence. In this they were similar to the Sienese legislators of a century before, who designed the benefits and restrictions to promote a quick resolution to conflict, persuading offender and victim—or more often offender and offender—to agree to forego future violence or to face a sentence of banishment, which itself would eventually require a peace to be lifted. The commune was not willing to expend its few resources to apprehend and punish most criminals with steep fines and harsh sentences, but it was eager to promote a method that relied on privately-initiated and publicly-enforced settlements to prevent violence. By avoiding a war on crime, Siena tried to win the peace.



## Chapter 13

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### A “Just War”? A Further Reassessment of the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*<sup>1</sup>

The remarkably graphic battlefield descriptions in the important Middle-English romance known as the Alliterative *Morte Arthure* (ca. 1375–1400) have recently attracted much critical attention, whose striking variety has seemingly borne out Chaucer’s maxim, “Diverse foolke diversely they speke.” Some regard these scenes as glorification of heroic deeds in the age of chivalry; others see them as political criticism, aimed at Edward III or Richard II. Larry D. Benson notes that the poem presents “contradictory viewpoints, sincerely admiring and just as sincerely rejecting worldly ideals,” and most recent criticism similarly points out that the Alliterative *Morte Arthure* both invites and frustrates opposing interpretations of its meaning.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, the poem defies a simple interpretation, and it allows ambivalent viewpoints. This could be intentionally authorial: anti-war sentiment, if there is any as such in this poem, may have required caution. The case of Geoffrey Chaucer, variously and contradictorily assessed as “a firm supporter of chivalry,

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<sup>1</sup> This is a revised version of my paper read at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo 2007. I am grateful to various people who helped me in revising my paper in various stages: Professors Edward D. Kennedy, Andrew Lynch, and Peter J. C. Field, who kindly supplied me with their pre-published papers for my perusal; as did Marco Nievergelt, Université de Lausanne, with his paper read at the 22e Congrès de la Société Internationale Arthurienne, Rennes 2008, and finally, Dr. Neil McLynn, whose critical reading helped me greatly clarify my English, as did the editors of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Larry D. Benson, “The Alliterative *Morte Arthure* and Medieval Tragedy,” *Tennessee Studies in Literature* 11 (1966): 75–89; here 76–77; Dorsey Armstrong, “Rewriting the Chronicle Tradition: The Alliterative *Morte Arthure* and Arthur’s Sword of Peace,” *Parergon* 25.1 (2008): 81–101; here 81 n. 1. My thanks go to Professor Andrew Lynch for kindly sending me this article.

a sharp critic of chivalry, or a shrewd courtier attempting to include something for everyone in his works,"<sup>3</sup> indicates the constraints on candid expression. In this paper, however, I shall contend that a consistent critique can be identified in the poem, directed not at individual kings but contemporary ideology. By presenting the devastating aspects of war so vividly, in my view, the poet seeks to question the validity of the concept of Just War—a particularly pertinent question during the later Middle Ages, especially given the ongoing Hundred Years War between France and England.

## 1. Formulating the Concept of Just War

"The die for the medieval just war was cast by St. Augustine," as Frederick H. Russell explains the contribution to the formation of the Just War concept made by Augustine,

who combined Roman and Judaeo-Christian elements in a mode of thought that was to influence opinion throughout the Middle Ages and beyond [. . .] [and] formulated the first new definition of just war since Cicero, one that became the single most important statement of the later medieval theories: 'iusta bella ulciscuntur injurias' just wars avenge injuries. War was justified when a people or a city neglected either to punish wrongs done by its member or to restore what it had unjustly seized.<sup>4</sup>

This concept of Just War was modified by subsequent theologians, notably by Gratian in his massive compilation of canon law, the *Concordia Discordantium Canonum* (ca. 1140) or more simply, the *Decretum*. This was soon accepted as authoritative, and both canon lawyers and theologians used the *Decretum* as their point of departure (55). Gratian's modification of Augustine's definition of Just War was to limit the party who can wage war: A just war must be waged on the basis of an authoritative edict ("quod ex edicto geritur.").<sup>5</sup>

Gratian's was the first attempt after Isidore of Seville (†636) to define the characteristics of Just War: No war could be considered just unless initiated by an authoritative edict, and even so, a just war must fulfill the second requirement that

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<sup>3</sup> R[obert] F. Yeager, "Pax Poetica: on the Pacifism of Chaucer and Gower," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 9 (1987): 97–121; here 97.

<sup>4</sup> Frederick H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 16–18. See also the electronic version online at google.books (transferred to digital print in 2003). The following summary of the Just War formulation depends principally on Russell's argument. [Ed. note: for other perspectives on Just War, see the essays by Ben Snook and John Campbell in this volume.]

<sup>5</sup> Russell, *Just War*, 64 n. 30 (see note 4). *Corpus Iuris Canonici, Editio Lipsiensis Secunda post Aemilii Ludouici Richter. Pars Prior Decretum Magistri Gratiani* (Union, NJ: Lawbook Exchange, 2000), 895.

war should only be waged to redress a legal wrong or injury. The phrase *iniuriae ulciscuntur* (injuries to be avenged), "perpetuated the ambiguities inherent in Augustine's treatment, for it could be merciless and unrestrained revenge for a trivial injury, restrained defense against hostile attack, recovery of stolen goods, or even the punishment of evil-doers."<sup>6</sup> Gratian tried to restrain the degree of violence in war by allowing only the legitimate authority to start war. On his interpretation *ultio*, or "vengeance," could not be legitimate if it was unrestrained or involved needless cruelty. Accordingly "certain attitudes associated with war, such as the desire to harm, the lust for domination, and the cruelty of punishment were to be reprehended, but not war itself" (Causa 23, quaestio 1 c. 4).<sup>7</sup>

St. Thomas Aquinas (†1274) further developed what we can consider the "formula" for Just War based on Aristotelian theory and the traditional Augustinian teachings of his predecessors. Some argue that his thought did not really become influential until the sixteenth century, but it is undeniable that Aquinas was regarded as a major figure of his day and immediately afterward. Canonized in 1323, Thomas's major work, the monumental *Summa Theologica* (or *Theologiae*) was particularly favored by his order, the Dominicans, as a general handbook for theology students.<sup>8</sup> The second part of *Summa Theologiae*, which includes the section dealing with war, was widely available in various libraries throughout Europe.<sup>9</sup>

Aquinas elaborated Augustine's theory of Just War via Gratian and explained that a just war is a justifiable war (via *ius bellorum*). Aquinas considers three conditions as essential for a just war: proper authority, just cause, and just intention, as he states here:

Three things are required for any war to be just. The first is the authority of the sovereign on whose command war is waged. Now a private person has no business declaring war; he can seek redress by appealing to the judgment of his superiors . . . Secondly, a just cause is required, namely that those who are attacked are attacked because they deserve it on account of some wrong they have done. Augustine, *We usually describe a just war as one that avenges wrongs, that is, when a nation or state has to be punished either for refusing to make amends for outrages done by its subjects, or to restore what it has seized injuriously.*

Thirdly, the right intention of those waging war is required, that is, they must intend to promote the good and to avoid evil. Hence Augustine writes, *Among true worshippers of God those wars are looked on as peace-making which are waged neither from aggrandizement*

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<sup>6</sup> Russell, *Just War*, 67 (see note 4).

<sup>7</sup> Cited in Russell, *Just War*, 67 n. 37 (see note 4).

<sup>8</sup> John Marenbon, *Medieval Philosophy: A Historical and Philosophical Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 246.

<sup>9</sup> Giovanna Murano, *Opere Diffuse per Exemplar e Pecia* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 758–60. My thanks go to Dr. Yuichi Akae, Keio University, for this reference.

*nor cruelty, but with the object of securing peace, of repressing the evil and supporting the good.* Now it can happen that even given a legitimate authority and a just cause for declaring war, it may yet be wrong because of a perverse intention. So again Augustine says, *The craving to hurt people, the cruel thirst for revenge, the unappeased and unrelenting spirit, the savageness of fighting on, the lust to dominate, and suchlike—all these are rightly condemned in wars.* (*Summa Theologiae*, 2a2a, Question 40: “War.” Italics original.)<sup>10</sup>

From Augustine to Aquinas, theologians aimed at confining the practice of warfare to the parameters enunciated in the Just War formula. Most notably, Gratian and his successors tried to sustain in their formula a delicate balance between respecting the pragmatic requirements of contemporary military culture and excluding any passionate or unrestrained violence.

To ensure this, Gratian in particular linked “the moral imperatives governing the motivations of the belligerents to the legal grounds for waging a just war.” By thus associating subjective and objective criteria, he sought to require that a just war be waged by soldiers who exhibited “the virtues.” However, as Gratian realized, “reliance on the virtues of the Christian soldier was only a fragile means of ensuring that a war was justified in its origin and conduct.”<sup>11</sup>

Even with Aquinas’s three conditions for Just War, and his emphasis on the third point, right intention, without which the Just War criteria cannot be achieved even if the war were waged under the authority of a sovereign commander with a just cause, the morality of warfare finds itself defended by a dangerously feeble fortress, in which the boundary between a just and an unjustifiable war will easily blur.

If we consider the historical sentiments of the Alliterative *Morte Arthure* (henceforth = *AMA*) against this background, we notice it poses several questions informing the validity of the Just War concept. First of all, I will look carefully at the *AMA*’s opening passage on the Roman war, and its presentations of justifications for this war in the light of the contemporary ideas of Just War sketched above; then I will analyze the vivid yet thematically ambiguous usage of animal imagery, and the poet’s characterization of Arthur, Gawain, and Mordred; finally, I will discuss the poet’s unique combination of the Wheel of Fortune and the topos of Nine Worthies.

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<sup>10</sup> St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, various trans, ed. Thomas Gilby, 60 vols. (London: Blackfriars/Eyre, and Spottiswoode; New York: McGraw–Hill, 1964–1973); vol. 35 ed. and trans. Thomas R. Heath (1972), 81–83.

<sup>11</sup> Cited in Russell, *Just War*, 68 (see note 4).

## 2. The Authority of the Sovereign Commander and the Causes of War

The poem opens with a roll-call of territories Arthur has conquered: Argyll and Orkney, the whole of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and on the continent, Flanders and France, Burgundy, Brittany and Bordeaux. Furthermore, the poet continues to affirm that Arthur obtained Navarre, Norway and Normandy, through "conqueste full cruell" (v. 43; very destructive conquest).<sup>12</sup> More extensively, his territories extend to Austria and Germany, to Denmark and beyond; from Sluys up to Sweden he subdued "with his swerde kene" (v. 47; by his keen sword). In consistently referring to Arthur as "the conqueror," rather than "the king," the poet thus emphasizes Arthur's military achievement by feats of arms. Such is the empire of Arthur the poet presents before the audience/reader.

Then on New Year's Day, a senator arrives as ambassador from Lucius, the emperor of Rome. The embassy poses three questions: first, why Arthur occupies the lands which owe traditional homage to Rome (vv. 98–99); secondly, why Arthur has raided, robbed, and held people for ransom, and killed the anointed kings, the emperor's cousins (vv. 100–1); thirdly, why Arthur rebels against Rome, and does not pay due tribute (vv. 103, 114–15). As Juliet Vale notes, the language of the Roman embassy is legally binding: the poet appeals to the authenticity and authority of the Roman demand by the phrases "vndyre his sele ryche" (v. 87; by his seal of royalty),<sup>13</sup> "his targe es to schewe" (v. 89; his true seal proves it) and "with notaries sygne" (v. 90; by notaries' warrant).

Then he specifies the date and even the time for Arthur to pay a visit to Rome: on the first day of August at prime (6 a. m.). As for the tribute, the Roman embassy reminds Arthur of another legal document: "Thy fadyr mad fewtee, we fynde in oure rollez,/ In the regestre of Rome" (vv. 112–13; Your father acknowledged his feudal obligation to Rome and we find the rolls in our registry). Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace, Laȝamon, and Robert Mannyng, the known chronicle sources of the poem, mention similar items, but none of them appeals specifically to the

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<sup>12</sup> All citations from this text are taken from *Morte Arthure: A Critical Edition*, ed. Mary Hamel. Garland Medieval Texts, 9 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1984). Henceforth = "Hamel, *Morte Arthure*."

<sup>13</sup> Juliet Vale, "Law and Diplomacy in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 23 (1979): 31–46. Hamel also notes that "the senator's message is carefully legalistic, especially in its emphasis on credentials and documentation," Hamel, *Morte Arthure*, 256 n 88–115 (see note 12). Unless credited otherwise, all translations are mine, in consultation with Hamel's annotations, and *King Arthur's Death: Alliterative Morte Arthure and Stanzaic Le Morte Arthur*, trans. with introductions Brian Stone (London and New York: Penguin, 1988). Henceforth = "Stone." Where my translation differs considerably from Stone, I have not provided pp. nos. to his version.

documents and seals, or records the date and time Arthur should appear in Rome.<sup>14</sup>

All these chronicle sources emphasize primarily the third point of the Roman claims, namely Arthur's neglect of paying tribute to Rome. Arthur counters that it was wrongfully demanded because the Roman claim is based on the outcome of a war "in tym of myn elders" (v. 272; in the time of my ancestors) waged on commoners while the men of arms were absent. Arthur's main point is to question the authority on which the Romans' claim to sovereignty over Britain was based. If we remember that Augustine, Gratian, and Aquinas all regard the authority of a sovereign commander as essential for any war to be just (most notably Aquinas, in his first reply to Question 40), the Romans waged war on Britain by the authority of the sovereign commander, Julius Caesar, and therefore apparently met with this criterion.

However, there is no mention of injuries by the ancient Britons, which provoked the Roman invasion and conquest of Britain, the second condition of the Just War. Toward the end of the fourteenth century, moreover, war against non-combatants became less justifiable. The French chronicler Jean Froissart disparagingly describes the destruction and killings of non-combatants in Limoges by the army of the Black Prince in 1370, while military theorist Honorat Bovet claimed in the 1380s that soldiers' pillage and robbery against non-combatants was not permissible.<sup>15</sup> The reference to the absence of proper military forces and to war against "commoners" — the non-combatants — which has no parallel in the poem's sources, casts here some doubt on the validity of the Roman war. In this sense, the Roman war on ancient Britain is less justifiable, and Roman demand for the tribute based on the result of this war seems to be groundless. Yet strangely, Arthur's contention is not fully endorsed either.

Arthur derives his own authority from a chronicle (274). To the Romans' demand for tribute, Arthur retorts that he should have the right to receive tribute from Rome because his ancestors, "Belyn and Brenne" had been Roman emperors

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<sup>14</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Penguin Books, 1966), 230; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain, an Edition and Translation of De gestis Britonum*, ed. Michael D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright. Arthurian Studies, 69 (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2007), 214–15; *Wace's Roman de Brut: A History of the British*, trans. Judith Weiss. Exeter Medieval English Texts and Studies (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), 269; *Laȝamon's Arthur, the Arthurian Section of Laȝamon's Brut*, ed. and trans. W. R. J. Barron and S. C. Weinberg (Harlow: Longman, 1989), 159. Henceforth = "Barron and Weinberg"; Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *The Chronicle*, ed. Idelle Sullens. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 153 (Binghamton: SUNY, 1996), ll. 11211–90.

<sup>15</sup> *Society at War: The Experience of England and France During the Hundred Years War*, ed. C[hristopher] T. Allmand. Evidence and Commentary: Historical Source Books (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1973), 39, 131–32.

(278). Arthur appeals to the antiquity of his British ancestry and bases the justification of his claim upon what the "awlde men telles" (279; old men tell). In contrast to the Romans' frequent appeal to legal documents and seals, Arthur's claim to supremacy over Rome, because of its shakier, even dubious, foundations, is no more convincing than the Romans' case.

There then follows a council to decide whether Arthur should obey the Romans' demand. Here the poet presents various reasons for going to war. Cador, for example, argues the defects of being at peace: Peace causes laziness and excludes any chance to gain fame. Cador, in Wace's and Laȝamon's narratives, also points out the negative aspects of peace, and says that peace causes the degeneration of morality.<sup>16</sup> Only Laȝamon's Gawain seriously rebuts Cador's argument, asserting that peace allows a good man to do good deeds whereby all men are the better and the land the happier.<sup>17</sup> Thus Gawain values peace for its own sake, an idea also found in Aquinas, who rejected the opinion that peace gave rise to various lascivious acts.<sup>18</sup>

Here the alliterative poem omits Gawain's opposition to Cador, and continues with another voice in favor of war, heightening the belligerent mood in Arthur's council: the King of Scotland wants war to avenge the villainy committed by the Romans during their rule of Britain in the time of Julius Caesar. Next, the Welsh king declares he will avenge the personal wrongdoing he suffered on a pilgrimage in Italy by means of a death blow to the offender. The Welsh king's complaints came under the category of "a denial of passage," an injury considered a justifiable basis for going to war.<sup>19</sup>

Interestingly, the AMA poet seems to question the validity of both parties' contentions. Both Arthur and the Roman embassy refer to the authenticity and the antiquity of their claim from an historical perspective. In the immediate past, we hear of Arthur's conquest of the land and territories in and surrounding Britain and on the Continent. But we are told that prior to this conquest, in the generation immediately preceding Arthur's, Rome had been sovereign lord of Britain, and that Uther Pendragon, Arthur's father, was obliged to pay tribute.

In Arthur's retort to the Romans, we are reminded of Constantine's double identity, as a British "ayere" (heir) and a Roman emperor. Furthermore, Arthur traces his sovereign legitimacy back to his ancestors in the mists of legendary

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<sup>16</sup> Weiss, 2 *Wace's Roman de Brut*, 71 (see note 14).

<sup>17</sup> Barron and Weinberg, 163 (see note 14).

<sup>18</sup> Russell, *Just War*, 262 (see note 4). Aquinas also points out the benefits of peace because "it inhibited the worse evils of homicide and sacrilege." *Summa Theologiae*, 2-2, q.123, art. 5 (see note 10).

<sup>19</sup> Gratian considered denial of passage an injury to be avenged. See Russell, *Just War* 64 (see note 4).

antiquity. These arguments over territorial rights and tribute obligations reveal, intentionally or not, the conflicting interests between the old (i. e., Roman) and the new (i. e., Arthur's) governing bodies. The impressive expansion of Arthur's kingdom alluded to at the outset of the poem, and the immediate counter-claim made by its previous ruler, implies the historical relativity of the right to claim territories.

If the boundary of a nation is subject to change, the effective extent of Just War must be so too. Just wars, as defined by Augustine and his followers, are fought to avenge injuries. Redrawing the boundaries of the empire/nation means redefining the extent of "injuries," transforming defensive wars to offensive wars and vice versa. Accordingly, the poet first questions the authorization of the "rightful" sovereign commander, and secondly implies that there are ambiguities in the definition of the term "injuries."

The *AMA* is also notable for its reference to the destructiveness of Arthur's ancestors' wars against Rome, in which city walls were destroyed and leaders hanged by hundreds. No other version includes these details. Moreover, comparison with the poem's sources reveals that not only Arthur's ancestors' but also Arthur's own conquests involve excessive violence during the military operations: raiding, robbing and seizing civilians for ransom. It is true that all these practices were conspicuous in the characteristically fourteenth-century English method of warfare, the *chevauchée* (horse charge; here, highly destructive raid through enemy territory), practiced especially during the reign of Edward III: in 1370, Sir John Knoll carried out an unsuccessful *chevauchée*; in the same year, the Black Prince sacked the city of Limoges; in 1373, John of Gaunt started the largest and longest English *chevauchée* of the Hundred Years War,<sup>20</sup> and later in 1374, attempted a march right from the Channel port of Calais all the way down to Bordeaux.<sup>21</sup>

This particular mention in the poem of destructive military campaigning in the distant past (Beli's conquest of Rome, and Caesar's conquest of Britain), in more recent history (Constantine's time), and in the present (Arthur's time), suggests that conquest always entails destruction. Taken in consideration with the conflicting views over the validity of lordship of territories, this reflects an intention to question Arthur's martial achievements from the very outset of the

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<sup>20</sup> John A. Wagner, *Encyclopedia of the Hundred Years War* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 2006), 183.

<sup>21</sup> Christopher Allmand comments that none of these attacks achieved military advantage: "The days of Crécy and Poitiers were over." If so, the contemporary feeling toward the war may have gradually waned. Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c. 1300 –c. 1450*. Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 22.



poem. Simultaneously, British atrocities in the conquest of Rome can be compared to the Roman wrongdoing. Violence perpetuated in conquest links Arthur with Rome, historicizing Arthur's conquest within a pattern of conquest that has continued since legendary times.

In the history of wars for territorial domination and also in that of religious wars motivated by the desire to dominate, the poet seems to doubt the validity of any justification for war. It is noticeable that Arthurian knights make vows by Christ and by holy relics such as St. Veronica's Vernacle (or vernicle)—the image of Christ's face as it appeared on Veronica's cloth, recalling the *via dolorosa* and thus, for the pilgrim-knights, chivalric self-sacrifice—in declaring that they should fight on against the Romans. During the war council, Arthur's knights are making pledges in turn by the name of Christ and by the miracle of Veronica's cloth: King Aungers, King of Scotland makes a vow "deuotly to Criste / And to þe haly Vernacle" (v. 297).

To Sir Ewan's, son of Urien pledge, help to King Arthur, Arthur himself avows: "Thereto make I myn avowe devottly to Cryste / And to þe holy Vernacle, vertuous and noble" (vv. 347–48), and the Welsh king is thankful to Christ who has given him a chance to "wreke full wele / þe wrethe of oure elders" (v. 321; wreak fully the wrath of our ancestors). And again, Sir Lott repeats the injuries their forefathers had received: "Now he [Lucius] wylnez þe were, hys wanedrethe begynnys! / It es owre weredes to wreke the wrethe of oure elders. I make my avowe to Gode and to þe holy Vernacle" (vv. 384–86; Now he [Lucius] desires the war, his trouble begins! / It is our fate to wreak the wrath of our ancestor on him. I make my vow to God and to the Holy Vernacle).<sup>22</sup> This frequent appeal to Christ and the holy relics implies that the war they are going to wage is a holy war. Curiously, the *AMA* alludes in passing to Constantine's discovery of holy relics during his campaign:

Belyn and Brenne, that borne were in Bretayne,  
 They occupyede þe Empyre aughte score wynttyrs,  
 Ilkane ayere aftyre oþer, as awlde men telles;  
 Thei couerde þe Capitoile and keste down þe walles,  
 Hyngede of þeire heddys-men by hundrethes at ones.  
 Seyn Constantyne our kynsmene conquerid it aftyre,  
 þat ayere was of Ynglande and Emperour of Rome—  
 He þat conquered þe Crosse be craftez of armes  
 That Criste was on crucifiede, þat Kyng es of Heuen.

(vv. 277–85)

<sup>22</sup> On St. Veronica's Vernacle and its significance in the *AMA*, along with other Crusades-related motifs and themes, see Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York and Chichester, UK: Columbia University Press, 2003), esp. 148–49.

[Belinus and Brennius, who were born in Britain, / occupied the Empire for eight score winters./Each heir after the other, as old men tell. / They gained the Capitol and cast down the walls. / Hanged their head men by hundreds at once. / Then Constantine our kinsman conquered it afterwards, / who is heir of England and Emperor of Rome. / He who conquered the Cross by force of arms/on which Christ was crucified, the King of Heaven.]

Constantine “conquered” by “craftez of armes” the cross on which Christ was crucified, as the alliteration runs.

Holy relics are embedded in the text not only for the sake of the alliteration but also to imply that military conquest of land and the recovery of holy relics are almost synonymous. In fact, Arthur calls himself a pilgrim when he goes to Mont-Saint-Michel to fight the giant,<sup>23</sup> and obtains the club and the mantle as the relics of feats of arms. Cradock says he will go to pilgrimage “þis pas vnto Rome, / To purchese me pardonne of the Pape selfen” (vv. 3496–97; this way to Rome / To buy or obtain myself an indulgence from the Pope himself), while Arthur is to head for a mortal war with Mordred.<sup>24</sup> As James A. Brundage points out, pilgrimage was one of the canonical foundations for the Crusades, and pilgrimage and the holy war concept were closely connected in the idea of the crusade by the eleventh century.<sup>25</sup> “If the crusade was a pilgrimage and the crusader a pilgrim,” Brundage says, “it was at the same time, paradoxically, a holy war, and the crusader a much blessed warrior” (192).

By the time of the reign of Innocent IV (1243–1254), the pilgrimage motif had “faded in to the background,” and the crusade started to change its nature: “from being a specific type of holy war, directed against a particular group of non-Christians in a particular area,” it was transformed into “an all-purpose holy war, an instrument to serve the politico-religious policy of the papacy in its combats with all sorts of enemies in all corners of the known world” (Brundage, 193).

As we have seen, the Just War concept was redefined by Augustine as one that avenged injuries. In his notion of true justice, injuries done to God could be avenged: “God could authorize wars, and the church had the authority to

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<sup>23</sup> A Dominican friar, John Bromyard, complains about the contemporary practice of war in ca. 1390 and points out the former “exemplary” practice of Edward III, who made it a rule to go on a personal pilgrimage before a war to take advice. Here, by half-jokingly calling Arthur a “pilgrim to kill the giant,” the poet seems to make Arthur a crusader who aims to destroy a marginal threat to orthodoxy, partly represented by the giant.

<sup>24</sup> Translated according to the MED. Here the poet may have included a double connotation: to go on a pilgrimage to the pope, or to purchase an indulgence issued by the pope to raise warfare funding for crusading.

<sup>25</sup> James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, WI, Milwaukee, WI, and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 30, *passim*. Henceforth = “Brundage.”

command imperial persecution of heretics."<sup>26</sup> Augustine was seminal in developing the concept of Just War, in conjunction with which was born the concept of crusade.

Mary Hamel observes that, "the theme of the poet is battle itself" (321), as the alliterative poet raises fundamental questions about war. Some critics have noticed that Arthur's campaign on the continent assumes a crusading veneer: "In the Alliterative *Morte* and *Malory* the Roman wars take on something of the feeling of Crusade; it has been suggested that the Saracen allies of Rome are invoked to encourage genocide."<sup>27</sup> Roman armies are more closely associated with foreigners, pagans (the Saracens) and unnatural allies (giants). Nevertheless, the poem does not necessarily demonize Arthur's opponents. Lucius's speech on the battlefield is as stirring as Arthur's.

Even Mordred the traitor emerges as uniquely sympathetic compared with other characters populating the Arthurian tradition. Knights of both parties fight fiercely on the battlefield and die amidst indiscriminate slaughter. Thorlac Turville-Petre agrees that the poet portrays "the rapid action and multifarious brutalities of the battlefield" with considerable skill, especially in the following lines:<sup>28</sup>

So fele fay es in fyghte appon þe felde leuyde  
 That iche a furthe in the firthe of rede blode rynnys!  
 By that, swyftely one swarthe þe swett es byleuede;  
 Swerdez swangen in two sweltand knyghtez—  
 Lyes wyde opyn welterande one walopande stedez—  
 Wondes of wale men, werkande sydys;  
 Facez feteled vnfaire in filterede lakes,  
 All craysed, fortrodyn with trappede stedez:  
 The faireste-fygyred felde that fygyrede was euer—  
 Alls ferre alls a furlange, a thosande at ones!

(vv. 2143–52/Stone, 100)

[(Thus) felled on the field of that fight were left so many / That every runnel ran with red blood in the forest. / By then life-blood lay in pools on the lovely grassland; / Swords were smashed in two, dying knights / Giddily lurched unguardedly on galloping steeds. / Gashes aggrieved the bodies of gallant men; / Their faces, disfigured under the foaming waters, / Were smashed by the stamping of steeds in armour. / Hamel, 321; The fairest-appearing field that has ever been described — / as far as a furlong [one can see] a thousand (bodies lying there) at once!]

<sup>26</sup> Frederick H. Russell, "Concept of Crusade," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984), 4: 15–18; here 15.

<sup>27</sup> David Wallace, "Imperium, Commerce and National Crusade," *New Medieval Literatures* 8 (2006): 45–66; here 60.

<sup>28</sup> Thorlac Turville-Petre, *The Alliterative Revival* (Cambridge and Totowa, NJ: D. S. Brewer, Rowan & Littlefield, 1977), 102.

Here there is no specific distinction to indicate whether these “disfigured” (“feteled vnfaire”) knights belong to the Roman army or Arthur’s. They are simply fine young men, killed and trampled by horses, mingling with each other to form “the fairest-figured field” (vv. 2151; The faireste-figured felde).<sup>29</sup>

Some may argue that the graphic battle pictures are due to the poet’s high literary diction and to his tendency to focus upon grotesque and gruesome details. Yet by lingering over these details the poet has succeeded in recreating the savagery of the battlefield, which will affect both Arthur and Gawain alike.

### 3. Transforming Character

The poet’s characterization of Mordred is unique: Mordred starts out as a respectable young knight, trusted by both Arthur and Guinevere. Mordred at first courteously declines when Arthur appoints him warden, and there is no trace of the suspicious relationship between Mordred and Guinevere emphasized by Wace and Laʒamon. Laʒamon says that Mordred is a sheer villain and traitor, with Guinevere complicit in his villainy. Mordred’s honorable standing at court derived mainly from the good reputation of Gawain, his brother. In the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, this fraternal relation is almost reversed: Mordred is courteous, while Gawain is recklessly vengeful. Gawain is quickly transformed in the heat of battle: like a senseless wild man (v. 3817; “alls vnwyse wodewyse”), his reason having left him, he fell into a fierce-hearted frenzy (vv. 3825–26; “his reson was passede, / He fell in a fransye for fersenesse of herte”). As a result, the poet concludes that Gawain has “wasted himself”:

3it sir Wawayne for wo wondis bot lyttill,  
Bot woundis of thas wedirwynns with wondirfull dyntes,  
Alls he þat wold wilfully wasten hym selfen.  
And for wondsom and will all his wit failede,  
That wode alls a wylde beste he wente at the gayneste.

(vv. 3833–37/Stone, 152)

[And still he (Sir Gawain) would not stop in his savage grief, / But with bloody blows battered the enemy / As if he were wishing for his own death, / His wits astray with woe and willfulness/ As he went like a wild beast at the warriors nearest.]

The poet’s technique of zooming in on the dead serves to create a sense of the realities: the anonymous soldiers’ “disfigured faces in water,” or the silent gaze on

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<sup>29</sup> Hamel, *Morte Arthure*, 321 (see note 12), finds the irony in v. 2151 to be directed toward the battlefield as a whole.

Gawain's death mask. The arresting description of the death of Gawain, one of the most popular Arthurian heroes, must also have touched the contemporary reader deeply:

And sir Gawayne the gude in his gaye armes  
 Vmbegrippede the girse, and one grouffe fallen—  
 His baners brayden down, betyn of gowlles,  
 His brand and his brade schelde al bloody beronen.

(vv. 3943–46/Stone, 156)

[And Sir Gawain the Good in his glittering armour / Fallen on his face, fingers clutching the grass, / His banner of brilliant scarlet beaten down, / His blade and broad shield bloodied all over.]

And: "His lippis like to þe lede and his lire falowede" (v. 3954/Stone, 156; His lips like lead and his complexion pallid.)

These expressions might be conventional elsewhere, but to my knowledge, no Arthurian chronicles or romances before the *AMA* contain any parallel descriptions of Gawain's death in such detail. Froissart tells us that many knights, archers and others were killed or drowned. Our alliterative poet presents the death scene far more vividly, as if reporting the outcome of a real battle. By portraying Gawain's madness and untimely death, the poet demonstrates how war affects even a noble and courteous knight like Sir Gawain the good, and might thus imply the impossibility in actual warfare of maintaining the "right intention" expounded by Aquinas.

Gawain's style of combat hinges on chivalry in its potent savagery and on the concept of Just War which itself contains a fragile balance between objectivity and subjectivity. In his Just War formula Thomas Aquinas warns particularly against "the cruel thirst for revenge" and "the savagery of fighting on." Hamel aptly remarks, "in his drive for revenge Gawain has abandoned chivalry, [. . .] [and] with it all judgment and civilization" (379).

Gawain's reputation as a courtly and noble knight was especially well established in Gawain romances in the north of England by the fourteenth century. Although the argument surrounding the date and the location of the alliterative poem is not quite conclusive, a study of the dialect indicates that the poet may have come from the northeastern Midlands.<sup>30</sup> The alliterative poet calls Gawain

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<sup>30</sup> Hamel, *Morte Arthure*, 62 (see note 12). The language of the Thornton text of the *AMA* shows a mixture of dialects. Angus McIntosh, "The Textual Transmission of the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*," *English and Medieval Studies Presented to J. R. R. Tolkien*, ed. Norman Davis and C[harles] L[eslie] Wrenn (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962), 231–40.

"Gawain the good," seven times, once "wise and strong" and once "gracious and noble."<sup>31</sup>

Even Mordred, in his moving eulogy, praises Gawain for his extraordinary qualities: "he was matchless, the greatest of all of men, the most gracious knight, hardiest of hand-stroke" and moreover, "most courteous in court;" all these epithets strongly attest the poet's familiarity with Gawain's good reputation. What, then, was the poet's intention in changing Gawain into a wild-beast-like figure at the end? It should be noted that this same poet also transforms Arthur himself into a bestial figure. In the second dream of Fortune, Arthur is horrified to see a wild beast roaming and lions devouring his own knights:

Thare lyouns full lothely lykkyde peire tuskes,  
All fore lapyng of blude of my lele knyghtez.

[vv. 3234–35/Stone, 134)

[Loathsome lions were licking their fangs/ And longing to lap the blood of my loyal knights).

And after this nightmare, when Arthur finds Gawain dead, he holds his blood-soaked body:

. . . and swetly hym kysses  
Till his burliche berde was bloody berown,  
Alls he had bestes birtenede and broghte owt of life.

(vv. 3970–72)

[and lovingly (Arthur) kisses him / Till his stately beard was drenched in blood / As if he had been battering and killing beasts.]

At this point we realize that Arthur is destroying—"as if he had been battering beasts to death"—not only his enemies but also his own knights. The overlapping imagery variously applied to the dragon, the bear, and the giant is now conflated and concentrated in the person of Arthur. Indeed he was a dragon to *drenschē* his people.

From the outset, the poem indicates that the division of land itself is arbitrary. In the chaos of the battlefield, even if a war fulfills the first two conditions of the Just War formula, this turns out to be ineffectual to stop excessive violence, thus nullifying the division between legitimate self-defense and criminal aggression. In this situation, there is no room for glorification of chivalric battle. Accordingly, the poet has shown that the Just War formula, despite various attempts to use it to cap the intensity of violence by such theologians as Gratian and Aquinas, cannot fully

<sup>31</sup> *A Concordance to the Alliterative 'Morte Arthure'*, ed. Kiyokazu Mizobata (Tokyo: Shohakusha, 2001).

contain violence within its limits. If so, the poem seems to be raising a genuinely subversive question about the validity of the Just War concept itself.

#### 4. Ambiguity of Animal Imagery

Similarly, the presence of animal imagery in the poem contributes toward undermining the ideal of Just War. By blurring the division between the just and unjust parties, the poet excludes any simple black-and-white, binary judgment.

The descriptions of the dragon and the bear that appeared in Arthur's dream just before he launched the Roman war are most remarkable and far more detailed than in the poem's sources, despite which their interpretation remains ambiguous:

Hym dremyd of a dragon dredfull to beholde,  
Come dryfande ouer þe depe to drenschen hys pople,  
Ewen walkande [one wyng] owte of the weste landez,  
Wanderande vnworthyly ouere the wale ythez.

(vv. 760–63)

[He dreamed of a dragon dreadful to behold,/ that came driving over the deep to drown his people, / in fact moving(on wing) out of the lands of the West, / Wandering ignobly over the surging waves of the sea.]

When later the dragon reappears:

The dragon þat þow dremyde of so dredfull to schewe,  
That come dryfande ouer þe deepe to drynchen thy pople,  
Sothely and certayne thy seluen it es.  
That thus saillez ouer þe see with thy sekyre knyghtez;

(vv. 815–18)

[The dragon that you dreamed of so dreadful to gaze upon / that come driving over the deep to drown thy people, / Soothly and certainly it is thyself. / That thus sails over the sea with thy trustworthy knights.]

Then we learn:

The bere that bryttenede was abowen in þe clowdez  
Betakyns the tyrauntez þat tourmentez thy pople;

(vv. 823–24)

[The bear that was battered above in the clouds / betokens the tyrants that torment thy people.]

The dreadful dragon appears, bizarrely, to drown (rather than setting afire, per more conventional stereotype) his people, and wanders "vnworthily." The verb "drenschen"—"to drown" or "to destroy"—conveys, within the context of the

poem, that Arthur fights both on land and on sea, thus destroying and also literally drowning knights as a consequence. Later, the philosopher in the poem repeats this reference and identifies Arthur as the dragon that will destroy his own people ignobly.

This is a rather ill-suited description for Arthur if the poet was intending to endorse Arthur's achievement. It is understood that the text of the current *AMA* has gone through several stages of "revisions" from the original but these lines are not considered to be a later interpolation.<sup>32</sup> Instead we should perhaps read this, as with other details of the dragon and the bear (see below), as evidence of the poet's amplification and elaboration of his sources.

The bear, as the opposing power, seemingly symbolizes the tyrant Arthur is to encounter. In this case, the tyrant could mean his immediate enemy, the cannibalistic giant at Mont-Saint-Michel, the emperor Lucius, who "tyrannically" challenges Arthur, or both.<sup>33</sup> Later, these bestial images' attributes start intertwining with each other: first the bear's ugly figure with crooked legs corresponds to the giant's appearance which has feet shaped like shovels (v. 1098; "Schouell-fotede") and is disparaged as "foul as a bear" (v. 1089; "fowly as a bere"), and parallels between the giant and Arthur's behavior have been noticed.<sup>34</sup>

The giant feasts on Christian children chopped up and served "in a chargour of chalke-whytt syluer, / With pekill and powdyre of precious spycez, / And pyment full plenteuous of Portyngale wynes." (vv. 1026–28; in a charger of chalk-white silver, / With pickle and powder of precious spices, / And pyment plentifully laced with Portuguese wines).

This feast echoes Arthur's feast before the war, which ends with the destruction of his own people. The giant is a hideous mirror of Arthur and a metaphor for a blood-stained conqueror. It has been pointed out that the *AMA* poet is indebted to the *Siege of Jerusalem* (ca. 1370–1380; henceforth = "*Siege*") in various ways.<sup>35</sup>

Also an alliterative poem, the *Siege* contains motifs similar to those in the *AMA*: St. Veronica's cloth (the "Holy Vernacle"), moments of miraculous healing as in the *AMA* episode of Priamus, Emperor Nero's anger at the Jews' refusal to pay tribute. Nero then summons his barons to prepare for war on the Jews, and points

<sup>32</sup> Hamel, *Morte Arthure*, 50 (see note 12). She considers the references to the golden dragon as later interpolation, but these two lines are not regarded as such in terms of its alliteration and context. For this confirmation, my thanks to Professor Peter J. C. Field for kindly providing me with a pre-publication copy of his article, "Morte Arthure, the Montagus, and Milan," *Medium Ævum* 78 (2009): 125–44.

<sup>33</sup> Traditionally, the philosopher's interpretations of Arthur's dream are often confusingly diverse: the bear's symbolic meaning differs according to chronicles, and there are also differences in how Arthur himself interprets and reacts to the philosopher's reading.

<sup>34</sup> Hamel, *Morte Arthure*, 292 (see note 12).

<sup>35</sup> Hamel, *Morte Arthure*, 47 (see note 12).



out that their war is a just war on both political (cession of tribute) and religious (vengeance for Christ's death) grounds.

If we read the *Siege* as a subtext of the *AMA*, a more gruesome connection also emerges. The giant's cannibalism reminds us of the Jewish mother who roasted her own child because of the famine during the siege. In fact, crusade literature such as *Richard Coer de Lyon* contains a number of unpalatable cannibalistic stories: Richard the Lion-Hearted delights in eating the Saracens instead of pork.<sup>36</sup> As the *AMA* poet converts the victims of the giant's supper into Christian children, he underlines the parallel of this cannibalistic emphasis in the poem. Like the giant, Arthur metaphorically devours people by waging war outside and inside his country. As we shall see, this cannibalistic image of Christians killing each other may have resonated in a special way with contemporary readers.

The giant's anthropophagous eagerness in swallowing men, women and children can be seen further in the dragon emblem of "a valiant viscount":

He drisside in a derfe shelde endentyd with sable,  
 With a dragon engowllede dredfull to schewe,  
 Deuorande a dolphyn with dolefull lates,  
 In seyne that oure soueraygne sulde be distroyede  
 And all don of dawez with dynttez of swerdddez;  
 For thare es noghte bot dede thare the dragone es raissede.

(vv. 2052–57/Stone, 97)

[(modified) He (the Viscount) held up his hateful shield edged with sable / On which a dragon ghastly to behold with its gaping maw / Was devouring a dolphin of doleful aspect / As a sign that our sovereign would be destroyed / And done out of his days with dread sword-strokes; / For nothing but death ensues when the dragon is raised.]

This emblem is similar to that of the man-swallowing serpent (*biscione*) distinguishing the coat of arms of the fourteenth-century Milanese Visconti, the eminent Italian family, against whom the pope summoned a crusade several times, a topic to be continued later in this study. Simultaneously, the dragon adorns the battle standard for both the Roman emperor and Arthur. Hamel considers the gold dragon standard as a later patchwork on the original text, which also mentions an eagle standard for the Roman emperor. She argues that the golden dragon

<sup>36</sup> Mary Hamel, "The *Siege of Jerusalem* as a Crusading Poem," *Journeys Toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. Barbara N. Sargent-Baur. Medieval Institute Publications, SMC, 30 (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 1992), 177–94; here, 180; see also Heng, *Empire of Magic*, chpts. 1–2 (see note 22). [Ed. note: for the evocation of cannibalism in accounts of the conquests of the Americas, see the essay by Scott Taylor in this volume; for a study on *Richard Coer de Lion*, see Leona F. Cordery, "Cannibal Diplomacy: Otherness in the Middle English Text *Richard Coer de Lion*," *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 153–71].

assigned to Roman emperor came only late in the process of composition because the change is incomplete, and "it creates a certain ambiguity about the significance of the dragon in the poem as a whole, ambiguity that further revision might have clarified."<sup>37</sup>

But if the poet composed the *AMA* on the basis of the narrative found in his version of the *Siege*, he could simply rely on the details narrated in the latter. All surviving manuscripts of the *Siege* specify a golden dragon as Emperor Nero's insignia.<sup>38</sup> Since the *Siege* is one of the prime sources for the *AMA* poet, the stark image of the golden dragon is appropriate enough to inspire the poet to amalgamate its voracious greediness with militaristic rulers' desire for land and power. For additional parallels between the *AMA* and the *Siege* in their presentations of crusading fervor on the battlefield, we notice that they share thinly veiled "opponents": since Arthur's opponents are the Jews of the *Siege*, the Roman emperor associated with pagan allies can be Arthur himself.

Christine Chism also calls our attention to how, by virtue of the shared emblems, "the poem shatters the ideological boundaries between different sides of the conflict."<sup>39</sup> The ambiguity of the dragon insignia thus itself functions, via the *translatio imperii* (translation of empire) topos, to associate the Roman Empire with Arthur's sovereignty, thereby increasing the king's prestige and more importantly, its aftermath.

As the modern editor of the *Siege* states, the Jews were a true "other" in the late Middle Ages, and the *Siege*-poet's "Jews" might be "interpreted to signify any number of marginal threats to orthodoxy."<sup>40</sup> Ralph Hanna interprets the role of the Jews as "symbols for any community of unbelievers or heretics, including the Lollards."<sup>41</sup> Nor should one forget that, although so-called political crusades had been promulgated by papal edict for centuries, the crusading movement, renewed in the late fourteenth century, became more controversial after the Great Schism, that is, after 1378.

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<sup>37</sup> Hamel, *Morte Arthure*, 54; Field, "Morte Arthure," 128 (see note 32).

<sup>38</sup> *Siege of Jerusalem*, ed. Michael Livingston. Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004), see textual notes, 115–36.

<sup>39</sup> Christine Chism, *Alliterative Revivals*. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 210.

<sup>40</sup> Livingston, *Siege of Jerusalem*, 17 (see note 38).

<sup>41</sup> Livingston, *Siege of Jerusalem*, 15 (see note 38); Ralph Hanna III, "Contextualizing *The Siege of Jerusalem*," *Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 6 (1992): 109–21; here 119.

## 5. Date of Composition

The date of the *AMA*'s composition, long a matter of dispute, also influences our reading of its message concerning Just War. Until recently the most widely accepted date of composition was around 1400, the date put forward by Benson and Hamel. One of their contentions is that the Roman emperor's golden dragon in the *AMA* was derived from the *Siege of Jerusalem*, which recent editors argue can be dated to the 1370s–1380s or later<sup>42</sup> Yet most recently, P. J. C. Field questions the date of 1400 again, after a close examination of Benson's and Hamel's arguments, and proposes a date of 1375–1385.

This range, if not necessarily his more exact proposal of between 1375 and 1378, seems to be more convincing: as early as 1967, John Finlayson noticed the resemblance of descriptions and place-names mentioned both in the poem and Chandos Herald's *Life of the Black Prince*, and identified Chandos Herald's *Life* as one of the *AMA* poet's sources. Since Chandos Herald's *Life of the Black Prince* is supposed to have been written twenty years after the Spanish war, this dates its composition sometime between 1376 and 1387. Incidentally, this time frame generally agrees with Field's proposal, as seemingly corroborated by at least one intriguing reference in the poem, as follows.

Among various allusions peculiar to the poem, there is a mention of Mordred's sword. Bearing the unusual name of Claret, this weapon is specifically said to have been kept at Wallingford, a place-name peculiar to the poem,<sup>43</sup> within its royal castle, used mainly by Joan of Kent, the wife of the Black Prince, from 1361 till her death in August 1385. Its relevance as a royal connection accordingly will fall between these periods and perhaps at most for a few more years. The mention of Wallingford in the *AMA*, and the poem's indebtedness to Chandos Herald's *Life* both strongly lead us to believe that the *AMA* was written not too much later than 1385.

The year 1385 marks the death of Bernabò Visconti, Lord of Milan. The Visconti family was well known for their intrigues and ambitions, which made them a constant enemy to their neighboring cities and the pope. The Visconti's heraldic device, a dragon/serpent devouring a human,<sup>44</sup> is peculiar and became ominously

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<sup>42</sup> *The Siege of Jerusalem*, ed. Ralph Hanna and David Lawton. Early English Texts Society, o. s., 320 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), xxxvii; Livingston, *Siege of Jerusalem*, 13 (see note 38).

<sup>43</sup> John Finlayson, "Morte Arthure: Date and a Source for the Contemporary References," *Speculum* 42 (1967): 624–38; here 628. Finlayson seems nevertheless to prefer the later date. William Matthews, noting the poem's unique reference to Wallingford, thus proposes the date of composition to be shortly after 1375, in *The Tragedy of Arthur: A Study of the Alliterative Morte Arthure* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), 192.

<sup>44</sup> Field, "Morte Arthure," 132 (see note 32), points out the similarity between a dragon and a serpent, and argues that "dragons and serpents swallowing other creatures are so rare in heraldry that

topical when Giangaleazzo seized power from his uncle Bernabò and became sole lord of Milan on 5 May 1385. Giangaleazzo had been careful not to use the Visconti serpent arms, to avoid the impression of improper dynastic ambition. Yet, when he displaced his uncle in 1385, he openly assumed the Visconti emblem. The death of Bernabò in December of the same year was reported to have been by Giangaleazzo's orders.<sup>45</sup>

This was undoubtedly sensational enough to reach England, as Chaucer made mention of it in his *Canterbury Tales*, another work whose date can only be fixed by its historical allusions and by its author's death in 1400. In any event, the poet's elaboration of the dragon description in Arthur's dream, the cannibalistic Christian-eating giant and the heraldic device of a man-eating dragon must have gained potency as the impact of the Great Schism increased in scope.

## 6. Chronicle, Crusade and Schism

No longer the religious/martial style of engagement of some centuries earlier, fourteenth-century crusading became more rampant while narrowing its geopolitical targets. The first such crusade erupted in Italy in 1317; in 1321 Pope John XXII preached his crusades against the Visconti in Milan and the Ghibellines, supporters of the Holy Roman Emperor, whom the pope considered heretics. Though Benedict XII, John XXII's successor, adopted a more conciliatory policy, Benedict's successors at Avignon, Innocent VI and Urban V, waged several crusades against the Ghibellines and the mercenary companies threatening papal lands.<sup>46</sup>

Not only the mercenary companies, but also the Visconti family was an object of continuous papal concern: in 1360 Bernabò Visconti was declared a heretic by Innocent VI at Avignon; in 1363 he was excommunicated by the new pope Urban V, and in 1368, indulgences were issued for the renewal of the crusade against Bernabò Visconti, in connection with the Italian expedition of Charles IV.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, in 1373, Bernabò and Galeazzo were both excommunicated. This series of papal initiatives against the Visconti and the mercenaries had paved the

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similarity on its own would establish a probable connection between the viscount and the Visconti, but the fact that the Visconti serpent can look so like a dragon puts the connection beyond reasonable doubt."

<sup>45</sup> Field, "Morte Arthure," 133 (see note 32).

<sup>46</sup> Norman Housely, "The Mercenary Companies, the Papacy, and the Crusades, 1356–1378," *Traditio* 38 (1982): 253–80; here 263.

<sup>47</sup> "Appendix III: A Schedule of Indulgences, 1368," Norman Housely, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305–1378* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 310.

way for "political crusade" before the Great Schism of the papacy that began in September 1378.

Clearly the Schism created an explicit division among Christian nations, making France the ally of Avignon's Pope Clement VII and England the Roman Pope Urban VI's supporter. Each pope sanctioned "holy" wars against lay Christians, labeling the other party "schismatic" and thus equating them almost with "heretics," raising national war to the level of crusading, and doubling indulgences. A campaign against one pope could be a "holy war" while the other pope could wage another "holy war" against fellow Christians, thereby making both opponents virtually indistinguishable. Arthurian stories are after all stories of fratricide. If there was any contemporary source of inspiration for the poet's choice of Arthurian stories, this rift within the Christian population must surely have contributed in some way to the *AMA*'s psychological background.

Henry Knighton records crusading activities in his eponymous English chronicle of 1337–1396. One of the most controversial confrontations he describes was that conducted by the bishop of Norwich, Sir Henry Despenser, who, in 1383, campaigned against Flanders, which the French had won over to the Avignon side during the papal Schism controversy. The cost of the campaign, which Pope Urban VI had granted the status of a crusade, was defrayed by alms collection and the selling of indulgences. Knighton affirms this contemporary "fervor" for crusading but also notes the dissatisfaction of the English people.

It was believed that "very many gave more than they could afford," and the "hidden treasure of the kingdom (. . .) was put at risk." Some of the bishop's commissaries asserted that indulgences would secure "the benefit of absolution for their friends who had died, as well as for their own sins," and even that "angels would descend from the skies at their [commissaries'] bidding and snatch souls in purgatory from their places of punishment, and lead them to Heaven without delay."<sup>48</sup>

The primary purpose of crusading was to reclaim the Holy Land, together with holy relics such as the crown and nails used for the Crucifixion. The *AMA* includes both of these items, which are also mentioned in the poem's sources, and adds another item, Longinus's spear, thus emphasizing the crusading aspect of the *AMA*'s war.<sup>49</sup> The outcome of Sir Henry Despenser's crusading resulted in much

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<sup>48</sup> *Knighton's Chronicle 1337–1396*, ed. and trans. G[eoffrey] H[award] Martin. Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1995), 325.

<sup>49</sup> Mary Banks notes that legend assigned a number of Eastern relics to Charlemagne, but that the mention of Longinus's spear among the holy relics obtained by Charlemagne is particularly meaningful here, in *Morte Arthure: An Alliterative Poem of the 14th Century from the Lincoln Ms.*, ed. Mary Macleod Banks (London and New York: Longmans, Green, 1900; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1974), 151.

bloodshed. Knighton records he killed some 3,000 in Nord and Flanders while Despenser's newsletter put the total at 10,000 at least.<sup>50</sup> Another English chronicler, Thomas Walsingham († ca. 1422) records that this bishop's handling of the bulls sent by Pope Urban VI caused them to be read out in Parliament and copies widely circulated, even affixed to the doors of churches and monasteries. The *AMA* poet may thus have had ample exposure to these edicts.

Three bulls were issued by Pope Urban VI in 23 March 1381, 25 March 1381, and 15 May 1382, and all published in England on 17 September 1382. Walsingham depicts the warfare in a more pro-crusade manner: the bishop and Sir Hugh Calveley exhorted their English forces "to attack the enemies of the Cross, destined as they were to receive as great a reward for the killing of such dogs as if they had killed as many Jews or Saracens."<sup>51</sup> Such promises encouraged them to seek to kill the French, and specifically the inhabitants of the port of Gravelines, "all right down to the last man."<sup>52</sup> Through what Walsingham and probably the majority of his readers must have deemed divine justice, the anti-pope Clement and his followers met the same fate as Jews or Saracens in Crusades history; this does not mean that all the contemporaries wholeheartedly endorsed these bloody campaigns launched by church or by state. It should be noted that later during the 1380s, critical voice to justification of war became more explicitly heard.<sup>53</sup>

The next crusading campaign took place within a few years, this time led by John of Gaunt in 1386. Walsingham comments wryly on the duke of Lancaster's method of collecting money and pardons for the Spanish expedition:

The duke [John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster] himself seemed to have changed from a prince into a pardoner. Indeed the pardons the duke received from the pope were in sum and in detail the same as the bishop of Norwich [Henry Despenser] had previously received when he went on crusade against the French and the Flemish. But the very frequency of the handing out of pardon and forgiveness had so cheapened and soiled the system in the eyes of the people that there were few who made any contribution to this latest crusade.<sup>54</sup>

This crusade repeated the usual pattern of warfare, with siege operations, injury and death to the local population, along with plunder and the taking of prisoners, but was "not without grief at some loss on their own side, for they lost there some good men and true" (239). Clearly the chronicler was aware of the nature of this

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<sup>50</sup> *Knighton's Chronicle*, 326–27 (see note 48).

<sup>51</sup> Similarly, in the *AMA* before the sea battle, Arthur cheers his knights, deriding his enemies as "bloodhounds" (v. 3640) and "heathen dogs" (v. 3642).

<sup>52</sup> *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham 1376–1422*, trans. David Preest, introduction and notes James G. Clark (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2005), 199–200.

<sup>53</sup> Allmand, *Society at War*, 37–40 (see note 15).

<sup>54</sup> Walsingham, *Chronica Maiora*, 238 (see note 52).

crusade and the papal and royal complicity in this matter. This background may throw some light on why the poem combined the topoi of the Wheel of Fortune and Nine Worthies.

## 7. The Wheel of Fortune and the Nine Worthies

The topos of the Wheel of Fortune is often associated with the transience and unpredictable fate of worldly glory, while the theme of the Nine Worthies—a tripartite pantheon uniting three pagan-antique, three Old Testament, and three Christian-medieval heroes, mythical and historical—fostered chivalric continuity as well as reverence for great men of the past.<sup>55</sup> Both themes were commonplace by the end of the fourteenth century, but what strikes us here is their unique combination in the *AMA*. We note, for example, that the Nine Worthies lament collectively before each of them appears in Arthur's dream:

That euer I reignede on thorn roge, me rewes it euer!  
Was neuer roye so riche that regnede in erthe;  
When I rode in my rowte, roughete I noghte ells  
Bot reuaye and reuell and rawnson the pople,  
And thus I drife for the my days whills I dreghe myghte;  
And therefore derflyche I am dampnede for euer!

(vv. 3272–77/Stone, 135)

[modified: "How I regret that I ever ruled on this round wheel! / Never was royal king so rich, reigning on earth! / When riding at the head of all I had no thought / But hunting, having pleasure and holding folk to ransom. / Thus did I with my days, enduring while I could, / And so to dire perdition I am damned forever.]

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<sup>55</sup> Interestingly Priamus claims his descent from four of the Nine Worthies to confuse his Greek ancestry, but after a fight with Gawain, asks him for the last rites: "With-thy þat thoue suffer me, for sake of thy Cryste, / To schewe shortly my schrifte and schape for my ende" (2587–88). Hamel notes that Priamus's request for the last rites shows that he is Christian already, and only the word "thy Cryste" suggests the difference between the two and identifies Priamus as an Eastern Schismatic. To argue this episode in the context of the Great Schism, it would be plausible to assume that Priamus represents a schismatic opponent, who could be easily converted to Gawain's side. See also Mary Hamel, "The 'Christening' of Sir Priamus in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*," *Viator* 13 (1982): 295–307. For the vast history of the Nine Worthies, see Horst Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies in Literatur und bildender Kunst* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971). Contemporaneous to the *AMA* and one of its sources was, for example, the alliterative poem, *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ed. M. Y. Offord. Early English Texts Society, o. s., 246 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959). Probably still the best overview of the equally sizeable theme of Fortune and her wheel in text and image is Alfred Doren, "Fortuna im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance," *Vorträge des Warburg Instituts* 2 (1922–1923): 70–145.

Unlike the traditional representations, the Nine Worthies in the *AMA* are neither symbols of military glory, nor the *ubi sunt* topos, a common medieval motif lamenting the ephemeral nature of mortality and the ruthlessness of Death.<sup>56</sup> The poet's emphasis lies on "the sinfulness of the Worthies."<sup>57</sup> The philosopher, in providing the interpretation of Arthur's dream of the fall of the Nine Worthies, ascribes Arthur's condemnation to his spilling of much innocent blood "sakeles" (v. 3399; without just cause). In other words, the poet subtly avers, through the philosopher's prophecy, that Arthur is not waging a just war.

The poet's originality lies also in the ending of the poem: there is no mention of Arthur's return. His approaching death is confirmed by a surgeon of Salerno—at that time a highly renowned school of medicine—and Arthur dies after repentance. By erasing the Breton hope, the messianic expectation of Arthur's return to save the people in a critical moment, which is clearly mentioned in all preceding Arthurian chronicles from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Robert Mannyng, the poem leaves no prospect of King Arthur's second coming.

Because of this omission, there seems nothing left in the wake of Arthur's battle but human destruction. When, on the battlefield, Arthur calls out his dead knights' names one by one, he laments "like a widow bewailing her husband, helplessly left alone on the heath/ wilderness" (vv. 4284–85), a simile that sharpens the sense of loss and destruction. Such allusion to bereavement is rare in Arthurian poems. It is undeniable that the *AMA* evokes negative aspects of warfare: if we believe the philosopher's interpretations, Arthur must repent for all his misdeeds, like shedding innocent blood, to avert his own damnation.

Certainly Arthur repents in the manner of a truly Christian warrior: he called a confessor and presumably received the sacrament. However, despite the philosopher's warning, we are not told that Arthur has repented the bloodshed he caused. Arthur regrets the loss of his knights but he solely blames it on Mordred. If we remember the poet's almost compassionate description of Mordred's lament over the death of Gawain and over the warfare he incited, we cannot totally attribute the disastrous consequences of Arthur's warfare to a single person. In fact, Mordred's sinful misbehaviors are arguably analogous to Arthur's.<sup>58</sup>

Even before the civil war against Mordred that claimed the lives of many knights from both sides, Arthur had already transgressed by waging his prolonged and bloody continental war, despite the philosopher's timely warnings. If Mordred is therefore not solely to blame for this tragedy, the same reasoning holds true in the case of another opponent, Lucius. As Vinaver notes, Malory tends to make his

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<sup>56</sup> *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, xl (see note 55).

<sup>57</sup> Mary Hamel, "The Dream of a King: The Alliterative *Morte Arthure* and Dante," *Chaucer Review* 14 (1980): 298–312; here 301.

<sup>58</sup> Hamel, "The Dream of a King," 305 (see note 57).



opponents "unnecessarily cruel" whereas the *AMA* poet simply writes of Lucius as "He ayerez oute with alyenez, ostes full huge" (he [Lucius] marches with aliens, very huge hosts").<sup>59</sup> It is generally true that this poem depicts Arthur as a Christian hero since Arthur's army is assumed to consist mostly of Christians. By contrast, the armies of Arthur's opponents, Lucius and Mordred, include more pagan allies. But what if these pagans and heathens are "thinly veiled opponents": schismatic Christian fellows?

In the wake of Arthur's death, doubly confirmed by a doctor from Salerno and by the poet's assurance that Arthur "passed his spirit" (v. 4327; "passes his speryt"), we have the singular feeling that this is simply the end of Arthur's age, not the end of the kingdom. The next king is soon appointed and the new era will begin, and perhaps another war of conquest. This cyclical sense of history can also be related to the poet's depiction of the Nine Worthies in conjunction with Fortune's Wheel. The confirmation of Arthur's death enables him to be commemorated among the Nine Worthies.

The philosopher, in his interpretation of Arthur's second dream, details the accomplishments of the Nine Worthies, especially two of the Christian ones: Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon. He says that Charlemagne will recover the crown of Jesus, the lance of Longinus, and the nails used for the Crucifixion—the holiest Christian relics. Godfrey of Bouillon in the first Crusade will gain the Holy Cross and be crowned in Jerusalem, thus becoming another ideal crusading hero. If so, their wars could be validated as Just War. However, the poet adds an evil portent: "Sall no duke in his days siche destanye happyn—/ ne siche myschefe dreghe, when trewthe sall be tryede!" (vv. 3436–37 / Stone 140: Such destiny no other duke in his day shall have, / Nor undergo such harm [mischief] when the whole truth is told).

The poet stops here before "the whole truth" is disclosed. It was already known that crusading was accompanied by bloodshed, as recounted in such crusading literature as the *Siege of Jerusalem*, in which Godfrey of Bouillon subdues Jerusalem with much bloodshed. Likewise Charlemagne is also celebrated for having "launched numerous wars of conquest and conversion against pagans on the borders of his empire."<sup>60</sup> Charlemagne was "the ideal *miles Christi*" (soldier of Christ).<sup>61</sup> By adding Arthur to the list of these Christian Worthies, the poet arguably seeks not so much to accentuate Arthur's renown but rather to recall the savage warfare in which these heroes participated. We should note, as mentioned

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<sup>59</sup> *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. Eugène Vinaver, rev. P[eter] J. C. Field (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 3: 617.

<sup>60</sup> Frederick H. Russell, "Concept of Crusade," 4:15 (see note 26).

<sup>61</sup> Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity 1290–1340* (1996; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 124.

above, that these Christian heroes in the Nine Worthies are closely associated with past crusades, and furthermore, that crusading campaigns found contemporary approbation. Pope Urban II initiated the First Crusade; Pope Urban VI renewed the idea of the Crusades after the Great Schism, endorsing the war against Christians in 1378.

The AMA poet also skillfully draws subtle, meaningful parallels between the Christian heroes in the Nine Worthies and their bizarre fates. As a memorable example, immediately before the emulation of these two crusading heroes, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon, the poet, in describing horrible figures clinging onto Fortune's Wheel, tells us that both of them will suffer a terrible downfall. Superficially it is a moral lesson that everyone should repent before meeting death; one more possible implication is that there is no "Just War." Even these two Christian heroes, who gained possession of the supreme Christian relics, will receive the torment of death, perhaps despite indulgences.

By foretelling the damnation in the afterlife even of those who obtained the holy relics by crusading, the poem severely diminishes the value of indulgences that should have guaranteed their salvation. The poem thus subverts Christian orthodoxy: a particularly daring endeavor given the contemporary crusading movement during the Great Schism, as witnessed by Henry Knighton, Thomas Walsingham and other chroniclers. This implication, essentially invalidating crusading indulgences and casting doubt that all wars waged in the name of the Church, whether by such officials as the Bishop of Norwich, Sir Henry Despenser, or by royals like John of Gaunt, are necessarily Just Wars, likely incurred grave political risk for the poet, as is well known.<sup>62</sup> This despite the poet's often guarded style, particularly in his intentionally ambiguous imagery.

Similarly, in the poet's technique of heroic portraiture, although Arthur, Gawain and Mordred retain conventional roles within the narrative framework, their characterization remains ambivalent: the virtuous Gawain is also a bad leader, sacrificing his own knights, losing his sanity in warring frenzy; while we are shown the "evil-branch" of the family, Mordred (hence his full name, Mordred Malbranche), as also a sympathetic leader and caring husband. Even Lucius, the initial enemy, is not unequivocally villainous. His speech at the beginning of the war is as heroic as Arthur's, just as the devastation resulting from his campaign rivals that from Arthur's.

We might therefore conclude that the poet's purpose in combining the Nine Worthies theme and that of Fortune's Wheel manifests itself when the philosopher presages Arthur's, Charlemagne's and Godfrey's downfall in the future tense. This avoidance of anachronism can be attributed to the poet's manipulative historicism,

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<sup>62</sup> John Barnie, *War in Medieval Society: Social Values and the Hundred Years War 1337–99* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), 120.

which, more precisely, I would think, serves as the poet's shrewd reminder to the reader/audience of the coming fate: that the same cruelties marring Arthur's conquests will recur in future wars. In hindsight, we are told that Arthur's steps as Worthy will be followed by the two other Christian Worthies, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon. Thus the Wheel of Fortune is also a metaphor of repetition, whereby history becomes cyclical rather than linear. Accordingly, the poem's closing lines, invoking the Nine Worthies (including Arthur's own status of Worthy) may help to legitimize Arthur's Britain as the honorable descendant of Troy via heroic lineage ("Hector's blood"):

Thus endis Kyng Arthure, as auctors alleges,  
That was of Ectores blude, the kynge son of Troye,  
And of sir Pryamous the prynce, praysede in erthe:  
Fro thethen broghte the Bretons all his bolde eldyrs  
Into Bretayne the brode, as þe Bruytte tellys.

(vv. 4342–46)

[Thus ended King Arthur, as authors / authorities claim, / That was of Hector's blood,  
the king's son of Troy, / And of Sir Priam the prince, praised in this world: / From there  
the Britons brought all his bold ancestors, / To Britain the greater, as the Brut tells.]

While seeming to enshroud his account in the glory of past Britons as honorable descendants of Trojan blood, the poet nevertheless carefully distances himself from its traditional message by inserting the phrase "as auctors alleges": alluding to the very authorities—whether Roman, Arthurian or Trojan—he has subtly questioned throughout by reminding us of the bloody chain of history, "a historiography of recurrence"<sup>63</sup> inherited by Britain through the body of Arthur. Such is the *AMA* poet's ambivalently fatalistic vision of the all too often senseless bloodshed lurking behind the hallowed ideal of "Just War."

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<sup>63</sup> Lee Patterson, *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* (Madison, WI, and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 225.



## Chapter 14

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### Waging Spiritual War: Philippe de Mézières, *The Order of the Passion* and the Power of Performance

A visionary, utopian thinker whose writings sift the complicated relationships between individual morality and the fates of nations, Philippe de Mézières (1327–1405), was a familiar figure in the courts of fourteenth-century Europe and the East. After making a life-transforming pilgrimage to the Holy Land at age twenty, he served as chancellor to Peter of Cyprus and traveled throughout Europe as papal legate. He later became a trusted adviser to King Charles V of France and tutor to his son, the prince who would become Charles VI. He also championed the cause of the last king of Armenia. Throughout these and his other services and accomplishments in the later years of the fourteenth century, Philippe was relentless in his efforts to inspire the warring kings of England and France to make peace, lay down their arms in Europe, and to take the Cross to recover the Holy City of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The project of a new crusade to recover the Holy Land had been proposed and considered by various factions and powers in Europe

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<sup>1</sup> On Philippe de Mézières's position and propaganda in support of a crusade, see Nicolas Jorga [Nicolaie Iorga], *Philippe de Mézières 1327-1405 et la croisade au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études. Sciences philologiques et historiques, 110 (Paris: E. Bouillon, 1896), esp. 348–52, 454–58. Christopher Tyerman describes Philippe in *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2006), as organizing a “corps of propagandists” and supplying “a stream of pamphlets and longer works.” He points out that the medieval equivalent of lobbyists like Philippe “inhabited the circles they wanted to influence” (827).

throughout the fourteenth century,<sup>2</sup> but the idea of a crusade remained just that: an idea widely endorsed in a series of cultural rituals centered in ecclesiastical practice as well as solicitations for financial support, but only indifferently and sporadically supported by actual deeds. In retrospect, it is clear that the economic and human resources necessary for such an undertaking were scarce in a culture burdened by disease and famine, as well as by the destabilizing development of a papal schism. Christopher Tyerman argues that, by the end of the fourteenth century, the idea of the Crusade had undergone a cultural transposition: it ceased to be a realistic undertaking and became instead a metaphor of struggle against the corruption of society, "something to be believed in rather than something to do."<sup>3</sup> In an uncertain atmosphere of constant expectation and delayed action, Philippe tirelessly advocated his vision of a crusade whose means would be its end, and whose victory would be achieved by performance of spirituality in preference to martial conquest.<sup>4</sup>

Philippe de Mézières's plan for a crusade set forth in *La Sustance de la Chevalerie de la Passion de Jhesu Crist en françois* (Digest of the Chivalric Order of the Passion of Jesus Christ in French, 1396), as contained in British Library Ashmole MS 813, is his French version of his Latin texts (*Nova passionis religio: The New Religion of the Passion*) on the subject (1368–1394). *La Sustance* contains a detailed exposition of an international chivalric order devoted to a reinvigorated Christianity and designed to produce an army of faithful knights who would prepare the way for the kings of France and England to take possession of Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> The later fourteenth century is a period known for the establishment of chivalric orders in

<sup>2</sup> The fourteenth century produced an almost continual series of campaigns against non-Christian nations and peoples in Europe as well as the Middle East. Chaucer's description of his Knight in the *General Prologue* to *The Canterbury Tales* is a generic composite of the major theaters of crusading activities in which an English knight might have fought during the middle years of the fourteenth century. Serious proposals for crusades were broached ca. 1311–1312, ca. 1336, and ca. 1362.

<sup>3</sup> Tyerman, *God's War*, 825–26 (see note 1). On the ebb and flow of support for a military Crusade campaign, see Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), Ch. 13, "Catholic Society and the Crusade, 1274–1580."

<sup>4</sup> Philippe explicates this sentiment in his *Letter concerning the Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Mary in the temple . . .*, Philippe de Mézières, *Figurative Representation of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple*, ed. and trans. Robert S. Haller, introduction by M. Catherine Rupp (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 51–52.

<sup>5</sup> The three major versions of the Order we currently possess are *De la Chevalerie de la Passion de Jhesu Crist*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2251; *Nova religio milicie Passionis Jhesu Christi pro acquisitione sancte civitatis Jherusalem et Terre Sancte*, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 1943, pt. 2, ff. 1–44 and ff. 45–123; *La Sustance de la chevalerie de la Passion de Jhesu Crist en françois*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 813. A transcription of this last is found in Abdel Hamid Hamdy, "Transcription of the Ashmole MS. 813, *La Sustance de la Chevalerie de la Passion de Jhesu Crist en françois*," part 3 of idem, *Philippe de Mézières and the New Order of the Passion*, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University* 18 (1964): 1–104.

Europe, but among them Philippe's *Order of the Passion*,<sup>6</sup> of which the above-named *Sustance* is but one version, stands apart (henceforth all versions will be discussed under the single abbreviated title, "the *Order*"). Seizing on the fashion for establishing chivalric orders with their attendant insignias and ritual, Philippe went beyond confraternal or martial aims, turning the vogue for such companies to moral ends, which he linked to spiritual renewal.<sup>7</sup> From the beginning of the *Order*, he moves between the physical recovery of Jerusalem and a concept of the New Jerusalem as a spiritual and moral state that his knights must achieve before they can retake the Holy Land. The actual geography of Palestine becomes the stage on which members of the Order perform the very spirituality that will enable them to recover the City of God. The *Order* outlines a plan of conquest that begins with healing the self and the spiritual wounds of Christian Europe, and looks forward to reclaiming Jerusalem as a physical prize of victory won in the battle against the forces of the devil and the enemies of the true faith that inhere in the human will. Because it is based on healthy spiritual transformation, the crusade he proposes will be constructive. It will build a new society whose righteous virtues and polity will be a shining example manifest in faith, works, dress and architecture. It will fight sin and its corrupting fruits in human society. Within the pages of his apology, Philippe delineates a utopian vision of Christian society whose radical humility challenges the pride of late medieval chivalry and whose focus on interiority reflects an evolving awareness of the multiple theatres of war that constitute a true Crusade.<sup>8</sup>

## Envisioning Crusade

The *Order* is a visionary document in its emphasis on perception, performance, and the visible world. Philippe calculates the impact of spectacle as a central element of his plan of conquest. This is not surprising, for the visual impression created by actions and material wealth were central elements, receiving meticulous attention in the late fourteenth-century court culture in which he lived. His

<sup>6</sup> On the various chivalric orders of the later Middle Ages, see *The Knights of the Crown: the Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325–1520*, D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton (New York: St. Martin's, 1987); on Philippe's thinking in regard to chivalry, see Philippe Contamine, *La Guerre au Moyen Age* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980), 389.

<sup>7</sup> On this difference, see *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith, Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot, UK, and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1994), xxiv.

<sup>8</sup> On the utopian vision of the *Order*, see Joan B. Williamson, "The 'Chevalerie de la Passion Jhesu Crist': Philippe de Mézières' Utopia," *Gesellschaftsutopien im Mittelalter / Discours et figures de l'Utopie au Moyen Age: V. Jahrestagung der Reineke-Gesellschaft* (Mallorca, 20.-23. Mai, 1994), Greifswalder Beiträge zum Mittelalter, ed. Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok, vol. 45, *Jahrbücher der Reineke-Gesellschaft*, serie 4 (Greifswald: Reineke-Verlag, 1994), 165–73.

younger contemporary, Christine de Pizan, in her *Livre des Trois Vertus* (Book of the Three Virtues, 1405–1406), provides a textbook example of the ways in which women must be careful to perform publicly to achieve private ends.<sup>9</sup> Geoffroi de Charny's *Knight's Own Book of Chivalry* anatomizes the means by which knights can achieve fame and reputation.<sup>10</sup> The Aristotelian virtue of *magnificence* emerges in this period as a royal virtue, and codes of *fin amors* ("fine love"; i.e., "courtly love") are predicated on performance as an index of devotion. Richard of Maidstone's *Concordia* celebrates the 1392 reconciliation between the city of London and Richard II as performed through a series of tableaux and extravagant performance sites in the streets of London.<sup>11</sup> This public demonstration of renewed concord manifests late medieval Anglo-French interest in public spectacles which both instantiate a current event, such as a coronation or reconciliation, and also represent broader, more abstract values central to the culture.<sup>12</sup>

Philippe's writing is a perfect expression of this culture of performance and its reliance on the visual. His major allegory, *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin* (The Old Pilgrim's Dream-Vision, 1389), to edify Charles VI on good government, ranges across the world in search of just societies, revealing European spiritual corruption through a kaleidoscope of comparisons and visual metaphors. Queens, forges, besants (Byzantine currency of that time), ships of state, Old Testament figures, jewels and animals are but a few of the material elements he invokes as symbols and metaphors. His late work, *Une Epistre Lamentable et Consolatoire* (An Epistle of Lament and Consolation, 1397), addressed to Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy after the disastrous defeat of Christian chivalry (led by Philip's son John the Fearless) by an Islamic army at Nicopolis in 1396, combines spiritual allegory with vivid spatial imagination in the same manner as the *Order*. Nowhere is this more evident than in the *Epistre Lamentable's* extended description of an ideal church, which functions as the "palace" of the New Jerusalem.

In this "eglise tres solempnelle et de ouvrage tres precieux et merueilleux" (very solemn church adorned with precious and marvelous work), he locates a series of queens, figures representing essential Christian virtues and elements of faith.<sup>13</sup> Chief among these, at the high altar, is the Virgin of sorrows and compassion, a

<sup>9</sup> Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des Trois Vertus*, ed. Charity Cannon Willard, and Eric Hicks. Bibliothèque du XVe siècle, 50 (1989; Paris: Champion, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> Geoffroi de Charny, *A Knight's Own Book of Chivalry*, ed. and trans. Elspeth Kennedy and Richard W. Kaeuper. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> Richard of Maidstone, *Concordia: the Reconciliation of Richard II with London*, ed. David R. Carlson, trans. A. G. Rigg. Teams Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 2003).

<sup>12</sup> On the late-medieval fashion for civic triumphs and allegorical representations, see Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

<sup>13</sup> Philippe de Mézières, *Une Epistre Lamentable et Consolatoire*, ed. Philippe Contamine and Jacques Paviot. Société de l'Histoire de France, 535 (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France; Geneva: Droz, 2008), 153. All quotations to the *Epistre Lamentable* are taken from this edition.



representation of deep spiritual values who is described in terms of spatial organization and visual detail: "Et sur l'autel principal de ladicte eglise aura une roine moult piteuse et douloureuse assise sur une chaire, laquelle roine tendra entre ses bras son doulx Filz crucefix, et en lamentant et plourant lui priera doulcement qu'il ait pitié de la crestienté . . ." (*Epistre Lamentable*, 153; And on the principal altar of this church will be a queen, full of pity and compassion, seated upon a chair, who will hold in her arms her sweet crucified son, and, in sorrowing and crying she will pray softly to him that he have pity on Christianity . . .).

Philippe portrays the spiritual journey of knights seeking to rehabilitate true faith and reform their lives by envisioning them moving through this church, from one queen to the next, drinking from the chalices each offers, until they come to the Virgin and perform their renewed faith by visible actions and words:

Quant les chevaliers et combatans de la chevalerie auront esté devotement des galices abruvé <des> venerables dames de la nef et du cuer de l'eglise a grant doubance de Dieu et bien conforté de madame Esperance, la teste enclinee, ils vendront devant le grant autel et tantost qu'ils apparcevront la piteuse roine Compassion sur l'autel et son doulx Filz [ . . . ] lors en parfonde reverence ils metront la teste a terre, adorant a grands soupirs le benoît Crucefix, et demanderont pardon de leurs pechez . . .

(*Epistre Lamentable*, 159)

[When the knights and warriors of the Order have devoutly drunk from the chalices of the venerable ladies of the nave and choir, with great fear of the Lord and well comforted by our lady Hope, with bowed heads they will come before the great altar and as soon as they perceive the queen Compassion, full of pity, on the altar and her sweet son [ . . . ] then in profound reverence they will bend their heads to the ground, adoring, with great sighs, the blessed Crucified, and ask pardon for their sins . . .].

In a moment that seems excerpted from a play script, Philippe records the dialogue that follows such action:

Lors la piteuse roine dira ainsi a son doulx Filz: "Ma doulce amour, ceste chevalerie par ta grace a prins le nom, la vie et les armes de ta sainte passion pour vengier la honte qui t'est continuellement faicte, en ta sainte cité de Jherusalem, et pour reparer la foy catholique qui a present est fort bleciee en Hongrie . . ."

(*Epistre Lamentable*, 163)

[Then the pitying queen will say thus to her sweet son, "My sweet love, by your grace this chivalric movement has taken the name, the life, and the arms of your holy passion in order to avenge the shame which is continually visited upon you in your holy city of Jerusalem, and in order to repair the Catholic faith which is now grievously wounded in Hungary . . ."].

Jesus's reply is a simple statement of the Virgin's power as well as of His mercy: "Ma doulce mere, il me plaist tout ce que te plaist" (*Epistre Lamentable*, 164; My sweet mother, all that pleases you pleases me). The descriptions Philippe offers are

simultaneously illustrative, figurative and performative; they are meant to be guides to action that will ultimately recover the Holy Land and build the New Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup>

Given his fertile capacity to envision scenes, dialogue, and settings, as well as his talent for combining description with direction, it is not surprising that Philippe's name is frequently linked to contemporary dramatic presentations which enact highly prized cultural virtues or historical events. He is widely believed to have been the author of *Estoire de Griseldis* (Story of Griselda), a dramatic version of the Griselda story that explores political relationships within a *pastoral* context. D. A. Bullough has proposed that Philippe produced the famous 1378 French court banquet entertainment of the First Crusade, a series of tableaux depicting the deeds of Godfrey de Bouillon and the taking of Jerusalem, an elaborate construction of crusade propaganda designed to entertain Charles V and his guest, the Emperor Charles IV.<sup>15</sup>

While these attributions are uncertain, we do know that Philippe was responsible for creating at least one dramatic text, *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (late 1372), in Latin. This play was part of a major campaign to persuade the Roman Church to adopt the Eastern Church's observation of 21 November as the feast day of the Presentation of the Virgin. The project engaged his attention almost as fully as his concurrent campaign for a crusade, and the detailed instruction he provides for costuming, movement, use of space, props and gestures in the play offers an important context in which to read his plan for his Order. In his "Note" following a 1385 presentation of the play as part of a pontifical Mass celebrated in Avignon, he records the impression that the visual experience of the play made on its audience, which included Master John of Basilia who preached an impassioned sermon on the Virgin at the Mass.

After the service, Pope Urban VI, "kindled with devotion to the Virgin Mary and her devout feast, mercifully granted for the aforesaid divine office and feast to all present three years and three times forty days of indulgence, and one who heard and saw narrated gives testimony, and this testimony is true in the praise of the

<sup>14</sup> The titles of various chapters and sections that comprise the discussion of the journey to the New Jerusalem and to a higher state of chivalry feature the word *portative*, which imparts the double sense of exemplary illustration, and conduct.

<sup>15</sup> D[avid] A. Bullough, "Games People Played: Drama and Ritual as Propaganda in Medieval Europe," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 24 (1974): 97–122; here 119. On drama and the performance of propaganda in the court of Charles V, see also: *Cultural Performances in Medieval France: Essays in Honor of Nancy Freeman Regalado*, ed. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Roberta L. Krueger, and E. Jane Burns (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007), esp. Lori J. Walters, "Performing the Nation: The Play Performed at the Great Feast in Christine de Pizan's Biography of Charles V," 219–32.

Mother of God and her blessed Son, who is blessed in the world without end.”<sup>16</sup> Images of divine truth have a particularly vital energy, they can become part of the spiritual economy, affecting terms of purgatory and salvation. Throughout his retirement at the convent of the Celestines,<sup>17</sup> Philippe continued to campaign both for the Feast and for the *Order*, subjects he regarded as closely intertwined, and which allowed him the means of expressing his own vision by engaging the visual imagination of various audiences to achieve his purposes.

### The Siege of Jerusalem Begins with a Battle for the Self

The *Order* begins with a letter addressed to all loyal Catholic Christians, living and to come, who desire to view the beauty of the house of God in Jerusalem, the holy place where Jesus chose to suffer for the redemption of the world. Philippe laments the fact that Christ’s magnanimous sacrifice is a gift no longer properly valued because of prevailing spiritual corruption. The modern world, he contends, has fallen thrall to the three great sins of pride, avarice and lust. Pride and her eldest daughter, ingratitude, both flourish in a time when Christians have forgotten Christ’s sacrifice and become idolaters whose hearts lie with their earthly treasures. The pleasures of the flesh curse the West, inspiring destructive wars: “Il font souvent guerre pour la pechié de luxure et destruisent l’un l’autre pour accomplir leurs folz delis charnelz, dont il sont devenus delicatis, glous et aussi comme tous effeminés, comme il appert par la diversité et abomination de leurs habis et robes devant Dieu deshonnestes” (Frequently they wage war for the sin of lust and destroy each other in order to accomplish their wanton carnal pleasures, from which they have become soft, gluttonous and effeminate, as is

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<sup>16</sup> Haller, ed., *Figurative Representation*, 68 (see note 5). See also notes to *Philippe de Mézières’ Campaign for the Feast of Mary’s Presentation*, ed. William E. Coleman. Toronto Medieval Latin Texts, 11 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 1–22.

<sup>17</sup> He “retired” to that convent on the death of Charles V in 1380.

apparent from the diversity and abomination of their habits and robes, which are disgraceful in the sight of God).<sup>18</sup> Any war for the heavenly Jerusalem must first be engaged with this enemy, on European soil, in Christian hearts.

He likens European chivalry to the Israelites of the Old Testament who delighted in the fleshpots of Egypt. Contemporary knighthood, because it is sybaritic in spirit as well as in body, is unable to achieve the Promised Land either figuratively or physically:

Helas, il ont trop mieux amé et desire plus ardamment demourer en la cuisine et pres de la char, vivant delicieusement ou pays d'Egipte es parties d'occident, en servant au roy Pharaon, qu'il n'ont amé ester repeü et saoule de la manne du ciel et que de soy avancier d'aler et parvenir a la Sainte Terre de Promission et netoier et purgir les sains lieux de nostre redemption, en excersant leur vrai chevalerie au service du doulz Jhesu Crist.

(*Order*, 46)

[Alas, they have loved more and more ardently desired to reside in the kitchen and close to the flesh, living luxuriously in Egypt rather than in lands of the west while serving Pharaoh rather than being fed their fill of heavenly manna and coming forward to go to the holy Promised Land to cleanse and purge the holy places of our redemption while exercising their true knightly virtue in the service of sweet Jhesus Christ].

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<sup>18</sup> All citations of *The Order of the Passion* by Philippe de Mézières are, with some modifications as to diacritical marks, from Abdel Hamid Hamdy, ed., 43–101; here 45 (see note 6).

In constructing the recovery of Jerusalem as spiritual metaphor, he asserts that, through pride, avarice and luxury, Europeans have abandoned the city of Jerusalem to “mescreans Sarrasins; ses murs sont trebuchiés et ses portes sont destruites, et ne se treuve qui li faice confort” (*Order*, 46; miscreant Saracens; its walls are knocked down and its gates are destroyed and there is no one to give it comfort). The West has failed to secure the temple of the Lord, both literally and spiritually.

In this way, individual weakness and sin attack the common good by fragmenting it, debasing its masculine energy, and rendering it effeminate. Earlier crusades had succumbed to the danger posed both by individual vulnerability and by the pleasures of the Orient:

Mais quant orguel et envie, avarice et luxure entre les crestiens d’orient reprirent leur signourie, et la chose publique de ladicte crestienté fu ja devisee en parties, et que les princes, en multipliant leur signouries s’estudioient plus au bien particulier que au bien commun de la crestienté, et qu’il devindrent delicatis, effemines en leur bouche non gardans verité, lors les divisions sourdoient entre les princes seculers, gent d’eglise et commun, sicomme plus clerement appert ou livre de la conquest et de parte de la Sainte Terre.

(*Order*, 57)

[But when pride and envy, avarice and lechery regained their sway among the Eastern Christians, and the polity of this Christianity was divided into parts, and the princes, multiplying their possessions and power, were more intent on advancing their private interests rather than the common interest of Christianity, and they became soft, effeminate and did not speak the truth, then divisions arose between princes, men of the Church, and the commons, as appears more clearly in the book of the conquest and of the loss of the Holy Land].

With the help of Jesus and the Virgin Mary, the Order of the Passion will extirpate such vicious indolence. Its purpose is to “reparer en bien” (transform into goodness) the three root deadly sins by instilling within its members the virtues of humility, obedience and gratitude to God for His goodness. As a means of spiritual cleansing and succor as well as proof of such grace, the Order will

demonstrate the power of God to the world. Its members will be a shining reflection of spiritual grace: “un biau miroir de toute la crestienté” (*Order*, 46; a beautiful mirror of/for all Christianity).

The virtues of Scipio Africanus — dedication to the common weal and to the ideal of service<sup>19</sup> — will, Philippe hopefully asserts, be revived in the present, “afin qu’il peust racheter a l’espee la chose publique des crestiens” (*Order*, 56; to redeem by the sword the republic of Christianity); they will help cleanse chivalry of its fundamental sin of overweening pride. Throughout the explication of the *Order*, Philippe reasserts his conviction that the first battle to be fought in reclaiming the Holy Land and the city of Jerusalem is the battle within: the battle with pride, avarice and lust to be won by appeal to the Bible, to Jesus, to Mary, and to the virtues of Europe’s Classical past. Europe cannot attain the city of Jerusalem either in fact or figuratively without a moral regeneration that transforms its deep-seated carnal weakness into equally profound spiritual strength.

To discuss the nature of Western sin and its effects on individuals, Philippe adopts the metaphor of sickness and health, a common and powerful trope in late fourteenth century French literature that appears prominently in all his writing.<sup>20</sup> Informing this trope is the then-widespread humoral theory of medicine, dating from the ancient Greek physician Hippocrates and predicated on the existence of four essential fluids, called “humors,” in the human body — black bile, yellow bile, phlegm and blood. According to this theory, good health, and even sound mental outlook result from the right balance of these humors, while any imbalance causes disease and even personality flaws. Humoral imbalance can be also introduced by a destabilizing external force such as a wound. For the sick, wounded, depressed or even enraged, health is a recovery, a restoration of fundamental and original equilibrium among these humors; an ailing body or organism is healed when it is restored to its proper state. Thus it is not surprising that Philippe refers to those who are “orgueilleux, avaricieux, luxurieux et impaciens” (proud, avaricious, lustful, and hasty) as those who, being ill, require “doulz electuaire nouvel et delicatif par maniere de medicine, pour garir les des pechiez” (*Order*, 52; the medicine of sweet and delicate new electuaries to cure them of sins).

The metaphor of healing as restoration of balance evolves into a broader metaphor, that of individual or collective liberation. Within the humoral model, to be cured is to be rid of excesses or freed from the constraints of deficiency. Within a larger political vision, Philippe argues for retaking the Holy Land as a

<sup>19</sup> For examples of the cultural interest in the virtues of the legendary Roman general and statesman Scipio (235–183 B. C. E.) in late fourteenth-century literature, see Chaucer, *Parliament of Fowls*, and Petrarch’s Latin epic celebrating his career as a presage of Italy’s future glory, *Africa*.

<sup>20</sup> For an analysis of how this metaphor is used in this period see Jean-Louis G. Picherit, *La métaphore pathologique et thérapeutique à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 260 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1994).

healthful step toward a cure for Europe's socio-political "illness." Tacitly underlying this healing-crusade vision is the "body politic" image, so omnipresent in medieval political thought since the twelfth century, because of its apt representation of the interrelated functions of a kingdom's socio-political hierarchy: the ruler representing the head, the knights the arms and hands, the bourgeoisie the torso, the peasants the legs—to which the therapeutic metaphor is more commonly applied by his contemporaries, each reacting to the political turmoil of the times.<sup>21</sup>

As a new Christian-spiritual extrapolation from this pre-existing secular concept of political order, Philippe's new chivalric order will set the example for refreshing and renewing the ideal of compassion among Christians as soldiers of the soul and not merely as arms and hands wielding swords. This new order will thus liberate souls in Europe and in the East: "...selonc les philosophes moraulx, chascun serf desire estre afranchis. Et quant il est afranchis, il aime celuy que de servage l'a delivré" (*Order*, 53; ...according to the moral philosophers, each serf desires to be free. And when he is set free, he loves the one who has delivered him from servitude). Just as bodily health can be achieved by restoring humoral balance, so, too, people naturally yearn to be relieved of unbalanced political and spiritual burdens. Larger European institutions, notably the papacy, suffer from mortal illness that requires healing restoration (*Order*, 62). The remedy for this current affliction is a radical healing of enmity based on an Aristotelian reconciliation of opposites, a vision of lamb and lion at peace together. Healing, liberation, and unity in Europe are necessary precursors to any successful attempt to retake Jerusalem.

## The Light of Conquest

The professed goal of the Order is to recover the Holy Land, to establish the true Catholic faith in the East, and to spread that faith. Philippe envisions a new Christendom whose example and influence extends

... en orient jusques en Inde et Nubie et Tartarie, en rapellant et attrainant de toutes pars les anemis du Crucifix a la foy catholique: les uns par sainte predication, les

<sup>21</sup> On the body politic, whose ailments, as perceived in late-medieval French political literature included the Hundred Years War, Charles VI's bouts of insanity beginning 1392, the Great Schism of the Papacy, Nicopolis, and related problems, see Picherit, *Métaphore pathologique*, passim (see note 21) Though most recent pertinent work on the metaphor appears to focus on Christine de Pizan, it often can profitably be applied to Philippe; see, e. g., *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green, and Constant J. Mews. Disputatio, 7 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), esp. essays by Barry Collett, Cary J. Nederman, and Tsae Lan Lee Dow.

autres par l'exemple de sainte vie, et en metant les resistans et obstinés par l'espee materiele a subjection de la foy.

(*Order*, 90)

[to the East as far as India, Nubia and Tartary, calling and drawing out all the enemies of the Crucified one from all parts of the world to the Catholic faith, some by holy preaching, and others by the example of holy living, and subjecting those resistant and obstinate to the faith by the sword].

He enumerates a series of twenty *causes* outlining the good that his order will achieve, for individuals, for Europe, and for the Holy Land. What we might regard as the primary strategic purpose of his chivalric order dedicated to recovering the Holy Land appears in the fourth *cause* that, "la Terre Sainte soit acquise et delivree de la main des anemis de la foy, et acquise en la foy, fermement retenue" (*Order*, 48; the Holy Land be acquired and delivered from the hand of the enemies of the faith, and secured in the faith, firmly held).

The list also encompasses the expected goals of spreading the Catholic faith and helping to heal the papal Schism. At least twelve *causes* focus on how the Order will prepare the way for Richard II's and Charles VI's arrival in the Holy Land. Philippe imagines the Order going in advance of the monarchs as John the Baptist went in advance of Jesus, "apparellier la voie" (*Order*, 66; to prepare the way) by its performance of faith and rectitude, an alignment of profession and action to inspire onlookers: "par l'exemple d'une si nouvelle et si solempnele devotion les crestiens, et par especial lez hommes d'armes, soient esmeu de laisser leur pechiés et de leur vie amander. (*Order*, 48; by example of so new and so solemn a devotion [that] Christians and especially men of arms, are moved to turn away from their sin and to amend their lives).

Throughout the first half of his *apologia*, Philippe uses the theme of light to convey his conviction that performance and perception are elements central to success. Above all else the Order will be visible; with the help of Jesus, "et par la vertu de sa sainte Passion, avec l'intercession debonnaire de la tresdoulce Vierge Marie, notre sainte Chevalerie de la Passion Jhesu Crist sera produite et eslevee en lumiere" (*Order*, 46; and by the power of His holy Passion, with the gracious intercession of the sweet Virgin Mary, our holy Knighthood of the Passion of Jesus Christ shall be formed and raised up in light). It will shine a light over the Holy Land which will illumine the world: "par la vertu de son fondement, c'est de la Passion du doulz Aignelet ochis, en conquestant la Terre Sainte merveilleusement d'une nouvelle lumiere enluminera la sainte cité de Jherusalem, militant et les regions non tant seulement d'orient mais d'austre, ou midi, de septentrion et de toute occident, voire d'une flambe de charité et d'amour tresperchant" (*Order*, 47; by the power of its foundation, that is the Passion of the sweet lamb who was killed, in conquering the Holy Land marvelously a new light will illuminate the



Holy City of Jerusalem, and those regions not only of the east, but of the south, the north, and all the west, verily by a piercing flame of charity and love).

Once released from the bonds of sin, the members of the Order, and those who follow their inspiration, will be like those addressed by Paul, “vous fuste tenebre, mais a present vous estes devenus lumiere en Dieu.”<sup>22</sup> This new Order of chivalry in which heart, word, and deed are aligned with a single purpose will shine as a beacon from a city on a hill:<sup>23</sup> “une nouvelle lumiere se trouvera ester mise en ce monde, non pas soubz le muy mussié, mais sur un chandeler, rendant clere lumiere a tous ceulz qui en la maison de Dieu habitent.” (*Order*, 54; a new light will be found in this world, not hidden under a bushel, but on a chandelier, shining bright light on all those who dwell in the house of the Lord).

Adopting a new character grounded in penitence, absolution, and reformation, members of the Order move across a vast stage constructed by Philippe and on which he envisions these knights’ movements and deeds. Performing true Christianity in the light their own redemption has created, they will conquer by example. Anxious to heal division, to practice a medicine of unity, he envisions a conversion of Christian schismatics back to the faith:

... quant [ . . . ] generations dez crestiens [ . . . ] scismatiques verront es parties d’orient si grant secours que Dieu leur aura mandé, c’est assavoir de ceste Chevalerie, en laquelle il verront et congnoistront si grant maturité et debonnaireté, si grant foy, esperance et charité, prudence, temperance, force et diligence, justice et verité [ . . . ] il est doucement a croi(r)e que lesdis scismatiques de tant de vertus enlumnés, en Dieu se convertiront et retour(ne)ront a la sainte foy de Romme catholique.

(*Order*, 60)

[when the generations of schismatic Christians in the East see what great succor God has sent them, in this chivalric order, in which they will see and know such great maturity and generosity, such great faith, hope, and charity, prudence, temperance, power and diligence, justice and truth ( . . . ) it is sweet to believe that these schismatics, enlightened by such great virtues, will convert to God and return to the holy faith of Roman Catholicism].

Conquest as well as conversion can be realized by the powerful force of exemplary Christian behavior, by the sword of the spirit and by good example, gentle admonition, and reason. Only in cases where such performance of virtues fails will there be recourse to “l’espee temporele et roiale” (*Order*, 66; the temporal and royal sword). But Philippe hopes primarily to effect conversion without shedding human blood, through “justice et equité, es euvres de misericorde et en verité humblement excersans et en toutes ses euvres nouvelle lumiere rendans” (*Order*,

<sup>22</sup> See Ephesians, 5:8: “For ye were sometimes in darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord.”

<sup>23</sup> A concept based on Matthew, 5:14: “Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid.”

67; justice and equity, in works of mercy and in true humility, in all their works shining forth a new light).

## Building the New Jerusalem

In composing his play about the presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, and in imagining the spiritual path a devout knight must follow in the *Epistre Lamentable*, Philippe describes and directs action within a defined and detailed space. His sensitivity to the relationship between space and performance, perhaps stimulated by his participation in various royal courts and presentations, permeates the section of the *Order* describing the materiality of conquest. As detailed in the *Order*, he envisions both the means of conquest and its realization in material culture. In outlining the buildings the Order will construct and inhabit he is always careful to devise sets that provide maximum opportunity for the power and the glory of the Order to appear. His vision is of people and space hierarchically organized. A prince from among this assemblage of knights will live in the main *convent* of the Order, a castle in a principal city, “tressollemptelz et de grant magnificence” (most solemnly and in great magnificence), attended by various members of the Order of various degrees, along with their retainers.

Three dining halls provide spaces for secular meetings. One will be the principal chamber for the prince of the order; ecclesiasts will have their own *tincl* (dining and meeting rooms), as will the commander of the horse—each group with a separate space in which to feast, host guests, and, in the manner of medieval courts, enact the social rituals that surrounded communal dining. The space within the outer walls of this castle is similarly imagined, comprising a hospital, a baptistery, a council chamber, a cloister, and a court for receiving guests. It is a home for women as well as men, including apartments for the various “chevaliers, frères et sergans [ . . . ] et pour leurs femmes” (*Order*, 84; knights, monks and officers [ . . . ] and for their wives).

The castle outbuildings include wine cellars, barns, granaries, stables, and communal baths. Philippe devotes a great deal of attention to the castle chapel as a visually remarkable space: “une eglise si notable et si merveilleuse que onques semblabe en fourme ne fu veüe” (*Order*, 83; a church so noteworthy and so marvelous that nothing like it in form has ever been seen). It will be fifty cubits wide, and a hundred cubits long, twenty-five cubits high; it will contain no columns. Those who attend this church, without moving from their own seats, will be able to see without obstruction three grand altars, set in the east, with other altars and chapels situated in the west, or south, or north (*Order*, 83). This space is, of course, the place of the ultimate Christian performance—the Mass—and Philippe is careful to say that everyone will thus be able to “veoir les prestres

chantans et lever le precieux corps Nostre Segneur" (*Order*, 83; see the priests chanting and raising the precious body of Our Lord [the Eucharist]).

The people who inhabit the spaces he imagines and who enact his ideal of Christian faith display their virtue in their dress. The general habit of the Order is described not only in great detail with respect to specific fabrics and designs, but also through a moral vocabulary centered in forms of the word *honneste* with its connotations of propriety, moral transparency and authenticity. This discourse underscores the impression Philippe intends the habit to impart: the knights of the Order have literally taken up their cross and followed Jesus. Their clothing—of respectable fabric and plain hue, complemented by red hats, symbolic of Christ's blood—proclaims their dedication to service and fealty. Over the robe they will wear a mantel "honest de drap blanc" (plain, honest, of white sheeting) adorned with a red cross: in all, "un mantel treshonneste et habile" (*Order*, 85–86; a most honorable and appropriate mantel). Their clothes thus comprise a livery of faith and devotion.

Women, no less than men, are essential performers according to Philippe's scheme. The description of the Order in Ashmole MS 813 refers to the necessity of women to its success, linking their presence to the fact that "chasteté virginal est trop forte a garder es parties d'orient" (*Order*, 58; virginal chastity is too difficult [for men] to preserve in Eastern lands), and to past experience, which has proven that knights resist calls to join a crusade in part because they fear they will not be able to keep their vows of *chasteté virginal* in the absence of women, presumably their wives. To preserve male virtue, Philippe envisions a cadre of women who will accompany the knights, as wives and as semi-vowesses (wives whose lives are dedicated to serving God).

Their function is two-fold: first and most important, to help preserve the chastity of the knights, who, living in a warm climate, will be subject to temptation of "toute fornication et pechie de char, soit en nature ou contre nature, auquel nature humaine par l'instigation du dyable aujourduy est moult encline" (*Order*, 81; all fornication and sin of the flesh, whether natural or unnatural, to which human nature, by the devil's instigation, is much inclined today). These knights therefore should follow Paul's advice to marry, rather than burn.<sup>24</sup> The second purpose women can fulfill, somewhat conversely, offers an example to those wishing to do God's work without such extreme abstinence but rather, by observing *marital* chastity—i. e., coupling only with their husbands—such women will serve the Order by procreating children: "par procreation pouront lessier lignie au service de Dieu" (*Order*, 81; by procreation they will be able to leave a lineage in service to God). Their issue will help colonize the Holy Land and renew the membership of the Order, thereby guaranteeing its continuity.

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<sup>24</sup> I Corinthians, 7:9.

Because the conquest and conversion of the Holy Land will entail battle and, inevitably, death for some members of the Order, widows are expected to remarry within the Christian community. Preventing property transfer outside the European community seems to be a goal of this departure from European convention: “les veuves de y-ceulz, par le conseil de la chevalerie se pourront bien marier le seconde, la tierce fois ou plus; le quel conseil aura grant diligence de marier en nostre Chevalerie, et pau dehors la Chevalerie, les filz et les filles de nos chevaliers et combatans . . .” (*Order*, 87; the widows of these [fallen knights], by counsel [permission] of the Order may well marry a second or third time, or more; which counsel will diligently advise the sons and daughters of our knights and warriors to marry within the Order and not outside of it). Widows and children of knights who lose their lives will be solicitously cared for, a fact which Philippe imagines as a further attraction to new members (*Order*, 53).

For their part, the women who join the Order as wives are expected to perform a new kind of ideal womanhood, rooted in contemporary gender expectations of modesty and obedience, but designed to blur the line between religiously professed and lay women. He describes the women as “femmes legitimes de religieuse vie” with whom it will be possible to live and love “chastement et honnestement” in the fear of the Lord. Like the men, they, too, promise to live in an “honneste” fashion: moderate with respect to life style and clothing; eschewing excess (*Order*, 88).

In large part because he views women as vectors of lust and sensuality,<sup>25</sup> Philippe apparently revisited the role of women, their dress, deportment and place within the community of God he envisioned. Modern historian Philippe Contamine has compiled a series of details from various manuscripts of the *Order* revealing that the kind of attention that Philippe de Mézières devoted to the dress of his knights (and to the clothing of archbishops, bishops, ecclesiasts and *sergans* of the order) extended to a concern that women—who otherwise could well become the devil’s instruments, particularly in an Eastern climate with its inducements to sensuality—dress in such a way that their clothing would proclaim and signify their moral virtue rather than their sexuality.<sup>26</sup> They would be dressed in plain clothing, nun-like habits devoid of luxurious trimming, lacking any

<sup>25</sup> See Carolyn P. Collette, “Chaucer and the French Tradition Revisited: Philippe de Mézières and the Good Wife,” *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain. Essays for Felicity Riddy*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Rosalynn Voaden, Arlyn Diamond, Ann Hutchinson, Carol Meale, and Lesley Johnson (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2000), 151–68.

<sup>26</sup> Philippe Contamine, “La place des femmes dans les deux premières règles (1367–1368 et 1384) de l’Ordre de la chevalerie de la Passion de Jésus-Christ de Philippe de Mézières,” *Au cloître et dans le monde: femmes, hommes et sociétés (IX - XVe siècle)*, ed., Paulette L’Hermite-Leclercq, Patrick Henriot, and Anne-Marie Legras (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris–Sorbonne, 2000), 79–88. The *mouvance* of this topic from manuscript to manuscript suggests that, while Philippe regarded it as a central element of his plan, copyists may not have.

ornamentation of silk of gold, silver, or pearls, clothing specifically designed not to arouse male desire. Their dress was to be “honnête, comme celle des chevaliers” whose clothing Contamine compares to that of Franciscans and Carmelites.

A woman’s over-tunic was designed to fall freely without revealing “la forme ni des seins ni d’aucun membre” (neither the form of the breasts, nor any part of the body).<sup>27</sup> With a high neck, and adorned with a cross, this clothing proclaimed a woman’s devotion and status from a distance. In many ways women’s dress is the ultimate costume of the play Philippe imagines as he writes of his utopian vision of the Order and what it can achieve. The women of the Order are utterly transformed from human individuals into props in a play; through the layers of cloth that obscure them, under their veils adorned with a red cross, they carry a rich semiotic message about gender roles, sexual attraction, the dangers of the flesh, and other forms of anxiety about gender within the brand of Christianity that Philippe practices and for which he strives to proselytize. Not coincidentally, the sexual temptation the Order’s women might offer is also conquered and contained.

### A Continuing Crusade?

Maurice Keen concludes his study of chivalry with reflections on why the idea of another crusade to the Holy Land, though intermittently proposed well into the sixteenth century, was effectively dead by the early fifteenth century. Among the reasons he cites are the expansion of European reach beyond the East, to the Americas and into the East Indies, where crusading energy was redirected: “At least in the early days of the conquest of America, the impact of the old crusading ideal upon this new kind of venture is very clear.”<sup>28</sup> From what we know of the history of European spirituality and its connections to expansion as well as colonialism, it is hard not to connect the performative and exemplary function of the crusade Philippe advocates with later apologists’ ideas for appropriating territory in the name of religion and the hope of providing exemplary experience both to convert the Americas and to inspire Europeans toward holier ways of life. John Winthrop’s city on a hill, invoked and envisioned in his sermon, “A Model of Christian Charity,” preached to his band of religious Puritans as they were about to debark from the *Arbella* in 1630 onto the wild coast of what would become Massachusetts Bay Colony, shares much with the aspiration of Philippe’s crusading order. In both cases a vision of change, moral revolution, and desire to

<sup>27</sup> All quotations from Contamine, “Place des femmes,” 82 (see note 27).

<sup>28</sup> Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 251–52.

serve God properly sought a site on which to erase an impure past, and create a light to shine on the world and attract others to its righteous paths.

In view of contemporary thinking about the connections between European crusading and European presence in the Americas, we might well read Philippe's proposal as a harbinger of wars and ambitions to come. His vision of a united but hierarchically structured society, removed from Europe as much as economically feasible—sited, but not rooted, in the Holy Land—was designed to inspire and heal the countries of Europe, plagued as they were by corrosive divisions, especially within the knightly class. His Order was designed to function as a new state: it would administer justice, both *civile* and *criminelle* (*Order*, 79); it would issue money; it would worship Christ and his Mother with a renewed purity.<sup>29</sup> It would enlist those who wish to create new characters and new lives, to live a life of public performance based on spiritual devotion. Philippe's goal is conquest and expansion of European Christianity—preferably by persuasive pious example, but by the sword if need be. *The Order of the Passion* thus builds on the European crusading past, and envisions the way to a colonizing future.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> He proposes annual surrender of possessions to the Order, that each member might be funded according to his needs, forgoing superfluity, a strict rendering of accounts, and careful attention to the inheritance rights of widows and children (*Order*, 88–89). Such spoils of war as are gained will be divided equally (*Order*, 90). Perhaps most radical is the expectation that they will hold their wealth in common (*Order*, 82).

<sup>30</sup> I wish to thank Sara Sturm Maddox for her generous help in reading and commenting on this essay in draft. *Editor's note*: See also the contribution to this volume by Scott L. Taylor.

## Chapter 15

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### Christine de Pizan's *Epistre a la reine*: A Woman's Perspective on War and Peace?

#### General Overview: A Career Forged out of War and Peace

While rightly celebrated today for their vigorous and often witty defense of woman's status and role within society, the extensive verse and prose writings of Christine de Pizan, France's first professional female author (1364?–1430?),<sup>1</sup> are also inseparable from the military conflicts that marked the calamitous era through which she lived.<sup>2</sup> These conflicts involved primarily the continuing Hundred

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<sup>1</sup> For bibliographical guides to Christine's works, see Angus J. Kennedy, *Christine de Pizan: A Bibliographical Guide*. Research Bibliographies and Checklists, 42 (London: Grant and Cutler, 1984), *Supplement 1* (London: Grant and Cutler, 1994), *Supplement 2* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2004); Edith Yenai, *Christine de Pizan: A Bibliography*. Scarecrow Author Bibliographies, 63 (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1989); Nadia Margolis, *Christine de Pizan Newsletter*, issues 1–8 (Sept. 1991–Dec. 1996); issue 9 (March 1999), ed. Earl Jeffrey Richards; *Christine de Pizan 2000: Studies on Christine de Pizan in Honour of Angus J. Kennedy*, ed. John Campbell and Nadia Margolis. Faux Titre, 196 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), 359–412; Liliane Dulac, "État présent des travaux consacrés à Christine de Pizan," *Perspectives médiévales*, ed. Jean-René Valette, numéro jubilaire (2005): 167–90. For a biography, see Charity C. Willard, *Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works: A Biography* (New York: Persea Books, 1984).

<sup>2</sup> *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare*, ed. Corinne Saunders, Françoise Lesaux and Neil Thomas (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004) provides a good introduction to the general topic of literature and war. On Christine de Pizan and war, good starting points are provided by: Berenice A. Carroll, "On the Causes of War and the Quest for Peace: Christine de Pizan and Early Peace Theory," *Au champ des escriptures: IIIe Colloque international sur Christine de Pizan, Lausanne, 18–22 juillet 1998*, ed. Eric Hicks. Études chistriniennes, 6 (Paris: Champion, 2000), 337–58; Tania van Hemelryck, "Christine de Pizan et la paix: la rhétorique et les mots pour le dire," *Au champ des escriptures*, 663–89.

Years' War between England and France (1337–1453), the power struggles between the Houses of Orleans and Burgundy that resulted from the mental instability of Charles VI (r. 1380–1422), and the ever-present threat of the encroachment on Christendom of Islam. Interacting with and often intensifying these struggles were the divisions caused both by the Great Schism (1378–1417), and by frequent popular uprisings during the last years of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The interlocking nature of all of these conflicts can be illustrated by the fact that the rival popes, instead of making themselves available to play the role of intermediary and peacemaker, did their best to enlist English or French support for their respective claims, thus prolonging the international war for their own selfish ends. Similarly, with regard to the civil war, a warring duke could form temporary alliances with England, or manipulate popular insurrection for partisan purposes: it is likely, for example, that Jean sans Peur (John the Fearless), seen by many Parisians as a reformer, tried to exploit the Cabochien revolt to further his own ambitions (unsuccessfully, as it turned out).<sup>4</sup>

To Christine and her contemporaries, therefore, war must have simply seemed part and parcel of life (as indeed it still does today). It is little wonder that in one of her works, the *Livre du chemin de long estude* (Book of the Path of Long Study; 1402–1403), Christine should observe that “Dessous le ciel tout mainne guerre” (Beneath the firmament, everything is engaged in war).<sup>5</sup> Nor is it surprising to note that military conflict significantly affected Christine's life and work, on occasion in quite dramatic ways: for example, the tensions of civil war interrupted the composition of her *Livre de paix* (Book of Peace) for a period of nine months between 30 November 1412 and 3 September 1413<sup>6</sup>; and the Burgundian occupation of Paris, on 29 May 1418, forced Christine to leave the city for good and take up residence elsewhere, probably at the royal abbey of the Dominicans at Poissy, where Christine's daughter had taken orders in ca. 1396.<sup>7</sup>

Throughout Christine's professional career as a writer, from the 1390s to ca. 1430, war and peace are inevitably among her most pervasive preoccupations. There are echoes of military conflict even in her lyric corpus (for example, in three poems on the “Combat de sept Français et sept Anglais”).<sup>8</sup> She deals with military

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<sup>3</sup> Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France* (Paris: Hachette, 1911), 4: 267–87, 343–52; Jean Favier, *Dictionnaire de la France médiévale* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), 196 (Cabochiens), 605 (Maillotins), 934 (Tuchins).

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Calmette, *Les grands ducs de Bourgogne* (1949; Paris: Albin Michel, 1997), 144–47.

<sup>5</sup> *Le Chemin de longue étude*, ed. Andrea Tarnowski. Lettres gothiques 4558 (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2000), v. 331.

<sup>6</sup> *The Livre de la paix of Christine de Pisan*, ed. Charity C. Willard (The Hague: Mouton, 1958), 57.

<sup>7</sup> *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy and Kenneth Varty. Medium Aevum Monographs, n. s. 9 (Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1977), 28, 60.

<sup>8</sup> *Œuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, ed. Maurice Roy, 3 vols. Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1886–1896), 1: 240–44.



education in her so-called "mirrors for the prince," such as her *Fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* (Deeds and Good Customs of the Wise King Charles V, 1404), the *Livre du corps de policie* (Book of the Body Politic; 1406–1407), the *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* (Book of Feats of Arms and Chivalry; 1410) and the above-mentioned *Livre de paix*.<sup>9</sup> Of these, the *Fais d'armes* is of particular interest in the present context, in that, in addition to addressing military tactics and weaponry, Christine treats the question of the Just War and the proper conduct of troops once war has been declared. Other texts, such as the *Mutacion de Fortune* (Fortune's Mutations 1403), incorporate universal history and the rise and fall of kingdoms "par guerres et batailles" (v. 8761), covering not only past wars but even more recent factional struggles such as those between the Guelphs and Ghibellines.<sup>10</sup> Two allegorical voyages of self-discovery, the above-mentioned *Livre du chemin de long estude* and the *Advision Cristine* (Christine's Vision; 1405) address the deteriorating situation in France caused by ducal rivalry and the moral decline of the French nobility, both texts exploiting the image of France as tearful mother being torn apart by the self-destructiveness of her children.<sup>11</sup>

In all of these compositions, war is usually made subordinate to some other central theme, for example: the workings of Fortune, education, and/or self-discovery. Distinct from these, however, is a homogeneous series of four works of circumstance whose exclusive priority is to engage directly with warfare in the present, to respond as quickly as possible to the changing military circumstances in France, with the short-term aim of influencing the conflict and its participants, or consoling the bereaved. These four texts are the *Epistre a la reine* (Epistle to the Queen; 1405) and the *Lamentacion sur les maux de la France* (Lamentation on France's Ills; 1410), which deal with separate, key moments in the civil war; the *Epistre de la prison de vie humaine* (Epistle on the Prison of Human Life; 1416–1418), a consolatory treatise that addresses the specific needs of women bereaved by the

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<sup>9</sup> *Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, ed. Suzanne Solente, 2 vols. Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris: Champion, 1936–40); *Le Livre du corps de policie*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy. Études christiniennes, 1 (Paris: Champion, 1998); *The Book of the Body Politic*, ed. and trans. Kate Langdon Forhan. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); the French text of the *Livre des fais d'armes* is available in Christine Moneera Laennec, "Christine antygraphe: Authorship and Self in the Prose Works of Christine de Pizan with an edition of B.N. Ms. 603, *Le Livre des Fais d'Armes et de Chevalerie*," Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1988; *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*, trans. Sumner Willard, ed. Charity C. Willard (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999); *Paix* ed. Willard (see note 6); *The Book of Peace by Christine de Pizan*, ed. and trans. Karen Green, Constant J. Mews, and Janice Pinder (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008).

<sup>10</sup> *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune*, ed. Suzanne Solente, 4 vols. Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris: Picard, 1959–1966).

<sup>11</sup> *Longue etude*, ed. Tarnowski, 240–47 (see note 5); *Livre de l'Advision Cristine*, ed. Christine Reno and Liliane Dulac. Études christiniennes, 4 (Paris: Champion, 2001), 25–26.

catastrophe at Agincourt in 1415; and the *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc* (Tale of Joan of Arc) of 1429.<sup>12</sup>

This last work interests us especially because it fixes in time a unique moment of triumph, situated between the beginning of Joan's mission and before her (at this point unforeseen) capture. Christine's *Ditié* celebrates the irruption of Joan of Arc onto the political and military stage, urges Joan's enemies not to resist and thus avoid further bloodshed, and predicts not only the final overthrow of the English and their allies but also the re-conquest of the Holy Land and the restoration of peace in all of Christendom.<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, all four texts, in drawing us immediately into Christine's direct experience of the drama and turmoil of war, give us a feeling, as Eric Hicks expresses it, "for the reality of concrete events"<sup>14</sup>; and precisely because they are closely tied to particular historical circumstances, it seems likely that the contemporary relevance of such documents may well have been short-lived. Confirmation of this is provided by the small number of manuscripts in which they survive, relative to the number of manuscripts surviving for major compositions such as the *Epistre Othea* (Epistle of Othea; 1400) or the *Cité des dames* (City of Ladies; 1405).<sup>15</sup> We can note too that when Christine put together her

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<sup>12</sup> For editions, see Angus J. Kennedy, "Christine de Pizan's *Epistre à la reine* (1405)," *Revue des Langues Romanes* 92 (1988): 253–64; Angus J. Kennedy, "La Lamentacion sur les maux de la France de Christine de Pisan," *Mélanges de langue et de littérature françaises du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance offerts à Charles Foulon* (Rennes: Institut de Français, Univ. de Haute-Bretagne, 1980), 2: 177–85; *Epistre de la prison de vie humaine*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Glasgow: French Department of the University of Glasgow, 1984); *Ditié*, ed. Kennedy and Varty (see note 7). Unless otherwise indicated, all subsequent references will be to line or page numbers of these editions. Reference will also be made to Christine de Pizan, *The Epistle of the Prison of Human Life with An Epistle to the Queen of France and Lament on the Evils of the Civil War*, ed. and trans. Josette Wisman. Garland Library of Medieval Literature, 21A (New York: Garland, 1984); *Ditié* ed. Kennedy and Varty (see note 7). All translations not otherwise acknowledged for these and other texts are my own.

<sup>13</sup> For the "darker sides" or "potentially darker sides" to the militant nationalism and crusading zeal expressed in the *Ditié*, ed. Kennedy and Varty (see note 7), see Earl Jeffrey Richards, "French Cultural Nationalism and Christian Universalism in the Works of Christine de Pizan," *Politics, Gender, & Genre: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Margaret Brabant (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), 171–91, where it is argued (75, 86) that Christine's linking of French identity and salvation history, "legitimized categories of national and religious differences that in our century have had devastating consequences" (75). If that is so, we just have to accept that Christine, so far ahead of her time on gender issues, also expressed views consonant with the overarching ideologies of her day.

<sup>14</sup> Eric Hicks, "The Political Significance of Christine de Pizan," *Politics*, ed. Brabant, 7–15, here 9 (see note 13). Hicks refers to three of our four texts, the *Epistre a la reine* ed. Kennedy (see note 12), the *Lamentacion* ed. Kennedy (see note 12) and the *Ditié*, ed. Kennedy and Varty (see note 7).

<sup>15</sup> There are six manuscripts for the *Epistre a la reine*: Brussels, BR IV 1176, 8ff.; Chantilly, Musée Condé 493, ff. 427v–29v; Oxford, All Souls 182, ff. 230d–32d; Paris, BnF fr. 580, ff. 53r–54v; 604, f. 314r–v; 605, ff. 1–2v (I am grateful to James C. Laidlaw and Christine Reno for kindly answering queries on BnF fr. 580); part of an erased copy can still be seen in London, BL Harley 4432, f. 255;

collected works in the so-called Queen's Manuscript (completed early in 1414),<sup>16</sup> she did not include two of the four that would have been available to her at the time, namely, the *Epistre a la reine* and the *Lamentacion*, the implication being that their relevance had simply been overtaken by events. There is some evidence to suggest that she hesitated over whether or not to include the *Epistre a la reine*, but she did in the end decide not to include the text, as it may have seemed pointless to include a letter so closely tied to particular historical circumstances that no longer obtained in 1414.<sup>17</sup>

The remainder of this study will now focus on one of these works in particular, the *Epistre a la reine*. After a brief introduction, the text will be situated in its precise historical context, and then assessed in terms of the effectiveness of Christine's discourse of persuasion, and the contribution that this may have made to resolving the military situation; the final part of the article will ask whether the text can be said to offer the reader "a woman's perspective on war."

### The *Epistre a la reine's* Critical Reception History

Christine's epistle to the queen of France of 1405 was one of the first of Christine's texts to be made available in the modern era, being published by Raimond Thomassy in his pioneering study and anthology of Christine's political writings of 1838.<sup>18</sup> This was followed by editions by Mirot (1914), Legge (1941), Wisman (1984) and Kennedy (1988).<sup>19</sup> A translation into English was made available in

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one for the *Lamentacion*: Paris, BnF fr. 24864, ff. 14<sup>r</sup>–18<sup>r</sup>; one for the *Epistre de la prison de vie humaine*: BnF fr. 24786, ff. 36–97r; three for the *Ditié*: Berne, Bibliotheca Bongarsiana, 205, ff. 62–68<sup>r</sup>, Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine 390, ff. 81–90<sup>v</sup>, Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale U. 909 Rés., ff. 98<sup>r</sup>–102<sup>r</sup>. The *Epistre Othea* has survived in forty seven manuscripts, the *Cité des dames* in twenty seven. For these manuscripts, see *Epistre Othea*, ed. Gabriella Parussa. Textes Littéraires Français, 517 (Genève: Droz, 1999), 87–108; Kennedy, *Bibliographical Guide* (see note 1); Yenal, *Bibliography* (see note 1), sub. manuscripts of the texts.

<sup>16</sup> James Laidlaw, "The Date of the Queen's MS (London, British Library, Harley 4431," <http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/harley4431date.pdf> 1–7 (last accessed, on Nov. 1, 2010).

<sup>17</sup> As evidenced by an erased section of this text in London, BL Harley 4431, the Queen's Manuscript, f. 255, still visible under ultra-violet light. see Angus J. Kennedy, "Editing Christine de Pizan's *Epistre à la reine*," *The Editor and the Text*, ed. Philip E. Bennett and Graham A. Runnalls (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press/Modern Humanities Research Association, 1990), 70–82, here 78–79; see also Laidlaw "Date," 2, 4 (see note 16).

<sup>18</sup> Raimond Thomassy, *Essai sur les écrits politiques de Christine de Pisan, suivi d'une notice littéraire et de pièces inédites* (Paris: Debécourt, 1838), 133–40.

<sup>19</sup> Léon Mirot, "L'enlèvement du dauphin et le premier conflit entre Jean sans Peur et Louis d'Orléans," *Revue des Questions Historiques* 95 (1914): 329–55; 96 (1914): 47–68, 369–419; here 415–19; *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions from All Souls MS 182*, ed. M. Dominica Legge. Anglo-Norman Text Society, 3 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1941), 144–50; *Epistle*, ed. Wisman, 70–83 (see note 12);

Wisman's edition, and in a modern selection of Christine's work by Willard; a translation into Modern French was published by Moreau and Hicks.<sup>20</sup> The *Epistre's* importance as a literary and historical document has emerged in the sheer diversity of critical responses that it has attracted, only a sample of which can be indicated here. Willard's discovery that one of the manuscripts of the text, Paris, BnF fr. 580, was possibly an autograph manuscript launched a whole new line of enquiry into Christine's manuscripts and the topic of manuscript production and illustration generally.<sup>21</sup>

Since then the *Epistre* has, figured prominently in studies of its author's entry into the domain of politics,<sup>22</sup> of how it exemplifies woman's role as mediator,<sup>23</sup> medieval rhetoric and epistolography,<sup>24</sup> along with its striking imagery, for example, that of the mother-figure, and the use of medical metaphors relating to the suffering body politic.<sup>25</sup> More recently, Samuel McCormick has submitted the

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*Epistre*, ed. Kennedy, 70–82 (see note 12).

<sup>20</sup> *Epistle*, ed. Wisman, 70–83 (see note 12); *The Writings of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Charity C. Willard (New York: Persea Books, 1994), 269–74; Thérèse Moreau and Eric Hicks, "L'*Epistre* à la reine de Christine de Pizan (1405)," *Clio* 5 (1997): 177–84.

<sup>21</sup> Charity C. Willard, "An Autograph Manuscript of Christine de Pizan?," *Studi Francesi* 27 (1965): 452–57. For an excellent *état présent* of Christine's manuscripts, see James C. Laidlaw, "Christine and the Manuscript Tradition," *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, ed. Barbara K. Altmann and Deborah L. McGrady (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 231–49.

<sup>22</sup> For full details on all topics, consult bibliographies listed in note 1, but see in particular, (on writer and politics): Joël Blanchard and Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l'aube des temps modernes* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002); Kate Langdon Forhan, *The Political Theory of Christine de Pizan* (Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002).

<sup>23</sup> For the figure of the mediator, see: Eric Hicks, "Une femme dans le monde: Christine de Pizan et l'écriture de la politique," *L'Hostellerie de pensée: études sur l'art littéraire du Moyen Âge offertes à Daniel Poirion par ses anciens élèves* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne 1995), 233–43; Tracy Adams, "Moyennerresse de traictié de paix: Christine de Pizan's Mediators," *Healing The Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews. *Disputatio*, 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 177–200; Tracy Adams, "Isabeau de Bavière dans l'œuvre de Christine de Pizan: une réévaluation du personnage," *Christine de Pizan: une femme de science, une femme de lettres*, ed. Juliette Dor, Marie-Élisabeth Henneau, and Bernard Ribémont. *Études christiniennes*, 10 (Paris: Champion, 2008), 133–46; Tracy Adams, "Isabeau de Bavière et la notion de régence chez Christine de Pizan," *Desireuse de plus avant enquerre . . . . Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Colloque international sur Christine de Pizan (Paris, 20–24 juillet 2006), volume en hommage à James Laidlaw*, ed. Liliane Dulac, Anne Paupert, Christine Reno, and Bernard Ribémont. *Études christiniennes*, 11 (Paris: Champion, 2008), 33–44.

<sup>24</sup> For medieval rhetoric and epistolography: Earl Jeffrey Richards, "'Seulette a part' — 'The Little Woman on the Sidelines' Takes up her Pen: The Letters of Christine de Pizan," *Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary Genre*, ed. Karen Cherewatuk and Ulrike Wiethaus. Middle Ages ser. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 139–70; Nadia Margolis, "'The Cry of the Chameleon': Evolving Voices in the Epistles of Christine de Pizan," *Disputatio* 1 (1996): 37–70.

<sup>25</sup> For imagery in her political works, see: Natalie Nabert, "La mère dans la littérature politique à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Bien Dire et Bien Apprendre* 16 (1998): 191–202; Bernard Ribémont, "Christine

*Epistre* to an uncompromising technical analysis, focusing on “the exemplum as a strategic resource of ambiguity,”<sup>26</sup> while Tracy Adams has injected controversy into an area where there was little or none before, namely, critical discussion of the intention underlying the letter, this being traditionally regarded as an attempt to rouse Queen Isabeau to action.<sup>27</sup> This argument, and some of the other issues raised in these studies relevant to the present article, will be addressed in the analysis of Christine’s discourse of persuasion and its possible impact on the military situation that forms the backdrop to her letter.

### The *Epistre*’s Historical Context

The historical context of the *Epistre a la reine* has now been well established, particularly since the publication of Mirot’s remarkable study already referred to.<sup>28</sup> It is important to address this topic in some detail here, if we are to have any hope of assessing the efficacy of the letter within the precise military situation that prevailed at the time. In doing this, we should bear in mind that we are dealing here with civil war, a kind of warfare that Christine would not have regarded as falling within the definition of the Just War (one to be waged only by a sovereign prince whether in defense of his realm, in order to obtain justice, or for the recovery of his lost territory): self-interest, vengeance or conquest are therefore not

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de Pizan et la figure de la mère,” Christine 2000, ed. Campbell and Margolis, 149–61 (see note 1); Jean-Louis Picherit, “Les références pathologiques et thérapeutiques dans l’œuvre de Christine de Pizan,” *Une femme de Lettres au Moyen Âge: études autour de Christine de Pizan*, ed. Liliane Dulac et Bernard Ribémont. *Medievalia*, 16 (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), 233–44; on the imagery of the “corps souffrant,” see also Liliane Dulac, “A propos des représentations du corps souffrant chez Christine de Pizan,” *Mélanges de langue et de littérature françaises du Moyen Âge offerts à Pierre Demarolle*, ed. Charles Brucker (Paris: Champion, 1998), 313–24.

<sup>26</sup> Samuel McCormick, “Mirrors for the Queen: A Letter from Christine de Pizan on the Eve of Civil War,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 94 (2008): 273–96.

<sup>27</sup> Adams, “Moyennerresse,” 190, 198 (see note 23); Adams, “Réévaluation;” Adams, “Régence (see note 23).”

<sup>28</sup> Mirot “Enlèvement,” (see note 19). On the historical background, see also (editions) *Policie*, ed. Kennedy, xx–xxiii (see note 9); *Paix*, ed. Willard, 19–22 (see note 6); *Peace*, ed. Green, Mews, Pinder, 8–9 (see note 9); *Writings*, ed. Willard, 249–53 (see note 28); (chronicles) Religieux de Saint-Denys, *Chronique du règne de Charles VI . . .*, ed. Louis Bellaguet. Collection de documents inédits sur l’Histoire de France, 6 vols. (Paris: Crapelet, 1839–52), 3: 237–345; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI*, ed. Michaud-Poujoulat. Nouvelle collection de mémoires relatifs à l’Histoire de France (Paris: Didier, 1857), 2: 339–569, here 431–38 for the year 1405; *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris de 1405–1449*, ed. Colette Beaune. Lettres gothiques, 4522 (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1990). For critical studies, see: Richard C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI (1392–1420)* (New York: AMS Press, 1986); Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless* (London: Longman, 1966; rpt. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2002).

legitimate motives for declaring war.<sup>29</sup>

For a period after the onset in 1392 of Charles VI's intermittent madness, the rivalry between the Houses of Orleans and Burgundy had been to a large extent kept in check by the diplomatic statesmanship of Charles V's brother, Philippe le Hardi (Philip the Bold), Duke of Burgundy. On the latter's death on 26 April 1404, however, the conflict between Louis, Duke of Orleans (brother of Charles VI) and Jean sans Peur (son of Philippe le Hardi and therefore a cousin of Louis) impacted on every major topic of the day: the question of the regency, administration, taxation, dynastic marriage, the war with England and the Great Schism. While Jean sans Peur was preoccupied with dealing with his succession to the dukedom, Louis did everything to consolidate his power in Paris and beyond.<sup>30</sup>

He increased the already influential status he enjoyed at court as brother of the king, putting his own supporters in key positions. Louis also fulfilled a number of his territorial ambitions in the Rhineland and Luxembourg, thus threatening to isolate Jean's Flemish possessions from the Duchy of Burgundy. To finance these actions, and his own love of pleasure, Louis was quick to levy taxes and appropriate money from the royal treasury. These actions, or rumors of them, made him unpopular with the people of Paris. It is likely that by 1405 the queen too shared in this unpopularity, partly because of her rapprochement with Louis or because of the news that she had sent six horses laden with money to Bavaria.<sup>31</sup> Above all, he arranged for the marriage of his son Charles to Isabelle de France, elder daughter of Charles VI and widow of Richard II of England, thus counterbalancing the marriages arranged between the Dauphin Louis and Margaret of Burgundy, daughter of Jean sans Peur, and between Michelle de France, Charles VI's daughter, and Philippe le Bon (Philip the Good) of Burgundy, son of Jean sans Peur. Louis of Orleans now enjoyed one of the most powerful positions at court.

At about this same time, in August 1405, Jean sans Peur for his part saw the need to act decisively and put on a show of strength in Paris if he was not to be isolated entirely from power. A number of respectable reasons of state justified this attempt

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<sup>29</sup> *Fais d'armes*, ed. Laennec (text), 23–28 (see note 9); *Deeds of Arms*, ed. Willard, 6, 13–18 (see note 9). On the Just War, see also Maurice H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1965); Charity C. Willard, "Christine de Pizan's Concept of the Just War," "*Riens ne m'est seur que la chose incertaine*": *Études sur l'art d'écrire au Moyen Âge offertes à Eric Hicks*, ed. Jean-Claude Mühlethaler et Denis Billotte (Geneva: Slatkine, 2001), 253–60; Forhan, *Political Theory*, 133–54 (see note 22); John Mark Mattox, *St Augustine and the Theory of Just War* (London and New York: Continuum, 2006), and bibliography 180–90. See also the articles by John Campbell and Ben Snook in this volume.

<sup>30</sup> For what follows, see Mirot, "Enlèvement," 330–35 (see note 19); Religieux, 3: 294–97 (see note 28).

<sup>31</sup> Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 39–40 (see note 28), who shows that the charge was probably unfounded; Religieux, 3: 267 (see note 28); for Jacques Legrand's accusatory sermon to Isabeau, delivered on 27 May 1405, see Religieux, 3: 269–71 (see note 28).

to seize the initiative: Jean and his brothers were required to do homage to the king for the estates that had fallen to them on the death of their mother, Margaret of Flanders, on 21 March 1405; in July 1405 the king had summoned all the princes to a meeting of his Council (Jean had received his summons to attend on 26 July and planned to be in Paris on 19 August);<sup>32</sup> Jean wished to protest too against a tax to be levied to continue the war with England. Jean left Arras on 15 August 1405, and reached the outskirts of Paris, at Louvres-en-Parisis, on 18 August, accompanied by an army large enough to reveal what may have been his unexpressed intention (i. e., a display of power).

On hearing of Jean's approach, Louis and the queen had left Paris on 17 August, on the pretext of going out to hunt, but with the intention of heading for Pouilly-le-Fort, no doubt afraid that Paris might welcome Jean sans Peur as someone who might reform the administration and taxes. Louis and the queen had left orders that the dauphin and the other royal children were to be removed to Pouilly-le-Fort, where they could serve if necessary as hostages, control of the dauphin being the requisite for retaining effective power. As soon as news of these plans to kidnap the dauphin reached Jean sans Peur, he set off with his men-at-arms on the night of 18 to 19 August no doubt already suspecting that part of the plan underlying the kidnapping was an attempt to annul the marriages arranged for Jean's son and daughter.<sup>33</sup> Jean met up with the dauphin and his escorts at Juvisy on 19 August, and returned the dauphin to Paris, where all were honorably welcomed by the king of Navarre and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon—perhaps suggesting that these princes had viewed Louis of Orleans's rapid rise to power with some disquiet. Louis and the queen withdrew to the safety of Melun castle.<sup>34</sup>

There then followed a period of intense activity, each side building up troops and weapons in and around Paris, and each engaging in what can only be described as a propaganda or pamphlet war, designed to justify the respective actions that had been taken. The main documents circulated were primarily drafted by Dukes Louis of Orleans and Jean sans Peur to other high-ranking nobles and Church officials.<sup>35</sup> It is clear from these documents that it was the dukes' aims to give their claims and counter-claims regarding the legality of their action as wide a circulation as possible: for example, Jean sans Peur's letter of 8 September is described as an open letter ("lettres patentes"), and one by Louis contains

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<sup>32</sup> Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 46 (see note 28).

<sup>33</sup> Mirot, "Enlèvement," 400, 407 (see note 19); Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 48 (see note 28).

<sup>34</sup> Religieux, 3: 295–97 (see note 28).

<sup>35</sup> Mirot, "Enlèvement," 395–419 (see note 19) prints the following: letter from Jean sans Peur in Paris to the inhabitants of Mâcon (19 August); requests for reform by Jean and his brothers Anthony of Burgundy, Duke of Limbourg, and Philip, Count of Nevers (26 August); letter from Louis in Melun to the inhabitants of Mâcon (2 September); letters patent from Jean and his brothers in Paris (8 September); letter from Jean in Paris to the bishop, dean and chapter in Mâcon (17 September).

instructions that it should be read publicly, for everyone to hear.<sup>36</sup> Some eighteen days after the last of these exchanges, Christine's letter to the queen was drafted on 5 October 1405.

In addition to the circulation of pamphlets and the build-up of troops, August–September had also seen unsuccessful attempts at a negotiated peace, involving at various times the duke of Bourbon, Guillaume de Tancarville, Jean de Montaigu, the University of Paris, King Louis of Sicily, King Charles of Navarre, and the duke of Berry.<sup>37</sup> Although Charles VI, in one of his lucid phases on 26 August, had forbidden either side to have recourse to arms,<sup>38</sup> both dukes refused to disperse their troops, who were thus given the opportunity to continue “pillaging and stealing everything” in the countryside, “much to the great displeasure of the king” (“gens d’armes qui pilloient et destroussaient tout, à la desplaisance du roy bien grande”).<sup>39</sup>

However, given that perhaps the approach of winter and the enormous costs of maintaining the respective armies had helped concentrate minds, a negotiated peace was eventually agreed at Vincennes on 16 October—eleven days after Christine drafted her letter—the queen making use of the authority granted to her in March 1402 to act as mediator in quarrels between the princes of the blood.<sup>40</sup> The peace, of course, proved illusory, and this phase of the civil war was to end in the assassination of Louis of Orleans on 23 November 1407, on the orders of Jean sans Peur.

Perhaps it would be appropriate to end this historical contextualization by giving the last word to one of Christine's contemporaries or near-contemporaries (or possibly Christine herself?).<sup>41</sup> Three of the six manuscripts give an explanation of the circumstances in which the letter was written.<sup>42</sup> This explanation may not be entirely accurate—it is implied, for example, that the queen is still taking shelter at Melun, when it seems more likely she was not—<sup>43</sup> but it does convey something of the tense atmosphere of the time:

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<sup>36</sup> Mirot, “Enlèvement,” 405 (see note 19).

<sup>37</sup> Mirot, “Enlèvement,” 372–76 (see note 19); Religieux, 3: 311–17 (see note 28).

<sup>38</sup> Juvénal des Ursins, 432 (see note 28).

<sup>39</sup> Juvénal des Ursins, 432 (see note 28). Although Burgundian troops in Paris initially paid for what they took (*Bourgeois de Paris*, 30 (see note 28), the Religieux de Saint-Denis refers frequently to pillaging and killing on the part of both sides, 3: 337, 339, 343 (see note 28).

<sup>40</sup> Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 51 (see note 28); Religieux, 3: 345 (see note 28).

<sup>41</sup> If Christine herself drafted the preliminary explanation, we have to assume that she was simply mistaken in thinking that Isabeau was still in Melun. See *Writings*, ed. Willard, 252 (see note 20).

<sup>42</sup> Brussels, BR IV 1176; Chantilly, Musée Condé 493; Paris, BnF fr. 604.

<sup>43</sup> Mirot, “Enlèvement,” 384–85 (see note 19), indicates that Louis and the queen left Melun on 27 September, the queen going to Corbeil and Louis to Vincennes. The queen was still in Corbeil on 9 October, but joined Louis in Vincennes by 11 October at the latest.



Ensuit une epistre que Christine de Pisan . . . envoia à la royne de France à Meleun ou avecques elle estoit monseigneur d'Orleans qui là faisoit grant assemblée de gens d'armes à l'encontre des ducs de Bourgoingne et de Lembourch et du conte de Nevers, freres, qui estoient à Paris, qui pareillement assembloient gens de toutes pars et estoient que d'un costé que d'autre bien x<sup>m</sup> combatans, pour laquelle cause la bonne ville de Paris et tout le royaume furent en grant aventure d'estre destruis à celle fois, se Dieu n'y eust remedié. Aussi fist-il, car à l'aide des roys de Secile et de Navarre et de[s] ducs de Berry et de Bourbon avecques eulx le conseil du roy bonne paix y fu trouvée, et se departirent les gens d'armes d'un costé et d'autre sans nul mal faire à leur partement.<sup>44</sup>

[Here follows a letter that Christine de Pizan . . . wrote to the queen of France at Melun, where she had been accompanied by my lord of Orleans, who had there assembled a great number of men-at-arms, in opposition to the dukes of Burgundy and Limbourg and the count of Nevers, brothers who were at that time in Paris likewise assembling men-at-arms from all quarters. And there were on the one side and the other a good ten thousand soldiers, a situation fraught with danger of destruction for the good city of Paris and the realm at large, had not God seen fit to supply a remedy, but with the aid of the kings of Sicily and Navarre, and with them the dukes of Bourbon and Berry, and the good counsel of the king, a right and peaceful solution was achieved, the men-at-arms on both sides dispersing, with no harmful incident occurring upon their departure.]

## The Discourse of Persuasion

To return to the *Epistre's* critical reception history as a preamble to its stylistic analysis, one observes that the first studies in the modern era did not accord a very favorable press to Christine's *Epistre*, particularly from the point of view of form and style, the notable exception being that of Thomassy, who described the text as "vraiment admirable" (truly admirable).<sup>45</sup> Though conscious of the letter's "accents vraiment émus" (truly moving rhythms), Mirot felt that these were undermined by "un verbiage et une phraséologie pénibles" (tedious verbiage and phrasing) and that the letter as a whole was "longue et fastidieuse" (long and laborious). Interestingly enough, he does not make the same charges against the male writers whose equally long if not longer documents he also reproduces.<sup>46</sup> More sympathetically, Marie-Josèphe Pinet noted the letter's emotion and patriotism, but also, specifically in regard to a comparison Christine makes at the end of the letter between a man being constantly and publicly reprimanded for his behavior and a dog being noisily pursued, declared her imagery inelegant and trivial,

<sup>44</sup> *Epistre*, ed. Kennedy, 259 (see note 12); *Writings*, ed. Willard, 269 (see note 20).

<sup>45</sup> Thomassy, *Écrits politiques*, xxii (see note 18).

<sup>46</sup> Mirot, "Enlèvement," 384 (see note 19).

displaying no concern for good taste or questions of rhetoric.<sup>47</sup> Based on a rereading of the text and drawing on more recent scholarship, the following paragraphs will reassess these early judgments, which conveniently polarize responses to the text. It should be noted that the section below on the appeal to Isabeau's reason will simultaneously provide a useful reminder of the text's contents.

As Richards has shown,<sup>48</sup> the overall structure of the letter follows (with some variation) the basic rhetorical model offered by medieval dictaminal Latin writing based on the rules of the *ars dictaminis* (art of letter-writing). It would be safe to assume that it was her husband, Étienne de Castel, who made Christine familiar with the art of letter-writing in general: he would have been responsible, as a secretary of Charles VI, for the regular drafting of royal letters and acts. The five parts of the dictaminal model consist of the *salutatio*, *captatio benevolentiae*, the *narratio* (i. e., the statement of the letter's purpose), *petitio* and *conclusio*, Christine's variation here (an extended series of narrations, with the *petitio* attached to each of the *narratio*'s successive parts) being a practice already anticipated in the *ars dictamini* and codified as the *commutatio partium*.<sup>49</sup> What is particularly interesting in Christine's handling of this inherited model is the way in which the structure is underpinned by a number of deft rhetorical strategies: the first of these blends logic and emotion, the second, deference and bluntness, while the third is aimed at establishing the authority of her didactic message.

In order to give her appeal to Isabeau's reason any hope of success, Christine is careful to flatter the queen that she is precisely the kind of person who would be responsive to logical argument: this she does both at the beginning of the letter (ll. 18–19), where Isabeau's "sens" (reason, mind, or judgement) is described as "tout adverti et advisié de ce qu'il appartient" (wise and well informed as to what should be done), and also at the end (l. 142) where Christine refers to the queen's "bon sens" (perspicacity, good judgment) regarding all the "infinies raisons" (l. 140; innumerable reasons) that could be adduced for intervention.

Within these framing complimentary remarks on the queen's intelligence, Christine deploys a catalogue of increasingly telling points that appeal rationally to Isabeau's sense of public duty, family duty, and private interest. Isabeau is, "au dit et oppinion de tous" (ll. 12–13; in the opinion of all), the one person (as queen and mother), who can supply the sovereign remedy to France's sufferings caused by the quarrels between her own "children." The issues concern the queen's own

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<sup>47</sup> Marie-Josèphe Pinet, *Christine de Pisan 1364–1430: Étude biographique et littéraire*. Bibliothèque du XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle, 35 (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints 1974, reprint of 1927 edition), 130–32.

<sup>48</sup> Richards, "'Seulette'" (see note 24).

<sup>49</sup> Richards, "'Seulette,'" 160, 163 (see note 24); Margolis, "Chameleon," 56 (see note 24). Margolis sees also a substantive model in the letters and *chançons royaux* of Deschamps.

realm, not some foreign country (ll. 15–17). The quarrel is between two royal princes, cousins by blood, who should by all the laws of nature be friends (“*ii. haulz princes germains de sang naturelment amis;*” l. 28) but who are now in contention with each other. Quarrels within a family are to be expected, but to allow this one to continue would be “*diabolique*” (l. 32; the devil’s work). If the quarrel does continue, two misfortunes will afflict the country: the kingdom will be destroyed, since, as Scripture points out, a realm divided within itself will inevitably come to grief, and there is the risk that perpetual discord will be passed down from generation to generation among the princes of the blood, whose very task should be to protect the realm (ll. 32–40).

If by contrast Isabeau were to obtain a reconciliation between the warring parties, three great benefits would accrue to the queen: her immortal soul would gain great merit, as she would have prevented the further spilling of blood; she would be the restorer of peace and welfare among her “*noble offspring*” and her loyal subjects; she would enjoy posthumous fame and glory in the chronicles of the nation, being remembered in perpetuity with love and gratitude (ll. 41–53). If one or other of the opposing parties had injured the queen’s dignity in any way, making her less inclined to intervene, Christine asks if it would not be better for her to set aside her own rights for the cause of a greater good. The distant and more recent past provide historical and scriptural exemplars of wise female mediation in situations of conflict that Isabeau would do well to emulate: a powerful Roman princess who is not named [Veturia], Esther, Bathsheba and Queen Blanche, the mother of Saint Louis, who are contrasted here with Jezebel and later with Olympias, who both embody perversity and cruelty and constitute reprehensible models of behaviour to be avoided (ll. 54–94).

The example of the Virgin, as mother of God and Queen of Heaven, provides the supreme model of the queenly mediator *par excellence* (ll. 95–103), and like the Virgin, therefore, any queen should be called “*mere et confortarresse et advocate de ses subgiez et de son pueple*” (l. 98; mother and comforter and advocate of her subjects and people). Continuing conflict within France would make the country vulnerable to foreign intervention and thus expose its people to further suffering (ll. 104–08). Given that Fortune can turn its wheel in an instant (witness the example of Olympias), a person proven guilty of bad conduct would do well to make his or her peace with God and avoid his or her reputation being sullied forever (ll. 124–39). Just as it is more charitable to give a piece of bread to the poor in times of famine rather than a whole loaf in times of plenty, so Isabeau should give her poor people in this time of tribulation some evidence of her care and concern (ll. 145–51). In return for Isabeau’s help, her grateful subjects will offer prayers to God on her behalf. At this point, Christine closes the letter with the wish that the queen will be given long life and, at its end, everlasting glory, “*gloire perdurable*” (ll. 151–53).

This latter point, the reference to “everlasting glory,” positioned significantly as the culmination of the argument, deserves a brief comment here, given McCormick’s recent remarks that tend to play down its importance: “‘Eternal remembrance’ [*scil.* in the chronicles] and “perpetual glory” [*scil.* the reward that Isabeau will receive if Christine’s concluding wish is answered] are the lasting earthly rewards for her intervention in the Orleans-Burgundy conflict . . . Fame and glory, not communion with the eternal— . . . these are the queen’s incentives to follow in the footsteps of her noble predecessors.”<sup>50</sup> There is no doubt that the letter as a whole breathes something of the new spirit of early fourteenth-century humanism in France (the choice of letter-writing itself as a means of communication on a serious topic is a reflection of that, as is the concern with posthumous renown).

While Christine undoubtedly shared the early humanist preoccupation with earthly glory,<sup>51</sup> there is no evidence to suggest that she saw earthly glory and heavenly glory as alternatives, either for herself or Isabeau: the one was compatible with the other, and one could aspire to both. In short, therefore, I think it important to accept that, on the question of glory, Christine is holding out incentives that include both posthumous renown here on earth and also eternal glory in the life to come, the latter accorded special importance by its key position right at the end of the letter.

Christine does not rely solely, however, on the appeal to reason and enlightened self-interest: she works into the relentless sequence of logical points just examined an emotional charge that gives the letter its vibrancy and urgency. Right at the beginning, the author’s self-presentation as the lachrymose, unworthy, and ignorant supplicant, stressing the disproportion between her lowly status and that of the queen, paradoxically allows Christine to play a number of key rhetorical cards.

Let us look first of all at the motif of tears, which is used extensively throughout Christine’s work and has been the subject of much critical discussion.<sup>52</sup> The reference to Christine’s weeping for her country implicit in “la voix plourable de

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<sup>50</sup> McCormick, “Mirrors for the Queen,” 287 (see note 26). Square-bracketed words are mine.

<sup>51</sup> See *Le Livre des trois vertus*, ed. Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks. Bibliothèque du XVe Siècle, 50 (Paris: Champion, 1989), 225; *Policie*, ed. Kennedy, 110–11 (see note 9).

<sup>52</sup> For example, Margolis, “Chameleon,” 53 (see note 24); the following three articles are all in *Politics*, ed. Brabant (see note 13): Margarete Zimmermann, “*Vox Femina, Vox Politica: The Lamentacion sur les maux de la France*,” 113–27, here 118; Linda Leppig, “The Political Rhetoric of Christine de Pizan: *Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile*,” 141–156, here 144–45; Mary McKinley, “The Subversive ‘Seulette’,” 157–69. Louise d’Arcens, “Petit estat vesval: Christine de Pizan’s Grieving Body Politic,” *Healing the Body Politic*, ed. Green and Mews, 201–26, here 214–21 (see note 23). [Editor’s note: For comparison’s sake, see also the contributions to *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (New York and London: Routledge, 2011, forthcoming).]

moy" (l. 4; my tearful voice) constitutes of course an appeal to Isabeau's sense of compassion, but, more importantly, it is also one that is designed to ensure maximum emotional impact. The tears that Christine is now shedding serve to remind the queen of the distance that Christine has traveled since the time when her own life was given over entirely to personal grief, on the loss of her father's patron (Charles V), of her father, and finally of her husband. Now the "seulette" associated with her lyric poetry, and the tears of the weeping widow, whose own experience of adversity has made her readily sympathetic to the suffering of others, are the emblem not of personal grief but of the collective grief of France itself. Furthermore, Christine's stance has echoes of one of the best-known scriptural laments that serve to intensify her appeal. The opening sentences of Lamentations (1: 1–2) presents the city of Jerusalem as a solitary widow weeping over the destruction all around ("How does the city sit solitary . . . How is she become as a widow! . . . She weepeth sore . . ."). The motif of tears recurs explicitly at two other points in the letter, the first indicating that Christine sees herself as a spokesperson acting on behalf of all those already suffering and pleading for peace "qui a humble voix plaine de plours crient a vous" (l. 25; who with humble, tear-filled voice cry to you); the second presents the letter as a whole as a "plourable requeste" (l. 144; a tear-filled request) presented to the queen in the hope of her favorable response.

There is no doubt, therefore, that the motif of tears performs an important rhetorical function within the letter as a whole, positioning Christine as a powerless, tearful intermediary acting on behalf of a tearful people—who, by implication deserve an active sympathetic response on the part of the queen—and positioning the powerful queen as a potential mediator who could wipe away these tears (and who is being urged elsewhere in the letter (ll. 95–99) to emulate the supreme exemplar of compassion and intercession, the Queen of Heaven, "advocate de ses subgiez" (l. 98; advocate of her subjects), and mother of God. This title reminds us, at least implicitly, of her role as *mater dolorosa*, her tears at the crucifixion, and her tears of continuing intercession for all mankind). The alignment of these three women of very differing status (powerless, powerful, all-powerful) puts the real focus on Isabeau, dramatizing the moment of choice now confronting her: she is being urged to make up her mind, in response to Christine's intercession and in emulation of the Virgin's eternal interceding role, as to whether she too will (or will not) follow their example and assume the function of mediator.

Christine's handling of the motif of tears is not, however, the only factor that explains the emotional charge of the letter. Some of the other devices, the sustained use of (polite) imperatives (ll. 5, 12, 22–23, 41, 95), exclamations (ll. 67, 106, 108–118, 129), and sequences of questions (ll. 67–70, 99–105, 118–20, 129–32, 133–34) are straightforward enough not to require discussion here, though of

course they need to be taken into account. One additional device merits more detailed comment, as it very effectively ensures the complete interaction of logic and emotion in the deployment of Christine's argument. In the presentation of her appeal to the Queen's reason, Christine naturally accumulates quite a large number of abstract words associated with the semantic field of suffering (e. g. *affliccion, tristesse, desolation, misere*; ll. 24, 27). However, as she deploys her arguments, Christine is careful to flesh out occasionally, for emotional effect, exactly what some of these abstractions mean or would mean in practice. For example, at one point she evokes, in very concrete terms, the likely impact of foreign invasion on ordinary people, particularly women: "Et que les povres petiz alaittans et enfans criassent apres leurs lasses de meres vesves et adouloues, mourans de faim et elles, desnuees de leurs biens, n'eussent de quoy les appaisier" (ll. 110–13; [It would become necessary] for poor little nurslings and other small children to cry after their weary mothers, widowed and grief-stricken, dying of hunger, who, deprived of their possessions, would have nothing with which to comfort them).<sup>53</sup>

In the following passage, which sees a dramatic change of tense away from conditionals and subjunctives to the present, Christine highlights the fact that, for many people, the civil war had in reality already started (it will be remembered that the dukes' refusal to disperse their troops resulted in death and destruction, particularly in the countryside): "Et certes, noble dame, nous veons à present les apprestes de ces mortelz inconveniens qui ja sont si avanciez que tres maintenant en y a de destruis et desers de leurs biens, et detruit-on touz les jours de piz en piz, tant que qui est crestien en doit avoir pitié" (ll. 120–24; "Indeed, noble lady, we can see now the preparations for these disasters, which are so well under way that there are at present many people ruined and deprived of their possessions, and every day worse and worse is done, so much so that whoever is a Christian must feel pity).<sup>54</sup> The deliberate and repeated emphasis on the present moment (*a present, ja, tres maintenant, tous les jours*) clearly serves to intensify the emotional pressure on Isabeau to take action now, to avoid further suffering being caused to innocent people.

Also constituting an important element in the rhetorical strategy of blending logic and emotion is Christine's use of imagery. There are some faint echoes of France as the afflicted mother (already noted as occurring elsewhere in Christine's work), when Christine follows up her evocation of the Virgin as the archetypal mother figure with the following question, phrased impersonally but with Isabeau

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<sup>53</sup> *Writings*, ed. Willard, 272 (see note 20).

<sup>54</sup> *Epistre* ed. Wisman, 81 (see note 12). Wisman's translation of "les apprestes de ces mortelz inconveniens" (the preparation for these disasters) seems more appropriate in context than that of Willard in *Writings*, 272 (see note 20): "the effect of these mortal judgements."

clearly in mind: "Helas donques qui seroit si dure mere qui peust souffrir, se elle n'avoit le cuer de pierre, veoir ses enfans entre-occire et espendre le sang l'un à l'autre . . . ?" (ll. 99–101; But alas, where is the mother so hard-hearted, if she didn't have a veritable heart of stone, who could bear to see her children kill each other, spilling each other's blood . . . ?).<sup>55</sup> Christine projects a view of Isabeau here as queen/France torn apart by her/its warring children in an image reminiscent of that found in the *Livre du chemin de long estude* and the *Advison Cristine*.<sup>56</sup>

Another image, however, developed at greater length here and widely used by Christine in her other works,<sup>57</sup> underpins the letter as a whole, i. e., the imagery of the body politic. It will be recalled that the constituents of this imagery are as follows: the healthy, well-functioning body politic depends for its cohesion on each part acting on behalf of the whole, with the king at its head, the knights as the arms and hands used in defence of the realm, and the ordinary people as the stomach, feet and legs whose function is to sustain the other two estates. What we are presented with in the *Epistre* is not at all a model of the body politic as a cohesive, harmonious unit, with each part or limb working toward the common good.

At the time of writing, King Charles VI, as head of the body politic, is himself mentally ill (hence Christine's requirement to address the queen in his stead); and since the health of the state reflects that of the king, the rest of the realm is acutely suffering the harmful effects of the king's indisposition; the knights, who as the arms of the body politic should be "un propre corps et pilier a la deffense de cestui royaume" (ll. 37–38; like a very body and pillar for the defense of this realm)<sup>58</sup> are tearing it apart in their struggle for power and dismembering their own bodies in the process (ll. 101–2); this irresponsible conduct on the part of the knights is evoked again in the reference to the sufferings inflicted on the third estate, ordinary people, by "ceulz qui garder les devoient" (l. 118; those who were supposed to protect them). What Christine presents us with here, therefore, is the image of an unhealthy, dysfunctional body politic in which self-interest, not mutual respect and cooperation, plays the dominant role. This imagery clearly constitutes a crucial ingredient of Christine's rational and emotional appeal to Isabeau, allowing her as it does to present the queen as the "medecine et souverain remede de la garison de ce royaume à present playé et navré piteusement et en peril

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<sup>55</sup> *Writings*, ed. Willard, 272 (see note 20).

<sup>56</sup> See note 11 above.

<sup>57</sup> See in particular *Policie*, ed. Kennedy, xxv, 1, 57, 91–92 (see note 9); Forhan, *Political Theory*, 45–75 (see note 22); Angus J. Kennedy, "The Image of the Body Politic in the Christine de Pizan's *Livre du corps de policie*," *L'Offrande du coeur: Medieval and Early Modern Studies in Honour of Glynnis Cropp*, ed. Margaret Burrell and Judith Grant (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press/Massey University, 2004), 18–29; *Healing the Body Politic*, ed. Green and Mews (see note 23).

<sup>58</sup> *Writings*, ed. Willard, 270 (see note 20).

de piz" (ll. 13–15; the medicine and sovereign remedy to cure this realm, at present sorely and piteously wounded and in peril of worse").<sup>59</sup>

Let us turn from a rhetorical strategy based on blending logic and emotion to consider one that subtly intermingles deference and bluntness. It was claimed earlier that Christine's self-presentation as the lachrymose, unworthy and ignorant supplicant allowed her to play a number of key rhetorical cards. Let us look now at another one of these: Christine's handling of the so-called humility or inferiority *topos*, a device which Christine employs frequently in her work.<sup>60</sup> By stressing the disproportion between her own lowly, ignorant and unworthy status and that of the queen, Christine adopts an appropriate deferential stance that is sustained in the rest of the letter, firstly, by the use of the respectful form "vous" (as opposed to the "tu" form favored in early humanist correspondence as a marker of respect between scholars), and secondly, by the use of repeated, extremely courteous forms of address such as "excellent," or "tres excellent," "tres redoubtée," "tres haulte," "honnourée," and so on. It will be noted in passing that the motif of alleged inferiority, while serving to flatter the queen, paradoxically also draws Isabeau's attention to Christine's self-conscious skill and authority as a professional writer, authority being a vital ingredient of the discourse of persuasion. Within this deferential framework, Christine manages to be quite blunt and audacious in some of the points that she makes. A few examples will illustrate this, all at the level of the sentence or individual word.

Let us look closely at one sentence near the beginning of the letter:

Tres haute dame et ma tres redoubtée, non obstant que vostre sens soit tout adverti et advisié de ce qu'il appartient, toutesfoiz est-il vray que vous, seant en vostre trosne royal avironné de honneurs, ne povez savoir fors par autrui rappors les communes besoingnes tant en parolles comme en faiz, qui queurent entre les subgiez"

(ll. 18–22)<sup>61</sup>

[Most worthy and reverend lady, even though your sound judgment may be aware and well advised of what the proper action is, it is nonetheless true that you, seated in royal majesty and surrounded by honors, can only know by the report of others, either in word or deed, the common needs of your subjects.]

We can note here that the main point of the sentence (i. e., the fact that the queen knows of her subjects' concerns only at second hand) is postponed until the very

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<sup>59</sup> *Writings*, ed. Willard, 270 (see note 20).

<sup>60</sup> Liliane Dulac, "La figure de l'écrivain dans quelques traités en prose de Christine de Pizan," *Figures de l'écrivain au moyen âge: Actes du colloque du centre d'études médiévales de l'Université de Picardie (Amiens, 18–20 mars 1988)*, ed. Danielle Buschinger. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 510 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1991), 113–23.

<sup>61</sup> *Epistre*, ed. Kennedy, 254–55 (see note 12); *Writings*, ed. Willard, 270 (see note 20).



last moment, and is deliberately preceded by respectful forms of address, by compliments on the queen's wisdom slipped into the concessive clause introduced by "non obstant," and by the interruption of the principal clause ("toutesfoiz est-il vray . . .") to allow for the insertion of further compliments on her lofty status ("seant en vostre trosne etc"). "You don't really know, but I'm going to tell you" could not be more diplomatically phrased.

A similar impression emerges from a passage toward the end of the letter (ll. 124–28) in which Christine reminds the queen of the fact that if she remains hard of heart and indifferent to God or suffering, she will be persisting in sin; she ought, therefore, unless she is completely mad, to bear in mind that Fortune could intervene and change her life completely, the implication presumably being that the queen would then have no opportunity to repent. In the delivery of this message, however, Christine does not quite phrase things in this way. She attenuates the effect of some of these potentially disrespectful comments by evoking a hypothetical situation in which some imaginary prince or princess might "find himself," as she renders it, to our initial puzzlement. Her use of the indefinite "some prince or princess," together with the masculine personal pronoun *il* to cover both words, is clearly deliberate, deflecting some of the directness of Christine's comments away from the queen herself, who remains, of course, the real target. We find a similar example in her use of the adjectives *fol* and *folle* after the pronoun *il* in ll. 26–27. Some lines farther on show exactly the same principle at work:

Mais qu'en advient-il quant Fortune a ainsi acueilli aucun puissant? Se si saigement n'a tant fait le temps passé par le moyen d'amors, de pitié et charité qu'il ait acquiz Dieu premierement et bien vueillans au monde, toute sa vie et ses faiz sont racontez en publique et tournez à repprouche. Et tout ainsi comme à un chien qui est chacié tous lui queurent sus, et est celli de tous deffoulez, en criant sus lui qu'il est bien employez."

(ll. 133–39)

[What happens to some powerful man [or woman] thus visited by Fortune? If this person has not lived wisely in the past, according to the precepts of love, pity and charity and so earning God's grace and everyone's good will, his whole life and deeds are discussed in public and become the subject of reproach. This person is pursued as though he were a dog, everyone chases him away, shouting at him, mistreating him, and proclaiming that his punishment is well deserved].

While much of the content here is again potentially disrespectful, Christine's use of indefinite and masculine pronouns allow her to remain just within the bounds of deference: we can note *aucun puissant*, which can refer to both male and female, and the use of *il*, *celli*, *lui* as pronouns to refer to *aucun puissant*. It will be recalled that the last few lines of this passage contain the image dismissed by Pinet as trivial and inelegant, lacking in good taste and any regard for rhetorical skills.

While we can concede that Christine's syntax here is somewhat involved, the image has an important function to play within this section, graphically evoking as it does the disgrace that awaits someone who has left it too late to repent and now has to endure shame in this life. The bold implication here is that this is a fate that potentially awaits the queen should she not embark on the proper course of action being held out by Christine; and conversely, the queen is being reminded of the posthumous renown in this life that would follow a wise decision to intervene in the conflict. What we are confronted with here, therefore, thanks to Christine's rhetorical skill, is a very deft blending of courtesy and bluntness.

It remains for us now to consider the third of the rhetorical strategies mentioned earlier, the creation of the authority underlying Christine's didactic message. This is an important issue in the discourse of persuasion, in that Christine has to convey to the queen that the advice being proffered in the letter deserves to be taken seriously. It will be recalled that the issue of authority was touched upon in the discussion of the humility *topos*, the (alleged) inferiority of the writer: it was stated then that this *topos* paradoxically also draws Isabeau's attention to Christine's self-conscious skill and authority as a professional writer. Christine could have followed this up by giving a reminder in the letter of her already considerable contribution to the literature of Charles VI's court, since indeed 1405 had been one of her most productive years.<sup>62</sup> However, she chooses not to do this, and addresses the issue of authority in a more indirect way. What she does in the letter is ensure that the central elements of her advice are sanctioned by more than merely her status and credentials as an established court writer.

If we take, for example, one of the central arguments deployed in the letter, Christine's warning that, if no accord is achieved, civil war will bring about the ruin of the kingdom, we will see that Christine's advice is sanctioned and confirmed by Scripture (in this case Matthew 12: 25): "si comme dit Nostre Seigneur en l'Euvangile: Le royaume en soy divisé sera désolé" (ll. 34–36; as Our Lord says in the Gospel: a kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation). Similarly, Christine's evocation, in very concrete terms, of the additional suffering that could be inflicted on the population in the event of foreign intervention refers to the fact that the lamentations of the women and children will pierce the heavens, "comme racontent en pluseurs lieux les Escriptures" (ll. 113–14; as the Scriptures relate in several places). The implication is that Christine's prediction that God's vengeance will fall on the perpetrators (ll. 114–15) is not to be seen as

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<sup>62</sup> The following all belong to 1405: *Cité des dames*, *Livre des trois vertus*, *Advision Cristine*, and possibly *Prudence/Prod'homme* (see *Policie*, ed. Kennedy, xviii–xix, xxiv (see note 9)). In 1404, Christine's biography Charles V had confirmed her already important status at court.

mere scare-mongering, but as a serious warning legitimized by this scriptural reference.

In the largest section of the letter (ll. 59–139),<sup>63</sup> Christine exploits the authority not only of scripture but of history as well. While the use of the past, particularly the classical past, to comment on the present is often associated with early humanist practice, Christine's model here is a type of exegesis that is at least as old as Christianity itself. Among its earliest representatives are the epistles of the apostle Paul: a good illustration of this device is provided by his ministry of encouragement in Hebrews 11: 32–40, which makes extensive use of exemplary figures from Old Testament history such as Samson, whose exploits are described in Judges 16: 23–31.<sup>64</sup>

Adopting a similar kind of approach, Christine here confronts Isabeau with a choice she has to make with regard to two types of conduct: one commendable, the other reprehensible. On the one hand, she enumerates for the queen's consideration a whole line of distinguished female mediators that extends from Biblical times (Esther, Bathsheba), through the classical period (Veturia, not named in the text), up to the relatively recent medieval past (Blanche, the mother of Saint Louis); on the other, two examples of perversity, self-interest and cruelty: the first from the Bible (Jezebel), the second from classical history (Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great). Olympias's career, we recall, is also used in the letter as a warning about the mutability of Fortune. Formulating the choice that Isabeau has to make in terms of scriptural and historical examples, Christine partially conceals herself as the primary source of advice-giving, interposing the authority of scripture and history between herself and the queen.

In other words, the authority of the didactic message seems to emerge from within the *exempla*, not directly from Christine as author. We can illustrate this briefly if we consider the qualities that Christine works into the moral portraits of the positive and negative role models. Veturia, Esther, Bathsheba, and Blanche, each of whom provides an "*exemple de bien vivre*" (l. 61; an example of how to live well), are collectively valiant, wise or very wise, charitable, devoted to the cause of peace and mediation. By contrast, Jezebel and Olympias are described as "*perverses, crueuses et ennemies de nature humaine*" (l. 85; perverse, cruel, the enemies of human nature), and are destined never to enjoy posthumous fame but to be remembered in perpetuity (l. 87; "*perpetuellement*") only for their shameful behavior. Christine manipulates her material in such a way, therefore, that the polarized choices facing Isabeau seem to emerge from within a context that has a weight and authority of its own, namely, the scriptural and historical *exempla*,

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<sup>63</sup> McCormick, "Mirrors for the Queen," (see note 26) provides an important analysis of the whole issue of exemplarity.

<sup>64</sup> For other Pauline echoes, see McCormick, "Mirrors for the Queen," 289, 290 (see note 26).

which thereby exert even greater pressure on her to become the “moyennerresse de traictié de paix” (ll. 73–74; the mediator [note feminizing suffix: “esse”] of a treaty of peace).

In the light of all the above, it is clear that Christine’s letter is an infinitely more complex document than Mirot or Pinet would ever have been prepared to concede. Bearing witness in parts to the new spirit of early humanism in France, the *Epistre a la reine* is a highly sophisticated work that reflects not only Christine’s literary skills but also her very admirable human qualities: she brings to bear on the formal aspects of the work her erudition, her sense of structure, her didactic preoccupations, and above all her rhetorical skills; but she also imprints on the content her continuing valorization of women, her deep-felt sense of morality and her genuine commitment to peace. Pinet’s judgment that the letter was just a commission carried out for material gain seems unjust, especially when we see that there is considerable continuity between Christine’s anti-war protests here and those that we have seen elsewhere in her work. The question we now have to address is whether these qualities, literary and human, had any effect on the queen and the military situation of the time.

### The Diplomatic and Military Impact of the *Epistre*

The following paragraphs will examine the possible diplomatic efficacy of the letter by addressing three questions in turn. What was the purpose of the letter? How was the letter delivered to the queen and when? What effect (if any) did it have on the queen, and hence on the military situation of the time?

Up until (and even beyond) the publication in 2005 of Tracy Adams’s article on mediators,<sup>65</sup> it has been traditional to assume, firstly, that Christine wrote her letter to encourage Isabeau to intervene, quite literally, in the ducal quarrel, in order to bring about the reconciliation of the warring parties; secondly, it has sometimes been the tendency to assume also that Christine was writing to a slothful, self-interested Isabeau who needed to be shaken out of her inactivity. While the second part of these assumptions would now be difficult to uphold, I will suggest that the first still deserves to be regarded as perfectly reasonable. I shall try to resume here the gist of Adams’s argument in so far as it concerns the *Epistre a la reine*. Drawing on Famiglietti’s rehabilitation of Isabeau,<sup>66</sup> Adams takes as one of her starting

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<sup>65</sup> Adams, “Moyennerresse” (see note 23), to which page references will be given in what follows. This article was followed up by Adams, “Réévaluation”; Adams, “Régence (see note 23)” McCormick, “Mirrors for the Queen,” (see note 26), dated 2008, still takes literal intervention for granted.

<sup>66</sup> Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 42–45 and passim (see his index under Isabeau, 348–49; see note 28).

points that much of the queen's reputation for scandalous behavior is the product of mythmaking by later writers and historians, whose testimony therefore should be disregarded. It is suggested (186–88; 198–99) that the *Epistre a la reine* should be reread in the light of the chapter in Christine's *Livre des Trois vertus* (Book of the Three Virtues; 1405–1406) on women as natural mediators,<sup>67</sup> and also of the inconclusive ending of the *Chemin de long estude*, in which conflicts remain unresolved. Once that is done, it will be clear, according to Adams, that while women have talents for mediation, they are in practical terms powerless to intervene effectively: what these texts present to us is "the futility of mediation" (200).

Christine, therefore, is not counseling literal intervention (181), since "Christine had no faith in the activity of mediating as a literal way of solving conflict. For her, the mediator was not at all likely to succeed. Rather, the mediator served a crucial emotional function, offering the people a powerless and yet righteous figure behind whom to position themselves as they awaited the return to power of their leader" (198). Again, according to Adams, the point of the letter "was not to spur the queen to action: Isabeau was actively mediating already" (190). Christine's purpose rather is "to promote an image of Isabeau as untainted by the narrow political interest of the ducal faction" (180), as a revered figure who "stands beyond the conflict" (196). For this program to succeed, as Adams herself acknowledges (178–79), it would be necessary to assume that the *Epistre a la reine* and the two other texts dealt with in her article (the *Lamentacion* and the *Livre de paix*) could be read and discussed by more than just the addressees.

While it is highly possible that this brief summary does not do justice to the subtlety of the preceding arguments, I would like to suggest, in what follows, that the ones concerning the *Epistre a la reine* may possibly raise as many problems as they try to solve, and that there is still a case for retaining the traditional view, with some modification, that Christine is urging literal intervention in the ducal quarrel. In doing this, I stress that I am not making any exclusive claims to the truth, mindful as I am that "determining the truth about what happened when you weren't there is a tricky business."<sup>68</sup>

A number of claims made by Adams seem contradicted by what we know of the historical and literary context of the letter. Let us look, for example, at the suggestion that Christine had no faith in mediation in a literal sense, and that Isabeau was "powerless." The claim that the queen was "powerless" may be true in a technical, legal sense, but there is plenty of historical evidence to suggest that not only was Isabeau deemed fit to play the role of literal mediator, but also that

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<sup>67</sup> *Trois vertus*, ed. Willard, Hicks, I, chapter ix, 33–36 (see note 51), devotes a lengthy section to the role of women as mediators.

<sup>68</sup> Sandi Toksvig, *Sunday Telegraph* (22 Feb. 2009), *Seven Magazine* (4, col. 2).

she actually did.<sup>69</sup> In the winter of 1401–1402, Isabeau had played a part, along with Louis of Anjou, King of Sicily, and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, in defusing a conflict between Philip the Bold and Louis of Orleans.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps in the light of this success, Isabeau was given authority in March 1402 by Charles VI to mediate in ducal disputes during his so-called “absences” (his intermittent bouts of mental illness), an authority confirmed on 1 July of the same year.<sup>71</sup>

It seems somewhat unreasonable, therefore, to say that by 1405 Christine would have lost faith in literal mediation. With regard to the passages in the *Chemin de long estude* and the *Trois vertus* mentioned above, it can simply be countered that one need not read them in the way that has been suggested: they can still be read as a genuine expression of Christine’s belief that women can intervene in a beneficial way in situations of conflict. For her, the fact that intervention is likely to be ineffective need not be a discouragement from trying. Surely one of Christine’s own qualities is her dogged refusal to give up the hope of peace, even when every truce that is signed seems to be more short-lived than the last.

It is difficult too to see Isabeau in 1405 as a figure who “stands beyond the conflict,” “untainted by the narrow political interest of the ducal faction.” For we have to recall that the queen and Louis’s attempt to retain control over the dauphin by removing him from Paris could not have been too reassuring to the other participants in the conflict, the supporters of Jean sans Peur, who viewed the collusion of Louis and the queen, as we have seen, as a possible attempt to disrupt his own dynastic marriage projects. For these reasons, it is difficult to envisage Isabeau in October 1405 as “an emblem of solidarity between the royal family and the community [of] French men and women” (192).

For Christine’s presentation of Isabeau as an iconic figure to take root, it is argued that the *Epistre a la reine* would require to be read and discussed by more than just the addressees—and, I would add, during a period beyond the date of composition of each of the three works discussed by Adams.<sup>72</sup> Yet the small number of surviving manuscripts does not provide clear proof of wide circulation. Would interest in them be maintained once the content was overtaken by events? Can we assume that Christine’s letter was intended for wide circulation (like the pamphlets circulated by Jean sans Peur and Louis of Orleans, whose explicit aim

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<sup>69</sup> Adams is of course aware of this, noting (“Moyennerresse,” 189 [see note 23]) that the queen presided over the Vincennes negotiations on 12 October 1405 (see note 23).

<sup>70</sup> Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 25 (see note 28).

<sup>71</sup> Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 26–27 (see note 28).

<sup>72</sup> The situation of the *Livre de paix* (discussed by Adams) is different from that of the *Epistre a la reine* and the *Lamentacion*, in that it is both a work of circumstance and a “mirror for the prince,” composed as a long-term manual of government. For that reason, it was more likely to retain interest.

was to reach as wide an audience as possible)? These questions do not admit of easy answers.

On the question of the queen's reputation, traditionally seen in unfavorable terms, Adams is undoubtedly right. In the light of Famiglietti's rehabilitation, it has to be accepted that much of Isabeau's negative reputation (for example her alleged adultery with Louis of Orleans) is a construct of later writers and critics.<sup>73</sup> That said, proving that rumors were ill founded does not necessarily disprove the existence of the rumors themselves. It might still be possible to argue (though I shall not embark on that course here) that there was a perception—right or wrong—dating from 1405, that Isabeau's court was indeed associated with self-interest and the cult of pleasure.<sup>74</sup>

To sum up: on the view that Christine is not asking for Isabeau's direct mediation but presenting Isabeau as an exemplary figure "untainted by the narrow political interest of the ducal faction," a verdict still allowed by the Scottish judiciary would seem appropriate: "case not proven."

When we attempt to identify Christine's purpose in writing to Isabeau, due allowance should perhaps be made for the possibility that the letter may have been commissioned, and that the purpose underlying the letter may have been suggested to or imposed on Christine by the person making the request. The most likely candidate in this respect is the unidentified "noble seigneur" mentioned in the rondeau contained only in BnF fr. 580: he may simply have asked Christine to apply all her professional talents as a writer to secure Isabeau's literal mediation in the dispute. In carrying out this task, Christine would naturally have the opportunity to voice the concerns that preoccupied her in 1405. While I do not wish to argue that Christine was aware of and shared in the rumors of Isabeau's alleged immorality (part of the traditional view), I do wish to suggest that in 1405 Christine would be extremely concerned at the queen's rapprochement with Louis of Orleans and their collusion in the attempted abduction of the dauphin. Indeed, Christine must have felt that Isabeau's honor and reputation would risk being tarnished simply through her association with Louis of Orleans, already unpopular in Paris because of his extravagant life-style and rumors of his misappropriation of funds.

These considerations may partly explain the importance accorded to reputation in some of the more outspoken parts of the letter (e. g., ll. 133–39). I believe, therefore, that Christine's purpose was not so much to rouse Isabeau to action for the first time, but to encourage her, at a moment when her reputation risked being

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<sup>73</sup> For accusations levelled against Isabeau, see Religieux, 3: 267–69 (see note 28); Juvénal des Ursins, 434 (see note 28). See also Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 42–45 (see note 28).

<sup>74</sup> Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 42 (see note 28).

adversely affected by her rapprochement with Louis of Orleans, to reassert her true priorities as queen, to use her talents for mediation, to intervene (in a literal sense) in the dispute, and re-establish peace in the kingdom.

Turning from questions of purpose, let us ask now how and when the letter might have been delivered to the queen. Of all the manuscripts of the letter, BnF fr. 580 alone contains an incomplete rondeau, which may provide some clues. In this rondeau, Christine indicates that she completed the letter at one in the morning, having copied it herself since there was no other scribe to be found at that early hour. As we have seen, she had undertaken this task for some "noble seigneur" whom she does not identify. Critics have suggested a number of possible candidates, including the names of Louis of Orleans and Jean sans Peur, thus replicating the pattern of the original conflict.<sup>75</sup>

In addition to suggesting Jean sans Peur, Willard has also proposed the king of Navarre,<sup>76</sup> who is listed in the preliminary rubric in three of the manuscripts as one of the negotiators of the Vincennes peace treaty. While the identity of the "noble seigneur" is likely to remain the subject of speculation, we can retain from the rondeau the fact that Christine was not acting entirely on her own initiative. In the circumstances, it seems not unreasonable to assume that the letter was delivered through the good offices of this nobleman some time between 5 October (the date of the letter) and 17 October (the date of the peace treaty).

A suggestion put forward by Karen Green proves extremely valuable in this context: she advances the very plausible view that a member of the final embassy to Isabeau (whose constituents are listed in the preliminary rubric) was the person who delivered the message to the queen herself.<sup>77</sup> It will be noted too that this suggestion circumvents the difficulty of envisioning how the bearer of the letter would have safely penetrated the lines of soldiers outside the city.

Did the letter achieve its diplomatic purpose, and did it have any effect on the military situation at the time? From what we know, I think a positive answer can be given to both questions. One of the purposes of the detailed discussion of the historical context of the letter was to outline the unfolding of events, almost on a day-to-day basis, so that we could more easily assess its likely impact. By the time the letter was received between October 5 and 16, a number of factors was already bringing pressure on both sides to negotiate for peace: the perennial difficulty of

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<sup>75</sup> Louis d'Orléans is suggested by Thomassy, *Écrits politiques*, 140, note 1 (see note 18), Mirot, "Enlèvement," 384 (see note 19), and Suzanne Solente, "Christine de Pisan," *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 40 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1974), 335–422; also as pre-print (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale and C. Klincksieck, 1969), 1–88; here 57. Jean sans Peur is suggested by Willard, "Autograph Manuscript," 456 (see note 21), who takes up Pinet's case for Burgundian influence, *Christine de Pisan*, 133 (see note 47).

<sup>76</sup> Willard, *Writings*, 252 (see note 20).

<sup>77</sup> *Peace*, ed. Green, Mews, 8 (see note 9).



providing for standing armies, the depletion of resources through the pillaging of troops on both sides, and the approach of winter.<sup>78</sup>

In addition, the queen's geographical moves from Melun to Corbeil, and from Corbeil to Vincennes, were taken to be an indication of diplomatic rapprochement.<sup>79</sup> We can conclude from this that the letter did have a positive effect since Christine, as it were, was knocking at a door that was already beginning to open. On 12 October, making use of the authority granted to her in March 1402 to act as mediator in ducal quarrels, the queen announced the prohibition of war between the two dukes and the requirement to disband the respective armies, a decree ratified on 16 October in the Peace of Vincennes. As we know, the peace did not last long, Louis was to be assassinated by Jean sans Peur's men on 23 November 1407, and the conflict continued on its course, taken up on the Orleanist side by Louis's son, Charles d'Orléans. By 1410, the warring princes were once again on the brink of civil war, and Christine was obliged to take up her pen yet again in a passionate appeal for peace.

### A Woman's Perspective on War

In the final analysis, does the *Epistre a la reine* reflect "a woman's perspective on war?" A shortcut into this issue can be provided by referring to two now classic texts on another and much greater conflict, World War I (1914–1918), one written by a man, the other by a woman, who both address war on a scale that could not have been envisaged in Christine's own day: Robert Graves's *Goodbye to All That* (1929) and Vera Brittain's *Testament of Youth* (1933). It is quite clear that the respective authorial voices retain the inflexions not only of class, family background, and education, but also those of gender (not least because one is a soldier and the other is a nurse, confronting, in their own way but in very differing spheres, the harrowing and dehumanizing effects of trench warfare). However, the voices that speak to us today across the years speak not to our gender but to our humanity: both authors' experience of extraordinary adversity allows them to speak to us and for us, not as male or female, but as fellow-human beings. The

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<sup>78</sup> According to the Religieux de Saint-Denis, it was issues of this kind (in particular the threat of towns being ransacked) that prompted the queen and Louis to move eventually to Vincennes: "Ce fut le désir d'éviter un tel scandale qui décida enfin la reine et le duc d'Orléans à se rendre . . . à la maison royale du bois de Vincennes" (3: 343 (see note 28); It was above all the desire to avoid a scandal of this kind that decided the queen and the duke of Orleans to go to the royal residence in the woods of Vincennes).

<sup>79</sup> See note 43 above, and Mirot, "Enlèvement," 385 (see note 19).

same observations are applicable, I believe, to Christine's authorial voice in the *Epistre a la reine*.

In one obvious sense, the *Epistre a la reine* has to be seen not only as the work of a woman author, but of a very exceptional woman author about whom we know a great deal (which is not always the case for writers of the medieval period, many of whom remain anonymous). The letter reveals, as we have seen, many qualities that would be possessed by few other (if any) women of her time: the breadth and depth of her erudition, her professional skills as a writer, and her commitment to the cause of women. That much is self-evidently true. Let us imagine, however, that we did not know that the author was female: would we still be able to identify the authorial voice as female? From the evidence of the text, it is possible to give a positive answer to this question too. We have already noted the importance the letter places on valorizing women and their potential role in public life. To that can be added Christine's own comment in the letter on qualities that she associates with women in particular:

Helas, honnourée dame, doncques quant il avendra que pitié, charité, clemence et benignité ne sera trouvée en haute princesse, ou sera-elle doncques quise? Car, comme naturellement en femenines condicions sont les dictes vertus, plus par rayson doivent habonder et estre en noble dame;"

(ll. 67–71)

[Alas, great lady, if pity, charity, clemency, and benignity are not to be found in a great princess, where then can they be expected? As these virtues are a natural part of the feminine condition they should rightfully abound in a noble lady). We remember too the special attention that Christine devotes to the suffering of mothers and children afflicted by war;

(ll. 110–13);

and finally in this respect, we can emphasize, at the micro-level, Christine's attempts to create words that do justice to female agency through the addition of feminine endings (here: "-esse"): the queen can potentially be the "pourchacierresse de paix" (l. 47; the seeker after peace) or "the moyennerresse de traictié de paix" (ll. 73–74; the instrument or mediator of a peace treaty). Collectively, these markers would incline one to the view that the author was female.

That said, it needs to be stressed that Christine devoted her career to demonstrating that there are no "essentialist" differences between men and women. In Aristotelian terms, gender differences are "accidental" rather than an "essential" feature of human identity.<sup>80</sup> While combating misogynist assumptions, she was enlightened enough not to try to replace these with an opposing set of

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<sup>80</sup> For the importance of seeing beyond gender, see Rosalind Brown-Grant, *Christine and the Moral Defence of Women: Reading Beyond Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 119–21.

others based on female superiority, knowing as she does that neither sex has the monopoly on absolute virtue or vice: some men and women are good; some men and women are bad. Though her authorial voice inevitably bears the inflexions of her gender, it is likely that Christine would wish to be remembered as someone who transcended gender issues and who applied her talents to speaking for all humanity, male and female.

On the particular scourge of war, still unsolved in our day and generation, she emerges as one of the first “engagé(e)” writers, providing us with the admirable example of someone who steadfastly spoke out against the evils of war and the desirability of peace, at a time when violence was the norm, and when peace treaties seemed to be made only to be immediately broken. Though most of the conflicts she addressed in her writing remain unresolved till well after her own death, she deserves credit for her unflinching faith in human agency to affect, for the better, disasters that human beings themselves have caused, and for her pragmatic concern to mitigate the worst effects of violence (whether the war could be described as just or not).<sup>81</sup> That she managed to do all of this as a woman author living and writing within a male-dominated, misogynist context is nothing short of miraculous.

To misquote and turn Dr. Johnson's celebrated misogynist dictum (on women preaching) against himself, it is a wonder not only that Christine did it well, but that she did it at all.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Even in her militant *Ditié*, she refers to the need to avoid gratuitous violence: *Ditié*, ed. Kennedy, and Varty, vv. 457–64 (see note 7).

<sup>82</sup> The text of the original quotation will be found in *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. George Birbeck Hill, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), 1: 463: “Sir, a woman's preaching is like a dog's walking on his hinder legs. It is not done well, but you are surprized to find it done at all.”



## Chapter 16

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### Armed Conflict as Deadly Sin: Michel Beheim's Verses on Wrath (1457–ca.1470)

In around 1470, Michel Beheim, the wandering poet and composer who had served renowned patrons, Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg among them, decided to compose a concluding song-poem for his *Buchlin von den siben tat sunden* ("Little Book on the Seven Deadly Sins")—henceforth the Little Book.<sup>1</sup> He called it simply: "The Closing Statement of this Book" (Song-Poem 202: *Der besluss über dis buch*).<sup>2</sup> Beheim's Little Book had been finished over a full decade

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<sup>1</sup> On Michel Beheim's artistic career and place in literary history, see Burghart Wachinger, "Michel Beheim. Prosabuchquellen-Liedvortrag-Buchüberlieferung," *Poesie und Gebrauchsliteratur im deutschen Mittelalter*. Würzburger Colloquium 1978, ed. Volker Honemann, Kurt Ruh, Bernhard Schnell, and Werner Wegstein (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1979), 37–75; William C. McDonald, "Whose Bread I Eat": *The Song-Poetry of Michel Beheim*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 318 (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1981); Frieder Schanze, *Meisterliche Liedkunst zwischen Heinrich von Mügeln und Hans Sachs*. Band I: *Untersuchungen*. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 82 (Munich and Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1983), 182–246; Manfred G. Scholz, *Zum Verhältnis von Mäzen, Autor und Publikum im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert: Wilhelm von Österreich-Rappolsteiner Parzifal-Michel Beheim* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987); Albrecht Classen, *Autobiographische Lyrik des europäischen Spätmittelalters. Studien zu Hugo von Montfort, Oswald von Wolkenstein, Antonio Pucci, Charles d'Orléans, Thomas Hoccleve, Michel Beheim, Hans Rosenplüt und Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino*. Amsterdamer Publikationen zur Sprache und Literatur, 91 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi, 1991), 347–424; and Friederike Niemeyer, *Ich, Michel Pehn: Zum Kunst- und Rollenverständnis des meisterlichen Berufsdichters Michel Beheim*. Mikrokosmos, 59 (Frankfurt a. M., New York, Berlin, and Bern: Peter Lang, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> Note that Beheim includes song-poem 202, *Der besluss über dis buch*, only in manuscript D (= Cod. Pal. germ. 382, Heidelberg). This manuscript is an abridged version of his works, focusing on the Deadly Sins, Jews, and heretics. The order of the sins, which differs from Beheim's other

previously, but he desired concluding remarks on sin and redemption which he frames in a vivid image. He constructs in verse and song a Man of Sin, assigning the seven capital vices to bodily members. For example, hair on the head he likens to pride, because, “it hovers over human limbs and members with shameful unruliness” (*daz swebt allweg enbare/ über aller menschen gelit*; 202, 9–10). Our interest here is anger, because Beheim directly links it to strife and warfare. His remarks on fighting are addressed to lay noblemen, specifically the political elite—as he says in one verse on conflict: “You emperor, kings, princes, [and] lords” (*Ir chaiser, chunig, fursten, herrn*; 178, 1). Viewing his function primarily as religious educator through literature, Beheim set his verses to music, permitting his audience the choice of reading his words in private as a devotional text, or of listening to them in public performance as group song-text.<sup>3</sup> These verses on the capital vices are dense, buttressed with references to Scripture, classical texts, and to his source text from the previous century, the prose penitential manual *Erchanthnuzz der sund* (ca. 1390), attributed to Heinrich von Langenstein.<sup>4</sup> For his Little Book, Beheim versified and set to music portions of Heinrich’s second half of the manual, called *Von den sieben Hauptsünden* (Concerning the Seven Deadly Sins). The *Erchanthnuzz der sund*, for its part, is indebted, in its second half on the capital vices, to the

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manuscripts is here: pride, envy, wrath, sloth, gluttony, lust and avarice—hence, avarice and sloth exchange places. Beheim’s German quotations are in this paper cited according to the critical edition *Die Gedichte des Michel Beheim*, ed. Hans Gille and Ingeborg Spriewald. Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 60, 64, 65 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1968–1972). The first number is the song-poem, the second the verses. English translations are my own.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the modes of singing and reading in Beheim’s work, see Scholz, *Zum Verhältnis von Mäzen*, esp. 174–80 (see note 1); and Ingeborg Spriewald, *Literatur zwischen Hören und Lesen: Wandel von Funktion und Rezeption im späten Mittelalter: Fallstudien zu Beheim, Folz und Sachs* (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1990), esp. 40–55.

<sup>4</sup> The critical edition is by P. Rainer Rudolf, *Heinrich von Langenstein: Erchanthnuzz der sund*. Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 22 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1969). Rudolf includes, for purposes of comparison, excerpts from William Peraldus’s *Summa de vitiis*. Heinrich von Langenstein (also known as Henricus de Hassia, d. 1397), a confidant of the Habsburg dukes, was a prominent theologian, Church diplomat, professor and rector of the University of Vienna. Scholars usually speak of Heinrich in conjunction with the so-called Viennese School (*Wiener Schule*), a group of scholars and pastoral theologians closely allied with the University of Vienna who contributed to popularizing theology by translating Latin texts, thus making them available to a German reading public. Authors mentioned in this regard are Ulrich von Pottenstein, Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl, Thomas Ebendorfer, and Thomas Peuntner. Michel Beheim drew heavily on literature of the Viennese School, which he propagated decades after it had first appeared. See Thomas Hohmann, “Deutsche Texte aus der ‘Wiener Schule’ als Quelle für Michel Beheims religiöse Gedichte,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterum* 107 (1978): 319–30. Recently on the Viennese School, see Helmut Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400–1600*. Chicago Series on Sexuality, History and Society (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), esp. 58–60.

*Summa de vitiis* (ca. 1250) by the French Dominican William Peraldus (Perault).<sup>5</sup> Let it be clear what Beheim's artistic contribution was. He edited texts in German, mainly in prose, converting these to song-poems with tight rhyme-schemes. Beheim was an active "editor," who worked freely with his sources, interjecting many asides and adding his own commentary. He was thus reviser, composer, poet, and reviver of past literature in one person.

Beheim locates anger on the Man of Sin in the human mouth, because this part of the anatomy releases a stream of injurious words and produces clamor. Inspired perhaps by St. Paul's Biblical attack on the mouth, the place of origination for "angry shouting and cursing, and bad feeling of every kind" (Eph. 4:31),<sup>6</sup> Beheim brands the mouth the organ that both takes God's name in vain and swears perjury in the courtroom. The mouth is thus a medium for blasphemy, aggression, belligerence, and rage—the perfect image for sinful anger:

Her ab czum mund secz ich den czorn,  
 der ausser dem neid würt geborn.  
 mit wider bellen so ver worn  
 bricht er auss czu dem munde  
 Mit manchem giffiglichen wort.  
 da durch gestift wurt main und mort,  
 raben, brennen dy lant czer stort,  
 crieggen, streiten, man slahte

(202, 27–34)

[I assign anger, which is born of envy, to the mouth. Wrath breaks forth from the mouth with muddled, loud outcry, shaping many a pestilent word. Anger brings about false oaths and murder, robbery and arson that destroy countries, warfare, altercations, [and] manslaughter.]

Listing the crimes of anger, Beheim chooses the word *czorn/czoren* for anger itself, modern German *Zorn* which has a very wide semantic field in English: bile, indignation, choler, fury, ire, dander, enragement, passion, rage, temper, spleen, wrath, etc. (The Latin equivalent in treatment of the Sins is most often *ira*.) Anger is a complex emotion, and a sin, because it divides into three parts, according to whether it is useful and defensible.<sup>7</sup> First is divine wrath, God's justifiable

<sup>5</sup> See Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*. Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 68 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 85.

<sup>6</sup> All references to the Bible in English are to *The New English Bible with the Apocrypha* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

<sup>7</sup> On the significance of anger as emotion and sin, see George Malcolm Stratton, *Anger: Its Religious and Moral Significance* (New York: Macmillan, 1923); Stanford M. Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins: Society and Evil* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 110–34; Genevieve, Bühler-Thierry, "'Just Anger' or 'Vengeful Anger'? The Punishment of Blinding in the Early Medieval West," *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1998), 75–91; and Richard E. Barton, "Gendering Anger: *Ira*,

indignation that commonly results in retributive, sacred punishment. The prime examples of the wrathful God are the annihilation of Sodom and Gomorrah and Christ's driving money-changers from the temple. Note that God is patient, and slow to anger (Psalm 145:48), reserving the right to punish only when all other measures have failed.<sup>8</sup>

Second, is justifiable anger in human beings, as cogently summarized by Solomon Schimmel: "Aristotle [*Nichomachean Ethics*, IV:11] had already set forth the doctrine of justifiable anger that was later accepted, with significant modifications, by most Christian and Jewish moralists . . . . Catholic moral theology, while including anger as one of the seven capital sins, maintains that it is not always sinful. It may be righteous when it is aroused against evil or for the sake of justice."<sup>9</sup> A branch of justifiable anger is what Beheim calls "good wrath" (*czoren . . . gut*; 177, 5), zealous anger when the sinner gets angry with himself on account of, and in recognition of, his own vice. The third variety of anger is sinful wrath, that is to say, unrighteous anger, one branch of which is man's anger against God (177, 51–2), and another of which is anger against his fellow-man (177, 34–38). Think in this latter case of Christ's admonition that everyone who is angry with his brother will be subject to judgment (Matt. 5:22).

For Michel Beheim anger has almost a fully dark side. It brings forth hatred, and he interprets both anger and hatred more as a moral quality than as an emotion. Claiming not only that anger causes more harm than any other sin, he argues: "All the evil that one might imagine is sparked by wrath" (*waz man ubels er denken künd,/ daz nympt allez da durch enczünd*, 202, 37–38). Allowing here for some hyperbole, his statement on the negative prominence of wrath as the most grievous of sins is noteworthy. Recall that Thomas Aquinas, searching out the cause of sin, asks whether pride or covetousness—not anger— is the root, or beginning, of every sin.<sup>10</sup>

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*Furor and Discourses on Power and Masculinity in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser. Papers in Medieval Studies, 18 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), 371–92. It might strike us that modern inquiries about anger pay very little attention to the concept of sin, replacing it with biology, psychology, and psychotherapy. See, for example, Stephen A. Diamond, *Anger, Madness, and the Daimonic: The Psychological Genesis of Violence, Evil, and Creativity* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996).

<sup>8</sup> See René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984). St. Paul speaks of the wrath of God (*ira Dei*) in Romans 1:18, for example. On anger in the Old Testament, see Barbara Green, "Profound Anger as an Optic for Reading the Prophet Jonah," *Studies in Spirituality* 16 (2006): 1–20.

<sup>9</sup> Solomon Schimmel, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (New York: The Free Press, 1992), 89.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, ed. Institutum Studiorum Mediaevalium Ottaviensis (Ottawa: Studium Generallis Ordinis Praedicatorum, 1941), 2, 1: Question 84. Thomas denies that anger is the most grievous of sins, 2:2, 158:4.



In branding anger a vile sin, Beheim is guided by Scripture, for example, verses on vengeful anger in *Ecclesiasticus* (*Liber Iesu Filii Sirach*):

Rage and anger, these also I abhor,  
 but a sinner has them ready at hand.  
 The vengeful man will face the vengeance of the Lord,  
 who keeps strict account of his sins.  
 Forgive your neighbor his wrongdoing . . . .  
 If a man harbours a grudge against another,  
 is he to expect healing from the Lord?  
 . . . If a mere mortal cherishes rage,  
 where is he to look for pardon?  
 Think of the end that awaits you, and have done with hate . . . .  
 To avoid a quarrel is a setback for sin . . . . (27:30–28:8)

Here, in outline form, is the doctrine that Beheim promotes. Unjustified anger is an abomination, and the punishment for having offended one's neighbor and one's God is divine judgment. Anger is an action that recoils on its originator, not unlike a boomerang. Anger begets anger, since God answers vengeful anger with divine wrath, meting out punishment in kind.

Just as there are seven Deadly Sins, there are, according to Beheim, seven high crimes of anger: perjury, homicide, robbery, arson, warfare, quarrels, and manslaughter. This great number allows the poet to justify the prominent status he accords anger as the source of evil. What these weighty crimes—and sins—share is that each illustrates the absence of reason. No rational person kills another, or sets fire to a dwelling. Too, every act of rage demonstrates a clear nexus between anger, aggression, and deeds of violence, whether verbal or physical. From the earliest times, the angry man is depicted in literature and art if not as a military man, then with a weapon in his hand or at his command. Achilles in the *Iliad* is a man of what Robert Vacca labels “destructive wrath.”<sup>11</sup> King Saul, a ruler of formidable temper, is, in the phrase of Garret Keizer, a prophetic warning to “rash, brooding, and irascible men.”<sup>12</sup>

King Herod, “exceeding wroth” (Matt 2:16; King James version), orders the massacre of male children. In the Roman world, Seneca, in the words of William S. Anderson, “again and again . . . reverts to the image of the angry man as a soldier or general.”<sup>13</sup> Prudentius-manuscripts in the Middle Ages depict anger as

<sup>11</sup> Robert Vacca, “The Theology of Disorder in the ‘Iliad,’” *Religion & Literature* 23 (1991): 1–22; here 18. See, also, Simone Weil, “The ‘Iliad,’ or the Poem of Force,” *On Violence: A Reader*, ed. Bruce B. Lawrence and Aisha Karim (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2007), 378–90.

<sup>12</sup> Garret Keizer, *The Enigma of Anger: Essays on a Sometimes Deadly Sin* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2002), 156.

<sup>13</sup> William S. Anderson, *Anger in Juvenal and Seneca*. University of California Publications in Classical Philology, v. 19, no. 3 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), 166. Seneca

the allegorical figure *ira* (wrath, anger, ire), a creature ever ready and eager to hurl arrows and spears at its enemy.<sup>14</sup> Anger appears again allegorically shortly after Beheim's death in Hieronymus Bosch's painting the "Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things" (ca. 1485). Here the image of anger is a violent peasant brawl. In front of a shabby tavern, men fight with knives in their hands. One man, having been hit by a stool, is bleeding; the other fellow is ready to hit him with a beer stein, or to stab him with his blade. A woman (the wife of one?) unsuccessfully tries to intervene. Clothes are strewn over what Laura D. Gelfand calls the "field of battle."<sup>15</sup> These ireful, battling peasants are thus representative of warriors, their drunken brawl an ironic reflection of warfare itself—stupefied, pointless violence in the thrall of wrath. As late as the Baroque theater in Spain, anger is emblemized by a Roman soldier.<sup>16</sup>

Returning to Beheim's seven crimes of anger, one sees they encompass a wide judicial, religious, and societal range. Wrath is a legal issue (perjury, murder), a breach of the Decalogue (Thou shalt not kill), human interaction (strife), a national and international concern (war), as well as a matter of the individual and community right of proprietorship (robbery, rape, pillaging, the destruction of buildings and cities). This is not to speak of innocent victims, caught between the

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composed a major moral essay on anger, *De ira*, trans. by John W. Basore, *Seneca: Moral Essays* (London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1928), 106–355. Plutarch also wrote on anger and its control. On the treatment of wrath in the classical world, see Solomon Schimmel, "Anger and its Control in Greco-Roman and Modern Psychology," *Psychiatry: Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes* 42 (1979): 320–37.

<sup>14</sup> For example, see Richard Stettiner, "Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften," Ph.D. diss. Strassburg, 1895, 157. The Roman Christian poet and hymn-writer Aurelius Clemens Prudentius (d. ca. 405), is best known in the Middle Ages for his hexameter work *Psychomachia*, the allegorical depiction of the virtues and vices. See Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Alan J. P. Crick (1939; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).

<sup>15</sup> "Social Status and Sin: Reading Bosch's Prado *Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things* Painting," *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals*, ed. Richard Newhauser. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 123 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 243.

<sup>16</sup> Hilaire Kallendorf, "Dressed to the Sevens, or Sin in Style: Fashion Statements by the Deadly Vices in Spanish Baroque *Autos Sacramentales*," *The Seven Deadly Sins*, ed. Newhauser, 161 (see note 15). Kallendorf identifies typologies of the vice of anger, on the evidence of stage plays. Anger appears as a bird-beast, a male bandit with a gun belt and pistol, a breastplate, and a sword. Three theatrical figures representing anger are King Herod slaying the infants, Saint Paul before his conversion, and a Roman who helps Jews to crucify Christ (152). Kallendorf includes an illustration from Cesare Ripa's influential catalog of emblems and symbols, *Iconologia* (Padua, 1611; first published in 1593), showing an emblem of wrath (*ira*) that depicts a soldier in a helmet and breastplate, a sword in his right hand and a burning torch in the other (p.166). The burning torch appears, too, in Beheim's verses on wrath, as will be clear below. The poet castigates soldiers who set fires during warfare, identifying burning with the Deadly Sin of anger. See Song-Poem 179, *Was ubels von prennen kum* (The Evils of Malicious Burning), part of the Little Book, whose first verse is an apostrophe to warriors to lay down the torch.

armies. They are Beheim's concern when he speaks of the effects of war: poverty, suffering, anxiety at night, hunger, thirst, and freezing cold (178, 54–57). Violence and destruction are the leitmotifs of this savage grouping, the wanton ruin of life and property. Beheim here describes the “deadly poison of anger” of which St. John Cassian (d. ca. 435) spoke, the sin preventing men from acquiring right judgment, discretion, and insight.<sup>17</sup>

Anger makes men blind. It must strike our attention that Beheim numbers war itself among the crimes of anger. Roused to anger, brothers become enemies, and groups become combatants. What better vehicle than warfare, he suggests, to demonstrate the full consequence of raging anger? Stirred to wrath, soldiers burn, pillage, maim and kill, making apparent in a single tableau all the bloody malice and belligerence that insensate fury brings forth. For the poet, war is the ultimate quarrel.

If the warrior is the very image of the angry man, who, then, is his opposite number? St. John Cassian (ca. 360–435), a foundational figure in literature on the Deadly Sins, tells us it is the tranquil monk, the man who wages spiritual, not earthly combat (*De spiritu irae*, VIII:5). The monk, who cultivates calmness, strives to be free from all anger, wrath, clamor and evil speaking. He seeks to rid his soul of any vestige of anger, since this sin battles prudence and places man at odds with his creator. All men are enjoined by God to reconciliation with their brothers; and in this effort the monk will placidly show the way. In short, the monk is everything the warrior is not. Purged of anger, this counter-warrior seeks a calmness of soul that allows him to battle evil, not to contribute to it.

To the angry soldier Beheim turns in his treatment of wrath as part of his cycle on the Deadly Sins. There he devotes five song-poems to the topic of anger: Concerning Wrath and Why it is to be Avoided; Concerning the Kinds of Wrath; Concerning Making War; The Evils of Malicious Burning; and Concerning Homicide and Manslaughter.<sup>18</sup>

In these song-poems it is plain that anger has profound theological implications, in that wrath not only drives out the Trinity, but allows the devil to reside in the place of God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost (176,70–71). Wrath is the devil's plaything, because it causes those in a state of rage to harm their fellow Christians. And when a wrathful man takes the name of God in vain, the devil finds his pleasure:

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<sup>17</sup> Cassianus, *De institutis coenobiorum, De incarnatione contra Nestorium*, ed. Michael Petschenig. *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004), VIII: 1, *De spiritu irae*. The first sentence reads: *Quarto quoque certamine est irae mortiferum uirus de recessibus animae nostrae funditus eruendum* (151; In our fourth [combat] the fatal poison of anger must be fully rooted out from the recesses of our soul).

<sup>18</sup> The song-poems, in order, are: *Von zorn und warumb der cze meiden sey* (176); *Von mangerlay zorenn* (177); *Von chriegen* (178); *Was ubels von prennen kum* (179); and *Von todslag und man slacht* (180).

Der czorn liebt auch dem teufel, wan  
 er wirt des menschen her daran  
 und der mensch wirt sein undertan (176, 105–07)

[Wrath loves the devil, because he becomes the master of men and man becomes his servant]

The devil has an even more prominent role to play, when Beheim wishes to correlate the wiles of Satan with military force. Twice Beheim specifically mentions soldiers as being in league with the devil. First, he argues that, if soldiers and mercenaries (*chrieger und soldner*) were only willing to do as much for God's sake as they do in the service of the devil, then their recompense would not be so meager (178, 58–61). Men-at-arms are thus, for the poet, the very same type of angry servants of the devil just mentioned, who call Satan their master and who obey his every command. Second, Beheim devotes an entire song-poem to destructive fires, blazes that he attributes to warriors. It begins:

Ir chrieger, merkent alle sant  
 und hutet euch vor ab vor prant.  
 wann vil sunden, schaden und schant  
 allain chumen von prennen (179, 1–4)

[You soldiers, take heed and beware of destructive fires since many sins, harm and shame come from conflagration]

Flatly the poet states that setting fires is a sin; but more than this, it offends the Holy Spirit (179, 35–36). The beneficiary of malicious burning by armies is the devil himself, who is amused at the warrior's attempt to re-create hell with his own angry flames. Inasmuch as the military firebrands have created hell on earth with their blazes, Beheim not only calls their behavior devilish, he equates those who burn and thereby punish people in war with devils in the infernal regions. The devil has now found his partner, warriors who replicate the landscape of hell.

To heal "the angry man" (*der czornig mensch*; 176, 129), the person who fully embodies this Deadly Sin, one must first identify him, and this Beheim attempts to do for his audience with exemplars, metaphors, and proverbs, relying mainly on Scripture. As might be expected, Cain (Gen. 4:8) is the negative archetype of anger, having murdered his brother Abel in a blind rage (180, 53–65). Absalom and Samson, too, are men of wrath, this time as angry arsonists, burning crops as acts of vengeance (179, 47–55).

Using the traditional association of animals and sins, Beheim likens anger to a mad dog which, by spreading its poison, causes fatal wounds (176, 1–4).<sup>19</sup> Wrath

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<sup>19</sup> The standard treatment of the association of animals and the Deadly Sins is by Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special*

is also like a serpent, or dragon, expelling fire and burning everything in its path (176,129–33). And the angry man reminds the poet of a bear who ends its life on the blade of a sword (176, 186–88).<sup>20</sup> A further image of anger is the surging waters that subject harbors to repeated battering (176, 174–85). When Beheim comes to speak of humans that symbolize anger, these are the fool and the warrior, although the two types tend to blend. The fool is silly enough to cast stones high above himself, for these inevitably come crashing down on his own head (177, 63–65). This is meant to instruct his audience that acts of anger backfire on the perpetrator, the classic formulation being Christ's words: "All who take the sword die by the sword" (Matt. 26: 52), which Beheim rephrases (180, 36–38). Our poet claims that wrath makes a person foolish and blind. It tosses reason aside, preventing us, by befuddling the mind, from forgiving offenses of other persons.

Since the wrathful person is, in Beheim's eyes, the very image of irrationality (176, 174–75), and since anger is harmful to the soul (176, 167), placing the wrathful man in danger of hell-fire, how can one justify, or hope to reconcile, armed conflict that has no benefit of divine sanction? The fighting man is foremost a wrathful man, engulfed in vengeful anger, and bearing all the negative traits of the sin of wrath—loss of rationality, temper and self control, proclivity to senseless aggression and violence, danger to other persons and creatures. These factors place the angry warrior very far, indeed, from Christ's message of peace.

Robert A. F. Thurman reminds us that Christ sought no less than the very "conquest of anger" and "freedom from anger . . . demanding that sins and vices be confronted and overcome in the mind, not only in outward action."<sup>21</sup> Before exploring the implications of Beheim's understanding of warfare as an expression of vengeful anger, and not justified anger, that is, of identifying the warfare stemming from anger as a vice, it is necessary to consider the text of his song-poem on waging war, *Von chriegen* (Concerning Making War), heretofore not rendered into English, which he places squarely in a discussion of the capital sin of wrath. It should be clear that his plea against war and for peace is a general one. This

*Reference to Medieval English Literature* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State College Press, 1952), 245–49. On the comparison of warriors to animals in the *Iliad*, a linkage that devolves, against the backdrop of violence, to the motifs of the "feral spirit of combat" (1) and warriors as "carnivorous, predatory animals" (8), see Vacca, "The Theology of Disorder in the 'Iliad'" (see note 11). He highlights the theme of the desecration of corpses by combatants (9).

<sup>20</sup> Beheim here follows his source text, Heinrich von Langenstein's *Erchantnuzz der sund* (see note 4), which also likens the angry man to a bear that stubbornly attacks the (metaphorical) sword of anger and hate (58:98–99). William Peraldus, however, had referred in his *Summa de vitiis* to this animal as a wild boar: "Homo etiam iracundus est velut aper in gladio ire vel odij seipsum inpingens" (189; The angry man is like a boar falling upon the sword of rage).

<sup>21</sup> Robert A. F. Thurman, *Anger: The Seven Deadly Sins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 36–37. A renowned Buddhist scholar, Thurman explores anger mainly from this religious perspective.

means his apostrophe to secular rulers (emperor, kings, princes, and lords) is not to be read as history; he is neither appealing to identifiable noblemen, nor is he addressing a specific fifteenth-century martial conflict. It would be wrong to read his plea against war as merely rhetorical, however. The best interpretation is that Michel Beheim re-works timeless non-violent sentiments from previous centuries (Peraldus, Heinrich von Langenstein), re-envisioning the call for peace and the condemnation of violence.

*Von chriegen:*

Ir chaiser, chunig, fursten, herrn,  
 chert euch von hader, chrieg und wernn.  
 czu dem friden solt ir euch chern.  
 aintracht ir machen solte.  
 Lat euch unfrit verfuren nit.  
 wann wo man haltet sun und frit,  
 da ist got selber allzeit mit.  
 unfrit ist wider gote.  
 Den friden er lieb hote.  
 des haben wir vil manch urkund.  
 zu dem ersten, als got pegund  
 zu chumen auf die erden und  
 die menschait nemen wolte,  
 Das die welt was gestillet gar.  
 ein gemainer frid was zwelf jar,  
 als Ysaia offenbar  
 macht von des frides nucze.  
 Das stet im andern: 'ire swert  
 czu phlug eisen werden gekert,  
 ir spies zu sicheln.' auf der ert  
 wart die weissag erfullet.  
 Noch mer ir horen sullet.  
 als unser herr geporen wart,  
 wart auch der frid geoffennpart  
 von den engeln auff sneller vart,  
 stet in dem andern Luce.  
 Das spricht: 'lob und er sey hie  
 got in dem hachsten gsaget ye,  
 den leüten frid auf erden, die  
 da gutes willen seine.'  
 Von friden ist uns mer pekant.  
 do unser herr sein junger sant,  
 das sy predigten durch die lant,  
 den friden offenpere.  
 Da gab er in die lere,  
 als Matheus peschriben hot,

und sprach: 'wo ir in ein haus got,  
 so grusset es und sprichet drot  
 'frid sey dem haus mit eine.'  
 Den frid ir mer verhoren solt.  
 da got von seinen jungern wolt,  
 da lies er in den frid zu solt  
 und czu einem erbteile  
 Und sprach: 'mein frid laß ich euch. mer  
 send ich eu meinen fride her.'  
 nach seiner urstent, da cham er  
 und was sein jungern mide  
 Und enphalch in den fride,  
 in dem czehenden Johannis.  
 ich auch an zwaien steten lis,  
 das unser herr Jhesus jach dis:  
 'mit euch sey frides heile.'  
 Ir chrigen auch vermeiden solt  
 durch grosse armut, dy man tolt  
 an chrieg manch valtgleich erholt.  
 manch nacht wachent all sande,  
 Gwapent, mit hunger, durst und frust.  
 solten chrieger und soldner sust  
 durch got leiden solche verlust  
 als in des teufels dinste.  
 Ir lon wer nicht der mynste.  
 als [sic] David hat gesprochen: 'groß  
 reu und unseld ist an irm stroß.  
 des frides weg in kainer moß  
 sy nicht haben erkannde.'

(178, 1-65)

[Concerning Making War (The title is Beheim's own)  
 You emperor, kings, princes, lords:  
 Turn away from strife, war and fighting.  
 Turn to peace;  
 make concord.  
 Be not led astray by forces that divide you.  
 Wherever reconciliation and peace are to be found,  
 there, too, is God.  
 Human conflict represents hostile opposition to God.  
 Peace He loves.  
 Of this we have ample documentation.  
 In the beginning, God  
 came to earth,  
 wishing to take on human form  
 in order that the world might have a time of peace.  
 A common peace lasted 12 years,

as Isaiah prophesied  
 when speaking of the rewards of peace.  
 So it is written in the second (chapter of Isaiah): Your swords  
 should be made into iron ploughs and  
 your spears should become reaping hooks. On earth  
 this prophecy was fulfilled.  
 More you should hear.  
 When our Lord was born  
 peace was immediately prophesied  
 by the angels.  
 This you can find in Luke, Chapter Two.  
 There it says: 'Praise and honor  
 evermore to God in the highest.  
 Grant to those of good will  
 his peace on earth.'  
 Of peace more is known to us  
 when our Lord sent his disciples forth  
 so that they might preach throughout all lands,  
 making peace manifest.  
 Thereupon he taught them,  
 as Matthew has written  
 and said: 'Wherever you go into a house,  
 give greetings and say quickly:  
 'May peace dwell in this house.'  
 You shall hear more about peace.  
 This God desired from his disciples;  
 peace was to be their reward from him.  
 It was their inheritance.  
 He spoke: 'I bequeath peace to you.  
 I send you my peace.'  
 After His resurrection He  
 was in the presence of his disciples.  
 In 10 John  
 He commended peace to them.  
 In two other places (in Scripture) I read,  
 that our Lord Jesus avowed this:  
 'May the healing power of Peace abide with you.'  
 You should steer clear of war,  
 mindful of the condition of poverty it brings.  
 In the absence of war, some get well.  
 (In war) some watch through the night,  
 armed [not with weapons, but] with hunger, thirst and frost.  
 If only soldiers and mercenaries  
 were willing to do as much for God's sake as they do in the service  
 of the devil,



then their reward would not be so meager.  
 As David said: 'Great  
 destruction and misery lie in their path.  
 In no measure have they  
 known the way of peace.']

Beheim's *Von chriegen* is one of the strongest anti-war poems of the early modern period, showing a moral abhorrence toward war to a startling degree.<sup>22</sup> His is the voice of the Biblical prophet and mediator of truth to the secular nobility. Within a very compressed space, he successfully launches a ferocious assault on persons engaged in warfare, on war itself, and on those rulers who permit bloodshed. He rejects violence as a means of resolving disputes, stripping those in secular authority of any justification for conducting warfare. What excuse might they possibly have for anger and fighting, inasmuch as God loves and establishes peace and prosperity (Isaiah 26: 3 and 12) and regards vengeful conflict with loathing? Peace, Beheim's ideal, is ordained by heaven, and comes about when those in charge of armaments and combatants recognize that true authority regarding any matter of war and peace rests with heaven.

*Von chriegen* is constructed as an inner-Biblical dialogue, citing one reference after another to Scripture from the Old Testament and the New—the Psalms, the prophecies of Isaiah, the Nativity, and Jesus' call to his disciples to spread peace. Each quote speaks to peace, for example, the birth of the Messiah of peace, at which the angels sing the *Gloria in Excelsis*, whose refrain calls for peace on earth (Luke 2: 14). Christ instructs his disciples, when spreading the Gospel, to express the wish that peace might descend on those households that welcome them (Matt 10:12). Peace is the inheritance (*erbteile*; 178, 43) that Christ bequeaths to his followers. After the Crucifixion, his words to his disciples are: "Peace be with you!" (John 20: 21). From the prophet Isaiah Beheim gleams arguably the most famous sentiment on peaceful behavior under witness, this according to the familiar King James version: to "beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks" (Isaiah 2:4). He cites these verses from the matrix of Isaiah's comprehensive vision of the reign of peace, a literal shaking up of the earth when the Messiah comes.

The remainder of the verse in Isaiah asserts that nations will not take up the sword against nations, nor will they train for war any more. The framework is thus an overarching, passionate argument for peace, built upon God's hatred for war.

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<sup>22</sup> See also the remarkable contributions to this topic by the sixteenth-century Nuremberg poet Hans Sachs, cf. Albrecht Classen, "Poetische Proteste gegen den Krieg: Der Meistersänger Hans Sachs als früher Kriegsgegner im 16. Jahrhundert," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 63 (2007): 235–56; see also his contribution to this volume.

As much as God loves peace, so Beheim's source text maintains, He hates war.<sup>23</sup> Those who wage war—those who live and die by the sword—are the children of anger, insensible souls who ignore the famine and poverty that they bring forth. Their crime, and sin, Jeffrie G. Murphy discusses under the heading: "The Killing of the Innocent."<sup>24</sup> Expressed between the lines in Beheim's verses is the fact that warriors inculcate grave fear, even panic, in the innocent population, those guiltless citizens who "watch through the night" (*manch nacht wachent all sande*; 56). In modern terms, Beheim acknowledges the effect of armed conflict on the morale of the home-front. He sketches the effects of battle on helpless noncombatants, those individuals caught in the crossfire of violence, having no power to end it. The wages of war for these innocents is terror, loss, and famine. Nowadays, some sadly call such bystanders on the field of war "incidental casualties," or "collateral damage."

Although this song-poem bears the title "Concerning Making War" (*Von chriegen*), it is much more occupied with making peace: the words "peace" (*frit/aintracht*) and "absence-of-peace" (*unfrit*) appear some 20 times in 65 lines. Beheim has composed a hymn to peace and, sketching the evils of war against the backdrop of salvation history, has sharply contrasted the harmony of divine love with wrathful disharmony. Constructed on the premise that there is an indisputable causal connection between vengeful anger, violence and destruction, Beheim's thesis can be summed up in a single verse: "Human conflict represents hostile opposition to God" (*unfrit ist wider gote*; 8). Since God loves peace and hates war, it then follows that anyone who wages war behaves in flagrant antagonism to divine injunction. This logic not only places soldiers—who the speaker claims are in the service of the devil—in danger of damnation, it confers on war all the negative properties of sinful anger itself—madness, idiocy, irrationality, blindness, hatred, and apostasy. To wage war is therefore to declare war on God himself; it is not by accident that Christ is called the Prince of Peace.

The "way of peace" (*des frides weg*; 64) that Beheim propagates throughout as a counterforce to armed conflict is a borrowed metaphor from Psalm 13, the *via pacis* of the Vulgate.<sup>25</sup> This psalm affords a template, and an analogy, for interpreting

<sup>23</sup> Heinrich von Langenstein: *Erchantruzz der sund*, 60:8–9 (194) (see note 4). The ultimate source is Peraldus's *Summa de vitiis* (cited also on p. 194): *Dominus amat pacem et per contrarium guerram odit*.

<sup>24</sup> Jeffrie G. Murphy, "The Killing of the Innocent," *War, Morality, and the Military Profession*, ed. Malham M. Wakin (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1981), 343–69.

<sup>25</sup> Citations from the Vulgate are according to the edition, *Biblia sacra: iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. Robertus Weber, 2nd ed. (1969; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975). Psalm 13 in the Septuagint version, beginning *Dixit insipiens in corde suo non est Deus*, is called Psalm 14 in the Masoretic version. I cite David here as the author of Psalm 13 because Michel Beheim does so; the authorship of Psalm 13 is, however, disputed. The *via pacis* passage, the ending of verse 3, is corrupt and is not carried over into most published versions of Psalm 13 (14). The key phrase is:

*Von chriegen*, inviting the audience to make the connection between the angry sinners of Psalm 13 and the angry makers of war in the song-poem. Beheim exploits the parallel by adopting the psalmist's invective to conclude his own text: "As David said: 'Great destruction and misery lie in their path. In no measure have they known the way of peace'" (*groß/reu und unseld ist an irn stroß. / des frides weg in kainer moß / sy nicht haben erkande*; 62–65). The vague pronouns "their" and "they" to which both David and Beheim refer are, however, addressed to different audiences—with a shocking result.

David attacks the impious fools who deny the existence of God, calling such persons corrupt and abominable good-for-nothings with deceitful tongues and poison under their lips. Having no fear of God, they bitterly curse and blaspheme, and are swift to shed blood. Then the psalmist claims such people live in destruction and unhappiness, not knowing the path of peace (*viam pacis non cognoverunt* 13:3). Beheim now takes David's general theological lament on corrupt, irreligious persons and applies the pronoun "they" specifically, and pointedly, to "warriors and mercenaries" (*chrieger und soldner*; 58).

In a stunning indictment of belligerents—and of those noblemen who engage them—Beheim allows, through analogy on the model of Psalm 13 (and its received version in Romans 3:10–18), the inference that the unjust, the degenerate, and soldiers are indistinguishable: all their numbers are ungodly, churlish fools and blasphemers, having become abominable in their ways. They are deceitful, angry, bitter, cursing men who are eager to spill blood. In their wake lies a trail of destruction, unfamiliar as they are with the path of peace. By this logic—and application of Davidic theology to Beheim's verses—warriors are simple-minded sinners who do not regulate anger with reason. Consequently, war is idiotic and is waged—and promoted by secular rulers—under the power of sin. A harsher critique would be difficult to imagine.

It is plain that Beheim here advances an extremist position on waging war. In denying the legitimacy of armed conflict, his stance is absolutist, even extremist

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*et viam pacis non cognoverunt* (13:3). Because it was quoted in Romans 3:17, however, the phrase became canonical for chastising those who fail to promote peace in the Middle Ages. The verses bracketing *via pacis* appear, for example, in *Piers Plowman* (B Version), Passus IV: 36–37: *Contricio et infelicitas in viis eorum &c. . . . Non est timor Dei ante oculos eorum &c.* Cited in *Piers Plowman: The B Version*, ed. George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson (London: Athlone, 1975), 295. Cf. the similar references to ignorance of the "way of peace" by Peraldus, *Summa de vitiis* (*et viam pacis non cognoscunt*) and Heinrich von Langenstein, *Erchantruzz der sund* (*des frids weg habent sy nicht erchant*), both appearing in the latter edition on p.195. The verses in question in Psalm 13 (14) and Romans 3: 13–18 refer to the fool who lacks religious reverence as having a throat like an open sepulcher; his tongue is deceitful; the poison of asps is under his lips; his mouth is filled with cursing and bitterness; his feet are quick to shed blood; his way is destruction and unhappiness; he doesn't know the way of peace; and he doesn't fear God. *The New English Bible* (see our note 6) renders the *via pacis*-verse as: "They are strangers to the high-road of peace" (Romans 3:17).

and utopian. It is striking that in these verses he shows no interest in the legal and theological fine points as to what constitutes a just war. That tradition is sketched neatly by Theodore Caplow and Louis Hicks:

Christianity was originally pacifist . . . Early Christians could not be soldiers. This changed after Christianity became the state religion of Rome in the fourth century. St. Ambrose and St. Augustine elaborated Cicero's doctrine of the just war: it must be declared by legitimate authority, have a just cause, right intention, be a last resort, have a high probability of success, provide immunity for noncombatants, and be proportional to the ends.<sup>26</sup>

In *Von chriegen* Beheim leaves no room for the two branches of the just war theory, either the doctrine of *jus ad bellum* (the right to go to war), or *jus in bello* (correct conduct in the war), exposing each as hollow. There is no justification in his verses here for war under any conditions, and the conduct of the soldiers and mercenaries to whom he refers is execrable. Acting like marauding wild beasts, they terrorize innocents and serve the devil's ends of death and privation. But Beheim was unable to sustain this pristine vision of peace, a variation on Isaiah's dream of eternal peace, throughout his poetic work.<sup>27</sup> To use two examples, he once seeks to justify the military actions of the Habsburg emperor during the siege of Vienna (beginning in 1462), a siege he witnessed.<sup>28</sup> And, again, he laments the failure of Christian rulers to prevent the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.<sup>29</sup> Questions of what makes a war just Beheim wrestles with outside the

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<sup>26</sup> Theodore Caplow and Louis Hicks, *Systems of War and Peace*, 2nd ed. (1995; Lanham, MD, New York, and Oxford: University Press of America, 2002), 22. On the just war tradition, see Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York: Basic Books, 1977); Donald A. Wells, "How Much Can the 'Just War' Justify?" *War, Morality, and the Military Profession*, ed. Malham M. Wakin (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1981), 259–71; William R. Stevenson, *Christian Love and Just War: Moral Paradox and Political Life in St. Augustine and his Modern Interpreters* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987); Paul Christopher, *The Ethics of War and Peace: An Introduction to Legal and Moral Issues* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1994); John Mark Mattox, *Saint Augustine and the Theory of Just War* (London and New York: Continuum, 2006); and Howard M. Hensel, *The Legitimate Use of Military Force: The Just War Tradition and the Customary Law of Armed Conflict* (Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008). Concerning medieval warfare itself, see Maurice H. Keen, *Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1965); and Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. Michael Jones (1980; Oxford: Blackwell, 1984). [Ed. Note: on Just War, see also the articles by Ben Snook in the present volume.]

<sup>27</sup> On Isaiah and peace, see *Isaiah's Vision of Peace in Biblical and Modern International Relations: Swords into Plowshares*, ed. Raymond Cohen and Raymond Westbrook. *Culture and Religion in International Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

<sup>28</sup> See the discussion by Christoph Petzsch, "Michel Beheims 'Buch von den Wienern,'" *Mitteilungen der Kommission für Musikforschung* 23 (1973): 266–315.

<sup>29</sup> Song-Poem 446: *Von den Türken und dem adel sagt dis* (This tells about the Turks and our noblemen). Songs on the Turks are discussed by Senol Özyurt, *Die Türkenlieder und das Türkenbild*

frame of his Little Book. And it is fair to say he shows elsewhere a modified support for the theory of a just war. He would no doubt argue that the views expressed in *Von chriegen* are an ideal, are in concord with a Biblical vision, and are therefore what should come to pass, not what exists in the earthly sphere. In any event, the warfare that Beheim argues against in *Von chriegen*, conflict under the sign of sinful anger that brings poverty, hunger, thirst and cold to innocents, has no connection whatsoever to just wars. He alludes to armies as in league with the devil, devastating landscapes and terrorizing noncombatants.

If war is anger by another name, then that anger must be seen as a sin—and purged. At the same time Beheim promotes Isaiah's vision of peace on earth and an end to malicious and destructive behavior, his hidden model is the man without anger, that person who will shut his mouth instead of opening it in strife, cursing, blaspheming, and injuring his neighbor with poisonous words. This man is the counterpart to the military man and, if he approaches any profession on earth, it is the monk-figure of John Cassian's writings on the Deadly Sins mentioned above. The task of the peaceful man, like those leading the cenobitical life, is to rid himself of anger, forgive his enemies, trust in God, and obey the divine injunction that peace, not war, is to prevail. To follow the path of peace is to recognize that weapons and war are an extreme solution, to be used only for the propagation of the faith in a cause blessed by heaven. The only war for which Christians are to prepare is the struggle against Satan, and no other.

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in der deutschen Volksüberlieferung vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Motive, 4 (Munich: W. Fink, 1972); and Bertrand Buchmann, *Türkenlieder: Zu den Türkenkriegen und besonders zur zweiten Wiener Türkenbelagerung* (Vienna: H. Böhlau, 1983).



## Chapter 17

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### Love and War in the Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Prose *Cligés*: The Duke of Saxony's Passion for Fenice

#### 1. Introduction: The Court of Philip the Good

During the turbulent fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the dukes of Burgundy were engaged in ongoing power and territorial struggles with England, France, and the duchy's neighbors to the north and east for as long as their realm lasted. The apogee of Burgundy was reached during the reign of Philip the Good (1419–1467); at its height its domains included the two Burgundies, Artois, Flanders, Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, Brabant, Limburg, Lothier, Namur, and Luxembourg.<sup>1</sup> For their armed conflicts, the dukes had access to the most sophisticated weaponry, and Philip the Good, in particular, assembled an impressive store of artillery.<sup>2</sup> Philip actually showed a preference for diplomacy (including a variety of political marriages) over war in order to create and reinforce alliances. Nevertheless, combat had great appeal for the Burgundian nobility, and many tournaments were organized for their entertainment. Philip himself was a great jousting, an activity he enjoyed even more than hunting and falconry.<sup>3</sup>

The duke's abiding interest in chivalry accounts for his creation, in 1430—at the wedding feast of his marriage to Isabel of Portugal—of the Order of the Golden

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<sup>1</sup> See especially Richard Vaughan's classic work, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970).

<sup>2</sup> Robert Douglas Smith and Kelly DeVries, *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy 1363–1477. Armours and Weapons*, 1 (Woodbridge, UK, and Rochester, NY: Boydell, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> On these recreations, see especially Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 145–49 (see note 1).

Fleece. Reminiscent of the Knights of the Round Table in Arthurian literature, and, in real life, like the Order of the Garter, its English counterpart, Philip's order met in solemn assembly once a year. It numbered not twelve but twenty-four knights: "men of noble and legitimate birth and without reproach, chosen by the duke from among the gentry of Artois, French-speaking Flanders, and the two Burgundies."<sup>4</sup> Eventually, though, it included knights from all parts of the realm, since one of its most important functions was "to unite the nobility of the different territories and bind them in close personal dependence on the duke."<sup>5</sup> The Order of the Golden Fleece also helped to consolidate the duke's alliances with neighboring princes, for membership was open to them as well.

Burgundy was known not only for its military might, of course, but also for its flourishing culture. Philip the Good presided over the most splendid court in Europe and was the greatest art patron of his time. No less a personage than Jan van Eyck was his official court painter and *valet de chambre* (highly-esteemed manservant). A great bibliophile, Philip had a particularly impressive library, and in the course of his reign he quadrupled the 250-book collection that he had inherited. As he was particularly fond of illustrated books, he formed groups of scribes and illuminators to produce them. He also maintained writers and chroniclers at his court and possessed an unusual number of chivalric epics and romances. For his library he collected the works of earlier authors like Chrétien de Troyes, and also commissioned many works, including entirely new ones, as well as prose versions of existing verse works.<sup>6</sup>

Chrétien's *Erec et Enide* and *Cligés* were among those that were rendered into prose at Philip's court. Of his five romances, *Cligés* is the one that contains the most scenes of combat and the only one that features a war—two wars, in fact: the one that Arthur wages against the traitor Angrés and the one that the duke of Saxony initiates against the emperors of Germany and Constantinople. In each war, a prominent role is granted the hero of that part of the romance, Alixandre and Cligés, respectively. Given the keen interest that battles and tournaments had

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<sup>4</sup> Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 57 (see note 1). It is amusing that although the Golden Fleece became a popular motif in Burgundian art and literature, the duke was forced to substitute "the impeccably biblical Gideon" as the main protagonist of the quest for the Golden Fleece for Jason, since the latter's desertion of Medea made him a less than exemplary patron (Vaughan, 162).

<sup>5</sup> Vaughan, *Philip the Good* 161 (see note 1),

<sup>6</sup> Georges Doutrepont, *La Littérature française à la cour des Ducs de Bourgogne: Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Charles le Téméraire* (Paris: Champion, 1909; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), 10, 66–67, 480–94. Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 155, 157 (see note 1). The ducal library included a volume that contained three of Chrétien's romances in verse: *Le Chevalier au lion*, *Le Chevalier de la charrette*, and *Cligés*. See Patrick M. De Winter, *La Bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364–1404): Étude sur les manuscrits à peinture d'une collection princière à l'époque du "style gothique international."* Documents, études et répertoires. Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 50 (Paris: Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, 1985), 250–51.



for the Burgundian court, it is logical that Philip should have been attracted to this particular romance. Another reason for that attraction may have been that *Cligés* is the only one of Chrétien's romances that is centered in the Mediterranean, an area on which the duke's dreams of territorial expansion were focused starting in about 1440. Indeed, Philip even attempted to launch a crusade to free Constantinople, which had fallen to the Turks in 1453.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. Love and War in Chrétien's *Cligés* and the Prose *Cligés*

Dating from 1454–1455 and preserved in a single manuscript in the Universitätsbibliothek of Leipzig (Rep.II.108), the anonymous prose *Cligés* first became known through the transcription that Wendelin Foerster appended to his 1884 edition of Chrétien's *Cligés*.<sup>8</sup> Georges Doutrepoint was among the first scholars to examine the romance, initially in the context of the literature produced at the courts of the dukes of Burgundy and then as part of the wave of "prosifications" that were produced in the late Middle Ages.<sup>9</sup> His first judgment (1909) of the prose *Cligés* was that it lacked originality: the author had barely modified his model (Chrétien's

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<sup>7</sup> On Philip's initiatives in the Mediterranean, see Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, chs. 9 and 11 (see note 1). It is true that, as Maria Colombo Timelli notes, the Constantinople mentioned in the romance is only the distant and sketchily described capital of a Greek empire whose protagonists yearn to leave in order to fulfill their chivalric aspirations at Arthur's court; see the introduction to her edition of the prose *Cligés*, 12 (see note 8 below). Colombo Timelli observes that contemporary events at the duke's court may have moved the prose writer to exploit certain motifs and episodes found in his model (40–41). See also her article, "Le *Cligés* en prose (1455), ou l'actualisation d'un ancien conte en vers," *Actes du IIe Colloque International sur la Littérature en Moyen Français: L'Analisi linguistica e letteraria* 8 (2000): 327–40.

<sup>8</sup> Wendelin Foerster, *Christian von Troyes sämtliche Werke: Nach allen bekannten Handschriften*. Vol. 1: *Cligés* (Halle a. d. S.: Niemeyer, 1884). The prose *Erec* was completed around the same time for the same court, though probably not by the same writer. Foerster also published a transcription in the appendix of his 1890 edition of Chrétien's *Erec et Enide*. Fortunately, Maria Colombo Timelli has produced excellent critical editions of both: *L'Histoire d'Erec en Prose. Roman du XVe Siècle. Textes littéraires français*, 524 (Geneva: Droz, 2000), and *Le Livre de Alixandre Empereur de Constantinople et de Cligés son filz: Roman en prose du XVe siècle. Textes littéraires français*, 567 (Geneva: Droz, 2004). Carol J. Chase and I have translated both prose romances, *Erec* and *Cligés*, respectively, which will be published in a single volume by Boydell and Brewer (currently in press: *Chrétien de Troyes in Prose: The Burgundian Erec and Cligés*). For the passages in Middle French cited here, I use Colombo Timelli's edition; all translations into English are my own. Quotations from Chrétien's romance are from *Cligés*, ed. Stewart Gregory and Claude Luttrell. *Arthurian Studies*, 28 (Cambridge, UK, and Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 1993); the English translations are my own.

<sup>9</sup> Georges Doutrepoint, *La Littérature française*, and *Les Mises en prose des épopées et des romans chevaleresques du XIVe au XVIe siècle*. Académie royale de Belgique. Class des lettres [et des sciences morales et politiques]. Mémoires. Collection in-8. [2nd sér.] t. XL, fasc. unique (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1939; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1969).

romance) and, when it had occurred to him to add an episode, it was scarcely more than an embellishment.<sup>10</sup> However, three decades later (1939), the Belgian critic was willing to admit that the author had put some effort into this “free translation,” making changes—adding or omitting details—that he thought would resonate with his audience in accordance with a process that Jane H. M. Taylor has called “acculturation.”<sup>11</sup> Thus, he amplified passages dealing with war or “war games” (tournaments) and court entertainments and condensed the love monologues and psychological analyses that would have had less appeal for fifteenth-century audiences than for a public like Chrétien’s steeped in the casuistry of *fin’amor* (“fine love,” i. e., courtly love). Doutrepoint admitted, though, that the prose writer’s originality did extend to the addition of several passages that dealt with love—the tender scene of “adieux” between Alixandre and his mother, a whole new episode in which Cligés comes upon a forlorn lady hiding out in the woods to escape an unwanted marriage while awaiting the return of her lover, and passages in which the author actually imitated Chrétien’s style.<sup>12</sup>

Since Doutrepoint, however, very little has been made of the prose writer’s apparent interest in sentimental matters. Scholars who have compared the prose *Cligés* with Chrétien’s verse narrative seem generally to agree that, of the two main themes structuring the original romance—love and prowess—the prose writer, apparently much more interested in the military aspects, gave short shrift to the love intrigue. Norris J. Lacy has surmised that he may have found the love monologues “tedious”, which caused him to “abridge them drastically, effacing much of the psychological subtlety of the original and consequently placing greater emphasis on adventures and warfare.”<sup>13</sup> In further support of the prose writer’s fascination with war, Colombo Timelli has observed that the blank spaces in the manuscript that were set aside to be completed by the illuminator were

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<sup>10</sup> Doutrepoint, *Littérature française*, 67 (see note 9).

<sup>11</sup> Doutrepoint, *Les Mises en prose*, 335, 503, 659–60, 672–74 (see note 9); Jane H. M. Taylor, “The Significance of the Insignificant: Reading Reception in the Burgundian *Erec* and *Cligés*,” *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 24 (1998): 183–97. See also Martha Wallen, “The Art of Adaptation in the Fifteenth-Century *Erec et Enide* and *Cligés*,” Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1972.

<sup>12</sup> Doutrepoint, *Les Mises en prose*, 505–06, 526–27, 532, 550, and 612 (see note 9). On the episode of the forlorn lady, see Colombo Timelli, *Cligés*, 37–38 (see note 8), and my analysis of its function in “The Fifteenth-Century Prose *Cligés*: Better than Just Cutting to the Chase,” *Arthuriana* 18 (2008): 62–72.

<sup>13</sup> See his section on “Arthurian Burgundy: The Politics of Arthur,” in “Late Medieval Arthurian Literature,” *The Arthur of the French. The Arthurian Legend in Medieval French and Occitan Literature*, ed. Glyn S. Burgess and Karen Pratt. *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, 4 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 494–96; here 496. See also Charity Cannon Willard’s particularly harsh assessment of the prose *Cligés*, which she thought seemed “faded” without the love analyses: “The Misfortunes of *Cligés* at the Court of Burgundy,” *Arturus Rex 2: Acta Conventus Lovaniensis* 1987, ed. Willy Van Hoecke, Gilbert Tournoy, and Werner Verbeke, 2 vols. *Mediaevalia Lovaniensia*, 17 (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1991), 2: 397–403; here 402–03.

clearly intended for scenes of combat. These include (in addition to the beginning of the romance and the transition between the two parts): the siege of Windsor Castle, the assault on the castle, the battle between Arthur's knights and the army of the Count of Windsor, the combat between Cligés and Archadés, Archadés's attack on Cligés, Cligés's attack on the Saxons, and Cligés's challenge to the duke of Saxony.<sup>14</sup> In the analysis that follows, we shall see how the prose writer amplified some of these very moments, but in a way that actually contributes to the elaboration of the love intrigue.

If the illuminator did not have the opportunity to exercise his virtuosity in depicting combat, the prose writer did, and he did so much more—and with arguably more success—than did Chrétien. Although he duly followed the general scheme that he found in his model, he “filled in the spaces,” so to speak, that Chrétien left “on the battlefield.” For it must be said that the Champenois poet showed little real interest in describing realistically the various combats that confront his heroes in his romances. Indeed, he often chose to filter them through the eyes of the spectators, who marveled aloud at what they saw unfolding before them, describing the action like so many sports commentators. There are numerous examples of this narrative tactic: we need only think of the speculation that greets Cligés's successive jousts with Arthur's best knights, or that of the ladies who marvel at Yvain's prowess in his combat against Count Alior, or that of the two sisters who witness Gauvain's combat with Meliant de Lis in *Le Conte du Graal* (Story of the Grail). Chrétien also enjoyed overlaying scenes of combat with narratorial commentary, such as when, in *Le Chevalier au lion* (The Knight of the Lion), the two heroes Yvain and Gauvain, best friends in reality, confront each other incognito as mortal enemies in the judicial duel designed to resolve the dispute between the two daughters of the Lord of Noire Espine.<sup>15</sup>

In *Cligés*, we might have expected Chrétien to take a different attitude, for, as Lucie Polak once noted, this romance deals much more extensively than the others with “real warfare.” According to her calculations, the sections on warfare account for 38% in the story of Cligés's father Alixandre, while those on warfare and jousting account for nearly 30% in Cligés's story.<sup>16</sup> But these statistics are quite

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<sup>14</sup> Colombo Timelli, *Cligés*, 20–21 (see note 8). See also Michelle Szkilnik's analysis of how the adaptor reworked the siege of Windsor to portray Alixandre as a more imposing, authoritative leader, with whom his readers could identify more easily; “Le Prince et le félon: le siège de Guinesores dans le *Cligés* de Chrétien et dans la prose bourguignonne,” *Cahiers de recherches médiévales* 14 (2007): 61–74.

<sup>15</sup> See Joan Tasker Grimbert, *Yvain' dans le miroir: la poétique de la réflexion dans le 'Chevalier au lion' de Chrétien de Troyes*. Purdue University Monographs in Romance Languages, 25 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1988).

<sup>16</sup> Lucie Polak, *Chrétien de Troyes: Cligés*. Critical Guides to French Texts, 33 (London: Grant & Cutler, 1982), 22–35.

misleading, for, as Peter Haidu demonstrated in his classic study on irony in two of Chrétien's romances, the theme of reality/illusion is so predominant in *Cligés* (as it is in all of Chrétien's romances) that much of the success in combat enjoyed by both Alixandre and Cligés derives from their extensive use of ruse, disguise, and other forms of deception.<sup>17</sup>

These same forms of deception are duly preserved in the prose *Cligés*, but the author, unlike his predecessor, clearly relished describing the scenes of combat and war in quite intricate "military" detail. His depiction of Arthur's siege at Windsor castle even gave him the chance to describe the kinds of artillery amassed by the dukes of Burgundy, particularly Philip the Good. Thus, Colombo Timelli, while agreeing with Doutrepoint that the prose version is generally faithful to the verse version, notes exceptions to the rule that she finds quite understandable, particularly expansions of the passages concerned with war or "chivalric games."<sup>18</sup>

Yet does the prose writer's fascination with war necessarily entail his neglect of the love intrigue? It certainly cannot be denied that he has little use for the elaborate rhetoric in which Chrétien's lovers engage before they have summoned the courage to confess their feelings for each other. He reduces these virtuoso passages to the minimum needed to describe the situation.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, he finds other, more subtle, ways to highlight this theme,<sup>20</sup> one of the most innovative of which is his characterization of the duke of Saxony's love for Fenice. In the ensuing analysis, I will endeavor to show how the duke's passion unfolds, from his rage at losing her to Alix through each of his attempts to recover her, all of which pit him and his best knights against Cligés and culminate in the duke's final confrontation with the hero.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Peter Haidu, *Aesthetic Distance in Chrétien de Troyes: Irony and Comedy in 'Cligés' et 'Perceval'* (Geneva: Droz, 1968), 87–89.

<sup>18</sup> Colombo Timelli, *Cligés*, 29 (see note 8), with examples comparing the verse and prose texts cited on 30–37.

<sup>19</sup> Norris J. Lacy, "Adaptation as Reception: the Burgundian *Cligés*," *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 24 (1998): 198–207. Lacy concentrates his analysis on the relations between Alixandre and Soredamor.

<sup>20</sup> In Grimbert, "The Fifteenth-Century Prose *Cligés*," (see note 12). I analyze the prose writer's considerable artistry in his depiction of the relations between Cligés and Fenice. Two other scholars have viewed these relations from a political and ideological standpoint, showing how the redactor sought to "legitimize" a love that was adulterous and even bore the taint of incest. See Catherine Deschepper, "De l'adultère comme résistance à l'empereur usurpateur . . . . La convergence des intrigues amoureuses et politiques dans le *Cligés* en prose," *La Littérature de la cour de Bourgogne, Actualités et perspectives de recherche*, ed. Claude Thiry and Tania Van Hemelryck. *Le Moyen français* 57–58 (2005–2006): 67–86; and Rebecca Dixon, "The Wedding Reception: Rewriting the Ideological Challenge in the prose *Cligés* (1454)," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales* 14 (2007): 315–26.

<sup>21</sup> I disagree with the view espoused by Wallen, "The Art of Adaptation," 345 (see note 11), who contends that the duke of Saxony feels only lust for Fenice. As the analysis below will prove, he is truly enamored of her.

### 3. Love and War in the Prose *Cligés*: A New Love Triangle

We first hear about the duke when the emperor of Germany, upon accepting Alix's bid to marry his daughter, warns him that, since the duke has also requested her hand, Alix will have to come to Cologne with a force large enough to fight him if he should threaten war, a prediction that is indeed realized when the duke hears the news. In Chrétien's version, the Saxon leader is actually betrothed to Fenice, and his fierce battle to wrest the maiden away from Alix is clearly dictated by her father's failure to honor that prior arrangement and the duke's consequent loss of a very advantageous political and economic alliance.

The prose version differs from Chrétien's in two significant details. First, the duke is presented not as Fenice's betrothed but as a persistent suitor who has asked several times for her hand and been refused. His anger is thus motivated by his frustration at this serial rejection, and exacerbated by the galling knowledge that a rival has won out. Second, there is another, apparently more compelling, reason for the intensity of the duke's fury: the amorous passion he has nurtured for Fenice since early adolescence. Hence, his impulse to pit himself against Cligés, in a joust witnessed by his beloved, is motivated not just by his will to avenge the death of his nephew but also by his desire for the maiden. The duke's passion makes him a more worthy opponent for Cligés in the prose version than he appears in the original romance, a fact that the prose writer underscores by first mentioning the duke's infatuation directly after his description of the initial meeting of Cligés and Fenice:

D'un parfait vouloir et d'une seule pencee tournent leurz yeux et entendemens Cligés et Fenice a remirer la doulceur, beaulté et haultain ouvrage dont chascun de eulz est parfait quant a forme corporelle; més atant notre compte les laissera entreregarder et maintenant vendra a parler des fais au duc de Saxonne, qui estoit tant amoureux de Fenice que, nonobstant qu'il eust par pluseurz fois esté escondit, il avoit transmis son nepveu et bien Vc hommes avec lui pour venir encores de rechief parler a l'empereur du mariage de sa fille.

(106)

[Imbued with a perfect desire and a single thought, Cligés and Fenice turn their eyes and attention to admiring the sweetness, beauty, and lofty work of which each is the perfect bodily form. But now our account will leave them gazing upon each other and proceed to speak of the actions of the duke of Saxony, who was so enamored of Fenice that, although he had been refused several times, he had sent his nephew and at least five hundred men with him to speak to the emperor yet again about his daughter's marriage].

The prose writer's changes are reflected as well in the differing accounts of the nephew's report of his uncle's threat. In both versions the nephew (whose name

is revealed as Archadés only in the prose) duly reports his uncle's threat to the German emperor, but the prose writer records the duke's challenge in a more elaborate speech transcribed in direct discourse:

"Sire, Dieu te sault et accroisse ton honneur, se tu veulz condescendre a la supplicacion que te fait le duc de Saxonne. Comme il soit ainsi que par pluseurz fois il ait requis ta fille a mariage, veullant exaucier le bien et prosperité d'icelle, et tu ne lui en ayes voulu donner responce, ad ceste fois veult il savoir le faire ou le laisser. Et se tu la me daignes otroyer il t'aymera, ou si non il mouvera guerre contre toi et ton peuple."

(106–07)

["Sire, may God save you and increase your honor if you would condescend to accept the supplication that the duke of Saxony has made to you. Since it is the case that he has asked several times for your daughter in marriage, wishing to increase her assets and wealth, and you have refused to give your consent, this time he wishes to know if you will do it or not. And should you deign to give her to me, he will love you, and, if not, he will wage war against you and your people"].

Disappointingly, the nephew receives no response. In Chrétien's version he leaves court defiantly and immediately challenges Cligés to a joust; as they mount, they are supported by equal numbers of their knights—300 on each side. But in the prose it is Cligés who, reacting to the threat and wishing to prove his prowess, challenges Archadés to fight him, proposing to be supported by 200 knights—even choosing his least experienced ones ("deux<sup>c</sup> des moindres"; 107)—against his opponent's 300.

The joust between Cligés and the duke's nephew is quickly dispatched in a mere thirty-six lines (vv. 2900–35) by Chrétien, who devotes almost exactly the same number of lines to describing Fenice's reactions as she observes the combat (vv. 2864–99). The prose writer, however, amplifies considerably the description of the combat between Cligés and Archadés and the ensuing confrontation between their men while barely acknowledging Fenice's presence. He does take the time to allude to it toward the end of the battle but devotes a single line to it that seems almost like an afterthought: "La belle demoiselle Fenice est aux creniaux, qui volentiers regarde Cligés et dist bien en soy que ou corpz de lui a ung vaillant champion" (109; The beautiful young lady Fenice is on the battlements and willingly watches Cligés and tells herself that here is a valiant champion).

Although the prose writer condenses drastically Fenice's role in this passage, he makes up for it at the moment the nephew takes back to the duke the news that his bid has once again been rejected. Chrétien, after describing Alix's marriage and how Thessala's potion duped him into thinking he was making love to Fenice, notes only that the emperor had better be on his guard, for the duke will not rest since the maiden was given first to him. The poet then informs us that the Saxon leader, who commanded a large force, stationed his men at all the frontiers and

placed spies at the German court to inform him of all the Greeks' movements (vv. 3353–65). The prose writer likewise segues immediately from an account of Alix's deceitful dreams included in chapter 39 ("Comment Alix songea qu'il baisoit et acoloit Fenice") (114; How Alix dreamed that he was kissing and caressing Fenice) to the matter of the duke's disappointment in the following chapter, but he then inserts mention of the nephew's report with stronger emphasis on the duke's distress:

Ung petit se taira nostre compte des fais de Fenice et Alix, et maintenant vendra a parler du duc de Saxonne.

40. *Comment Archadéz racompta sa malheurté au duc son oncle.*

Dist l'istoire doncquez que Archadéz, après sa desconfiture, s'en retourna en Saxonne dolant et marri, et racompta au duc son oncle qu'il ne s'atendist plus a Fenice, et qu'elle estoit promise et ottoïee a l'empereur de Constantinople, "qui moult est puissant et a ung nepveu en sa compaignie qui moult est vaillant de son corpz, et de fait il, en bataille arresté, a occis pluseurz de mes chevaliers, et tant durement nous malmena qu'il fut en son vouloir de faire son plesir de moy." O, comme est ce duc marri et dolant! Il ne scet son sens et jure qu'il mourra ou il aura vengeance de ceulz de Grece.

(115)

[We shall now suspend for a bit our account of the relations between Fenice and Alix and proceed to speak of the duke of Saxony.

40. *How Archadés recounted his misfortune to his uncle, the duke.*

The story tells then that Archadés, after his defeat, returned sorrowful and sad to Saxony and told his uncle, the duke, that he should have no more expectations regarding Fenice, for she had been promised and granted to the emperor of Constantinople, "who is very powerful and has in his company a nephew who is most valiant, and in fact when we met in pitched battle he killed many of my knights and manhandled us to such an extent that he was able to do his will with me." Oh, how sad and sorrowful was the duke! He was out of his mind and swore that he would die if he did not take vengeance on the Greeks.]

The "malheurté" (misfortune) referred to in the title of Chapter 40 is both the duke's and his nephew's. Given its juxtaposition with the account of the preceding chapter, it is almost as if the prose writer (or the scribe)<sup>22</sup> were emphasizing that the duke had ended up in the same situation as Alix, who possesses Fenice only in dreams—with nothing. If, thanks to Thessala's potion, the emperor is blissfully

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<sup>22</sup> It is not certain whether the chapter titles are the work of the author or of the scribe. See Maria Colombo Timelli, "Pour une 'défense et illustration' des titres de chapitres: analyse d'un corpus de romans mis en prose au XVe siècle," *Du roman courtois au roman baroque. Actes du colloque des 2–5 juillet 2002*, ed. Emmanuel Bury and Francine Mora (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004), 209–32; here 213.

ignorant of his loss, the duke, on the contrary, is keenly aware of his. The parallel thus established between these two equally hapless rivals also highlights the duke's role in a second triangle involving the lovers.

Undaunted by this initial setback, the duke persists in his struggle to recover Fenice: he loses no time sending Archadés back to do battle with Cligés, and again the combat between the two is greatly amplified in the prose,<sup>23</sup> as is that of the subsequent battle between the hero and another knight, Terri, who volunteers to avenge Archadés's death. By naming the duke's nephew and his avenger, both of whom meet Cligés in single combat and are killed by him, the prose writer highlights the protracted struggle between the duke and the hero for possession of Fenice.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, in the description of both combats, he adds details that demonstrate that the maiden is never out of the hero's thoughts. For example, Cligés is thinking about his love at the moment that Archadés approaches, (116), and when, following his defeat of Archadés, he is challenged by Terri, who boasts that he will cut off Cligés's head and present it to the duke, the hero answers in a way that underscores the role that Love plays in his combat:

"Vassal," dist Cligés, "quant de ta main tu auras occis le serviteur qui par l'entreprise d'Amourz s'entremet a l'exercice d'armez, lors sera il en toi de ta plaisance faire du chief, més ainsois il te convendra conquerre au cours de lance ou trenchant de l'espee, et, se je puis, je te garderai de ce faire."

(117)

["Vassal," said Cligés, "when by your hand you have slain the servant who for the sake of Love undertakes the exercise of arms, then will you be in a position to do what you please with his head, but first you will have to prevail while wielding lance or sword, and, if I can, I will prevent you from doing so"].<sup>25</sup>

In Chrétien's version, Cligés's terse three-line reply (vv. 3472–74) makes no mention of his love service.

So far we have seen that, although the prose writer takes much more of an interest in the details of combat than does Chrétien and eschews the poet's rhetoric in the scenes involving the lovers, he nevertheless finds innovative ways to present the love theme. Whereas in the original poem, the duke's determination to marry Fenice seems motivated entirely by his knowledge of the economic and political

<sup>23</sup> Doutrepoint, *Les Mises en prose*, 612 (see note 9), noticed that one of the prose writer's additions was to have Cligés kill two of Archadés's companions.

<sup>24</sup> Doutrepoint, *Les Mises en prose* (see note 9), duly mentions that the prose writer added these two names, but he apparently does not see it as any more significant than an addition of the kind used by prose writers in general.

<sup>25</sup> In both the verse and prose versions, much is made of the Saxon's intention of presenting Cligés's head to the duke. It is amusing that when Cligés defeats the Saxon, he dons his victim's armor and affixes his head to the end of his lance. Both armies, misled by the arms Cligés bears, believe that it is his own head.



benefits that would accrue to him, in the prose version, he is quite enamored of the maiden. The prose writer underscores particularly well this passion for Fenice in the inventive way he reworks the episode in which she is abducted by the Saxons, weaving the duke's obsessive desire into the actual description of the war with the Greeks.

The attempted abduction takes place after Cligés has killed both the duke's nephew and the knight he sent to avenge that death.<sup>26</sup> Although Cligés then deceives both armies as to his identity (see n. 24 above), he eventually reveals himself to the duke and challenges him. If the hero succeeds only in unhorsing the duke before the Saxons rescue him, he does manage to seize the duke's Arabian charger. At that point in Chrétien's version, a spy comes to tell the duke that, since Fenice is momentarily unguarded, they could easily seize her and bring her to him. The duke responds by sending one hundred knights to abduct her, and when he hears of their success and knows he has attained his goal, he quickly forges a truce with the Greeks.

Much more elaborate is the prose re-working of this episode, which is skillfully inserted into the account of the battle to underscore its simultaneity with it. Moreover, the abduction is shown to be the duke's idea; coming to him during his combat with Cligés, while he is catching his breath after his opponent has unhorsed him! Once the duke has given the order to seize the maiden, he performs better, spurred on by the delicious prospect of being able to sleep with Fenice that very night. He rejoices when his men return to report their success, after which the sun sets and they sound retreat for the night. The episode both begins and ends with a view of Cligés:

Quant Cligés est monté desus, il tire la bonne espee et en la plus grant merlee s'embat, faisant lez rens trembler devant lui. Et atant laisserons nous ung petit a parler de celle bataille, qui moult est fiere et orgueilleuse, et ung petit vendrons a parler d'une adventure qui durant l'estour advint a la pucelle Fenice, lors estant seule demoree avec les dames et damoiselles.

42. *Comment Fenice fu emblee et baillie a XII chevaliers en garde.*

Comme doncques le duc, qui de barat et tricherie savoit le stille, veist ceux de Grece eslongiez de leurz tentez et pavillons, lui, qui naguerez estoit chut, en reprenant son allaine s'apença d'envoyer C chevaliers pour aller prendre et saisir Fenice par amourz ou par force. Lesquelz chevaliers mis a voie pour accomplir la cautelle de leur maistre, iceulx arrivéz aux trefz, ilz adrescerent ou estoit Fenice et occirent toux les escuiers, varletz et sergans qui y estoient. Puis, bon gré mal gré, chargerent Fenice, et dedans le bois l'enmenerent par voiez inhabitee en ung lieu ouquel ilz avoient autrefois

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<sup>26</sup> Doutrepoint, *Les Mises en prose*, noted that the prose writer describes the duel between Cligés and Terri in the form of a fifteenth-century joust—thus updating it from its twelfth-century origins (503) (see note 9).

reparié. Laquelle illeuc enmenee, comme vous avés oï, elle fu baillee a garde a XII chevaliers, et lez aultres s'en retournerent, et aux gardes dirent que ilz ne se meussent de celle place jusquez ilz orroient sonner le cor au duc, qui lors estoit en la bataille faisant tresbien son devoir pour l'esperance qu'il avoit de coucier la nuit avec la pucelle, ce dont Dieux le saura bien garder. Quant lez chevaliers saxonnis furent revenus au lieu ou estoit la merllee et ilz eurent compté leur exploit au duc, il en fu joieux a merveilles. A celle heure s'esconsa le soleil, chascun fist sonner la retraicte disans qu'ilz revendroient l'endemain l'un contre l'autre, si s'en retournerent toux a leurs pavillons, exepté Cligés, qui demoura derriere pour savoir s'il trouveroit quelque bonne adventure.

(118–19)

[Once Cligés is mounted, he draws his good sword and rushes into the press, making the ranks tremble before him. And now let us leave off for a bit speaking about this battle, which is very fierce and bold, and return to tell about something that happened during the combat to the maiden Fenice, who had remained alone with the ladies and maidens.

42. *How Fenice was carried off and entrusted to the guard of twelve knights.*

Since the duke, who knew all manner of fraud and treachery, saw the Greeks away from their tents and pavilions, he, who had just been felled, thought, while catching his breath, of sending a hundred knights to go seize Fenice and take her by love or force. The knights, having set out to accomplish their lord's ruse, and having arrived at the tents, headed to where Fenice was and killed all the squires, boys, and servants who were there. Then they seized Fenice against her will and carried her into the woods along deserted paths to a place to which they had repaired before. Once Fenice had been taken there, just as you have heard, she was handed over to be guarded by twelve knights, and the others set off again, telling the guards that they should not move from that place until they heard the sound of the duke's horn. The duke was in the fray performing very well owing to the hope he had of sleeping with the maiden that night, but God will be able to prevent this. When the Saxon knights had returned to the place of battle and recounted their exploit to the duke, he rejoiced greatly. At that hour, the sun slipped out of sight, and each one sounded the retreat saying that they would come back to fight each other the next day, and they all returned to their pavilions except Cligés, who remained behind to see if he could find some good adventure].

In the description of Cligés's discovery of Fenice's abduction, his rescue of her, and the duke's anguish at losing her again, the prose writer illustrates his skill at calling our attention to each man's love of the heroine. Since Cligés is mounted at this point on the duke's Arabian steed, the men leading Fenice away believe he is the duke himself. Six of them approach him while the other six remain behind with the maiden. One of them breaks away to report the good news. In Chrétien, the announcement is succinct (first text below), while in the prose (second text below), the knight elaborates, reflecting his knowledge of the duke's enduring love of Fenice:

"Dus de Sessaigne, Dex te saut!  
 Dus, recovree avons t'amie.  
 Or n'an manront li Grezois mie,  
 Car ja t'iert baillee et randue." (vv. 3670–73)

["Duke of Saxony, may God save you! Duke, we have recovered your beloved. Now the Greeks will not lead her away, for she will be handed over and returned to you"].

"Duc de Saxonne, Dieux te sault et te doint ce que ton cuer desire. Conforte toi, tu as bien cause d'estre joieux, car le jour et l'eure est venue que nous te baillerons en saisine et possession le corpz de celle tant belle dame que tu as amee dés le commencement de ta jeunesse."

(120)

["Duke of Saxony, may God protect you and grant you your heart's desire. Be comforted, as you have good reason to be joyful, for the day and hour have come when we will place in your power and possession that very beautiful lady whom you have loved since the beginning of your adolescence"].

Although in Chrétien's version, Fenice is referred to as the duke's "amie" (v. 3671), the speaker seems aware only that the duke will be pleased to see the slight to his honor avenged, while in the prose there is additional reference to the great joy he will feel when his heart's desire is granted and he enters into possession of the lovely lady whom he has long cherished.

By imbuing the duke with an ardent love for Fenice, the prose author gives both Alix and Cligés a worthy rival, and the duke's prowess like that of the hero is inspired by his passion for a beautiful and worthy lady. Under these circumstances, the prose writer must take care to describe Cligés's feelings, and the manner in which he depicts the youth's recovery of Fenice and the ensuing "reunion" is an excellent example of a style that eschews Chrétien's virtuoso displays of rhetoric while at the same time adding certain touches to embellish the depiction of the lovers' tender relations.

The characterization of Cligés's furious reaction to the abduction is almost identical in both versions. When the youth realizes that the duke's men are carrying Fenice away, he flies into a rage described by both authors as greater than that of a wild animal defending its young. Then, reflecting that his life would be worth nothing without his beloved, he is spurred to action and dispatches the six knights, one right after the other. Where the two versions diverge is in the account of the reunion between the lovers. In Chrétien's version, the two, though obviously pleased to be together again, are singularly incapable of verbalizing their feelings and return in total silence to the camp of the Greeks and Germans. The narrator, for his part, is hardly silent. As Chrétien scholars know full well—for this passage is one of the most famous in the entire romance (vv. 3795–892)—he pours out at length his great astonishment that such a valiant knight as Cligés

should be afraid to speak his mind. It is “le monde à l’envers” (the world gone topsy-turvy), this narrator declares, before explaining that their conduct is actually typical of true lovers. Love without fear, he claims, is not love at all.

The prose writer’s narrator treats this reunion quite differently, actually allowing the lovers to share a kiss and the maiden to utter profuse thanks to her savior. Although he notes that Cligés barely dares speak to Fenice, his reticence does not have the same motive as in the original: rather, his discretion recalls Alixandre’s refusal to ask Arthur for Soredamor’s hand for fear of displeasing her. The detail of Cligés unlacing his helmet adds to the courtly flavor of the scene:

Quant Cligés se voit delivré de sez ennemis, lors il deslace le heaulme et s’aproce de Fenice, de laquelle il prent doucement ung baisier. O, que Fenice est joieuse quant elle voit son ami Cligés qui l’a baisie, durant lequel elle fist ung grant soupir et remercia son chier tenu cent mille fois, comme celle qui dés lors lui eust volentiers ottrôié son amour s’il l’en eust requise. Mais Cligés a pou n’ose pas parler a elle, tant craint que par sez parolles il ne la courrouce, ce qu’il ne feroit pas s’il lui descouvroit sa lealle pencee, mais avant l’esjouiroit et la metteroit au chief d’une grant paine.

(121)

[When Cligés sees that he is delivered of his enemies, he unlaces his helmet and approaches Fenice, from whom he takes a sweet kiss. Oh, how joyful is Fenice when she sees her sweetheart Cligés, who has kissed her. Heaving a great sigh she thanked her beloved a hundred thousand times, as one who then would have willingly granted him her love if he had requested it. But Cligés barely dares speak to her, so much does he fear that with his words he will anger her, which he would not have done if he had revealed his loyal thoughts; rather, it would have made her happy and put an end to her great pain].

Fenice’s rescue is an important milestone, but it does not mark the end of the struggle between the duke and Cligés. The war started by the Saxon leader will continue for as long as the main rivals for the maiden’s affection have not reached a final showdown. While Cligés recounts his adventures back at court, Chrétien’s narrator notes: “Et d’autre part li dus enrage” (v. 3924; On the other hand, the duke rages), then goes on to describe how he immediately dispatches a messenger to challenge Cligés to a final combat that will decide who of the two will win possession of Fenice. The prose writer, for his part, elaborates greatly on the duke’s uncontrollable anger, which affords a telling contrast in the atmosphere at the two courts:

Atant se taist nostre compte des conjoïsemens qui furent fais a Cligés, et maintenant vient a parler de cellui de Saxonne, qui, oyant racompter la mort de sez XI chevaliers et la destoursse de Fenice, il cuide soubitement enragier, et fut plus de demie heure sans soi relever de la terre ou il chey, voire et toute la nuit ne cessa il de tirer sez crins

et sa barbe, de maldire sa vie et de mener les contenances d'un homme fol. Tant que la nuit dura le duc ne prist repos, comme honme tourblé en cuer, pencee et corage.

(122)

[Now we shall leave off our account of the ovations of which Cligés was the object and speak of the duke of Saxony who, upon hearing about the death of his eleven knights and Fenice's rescue, thought suddenly that he would go out of his mind and was more than a half hour without getting up from where he had fallen in a faint; indeed, all night he did not stop pulling on his hair and beard, cursing his life, and behaving like a crazy man. As long as the night lasted, the duke had no repose, like a man who was troubled in his heart, thoughts, and innermost feelings].

Thus, while Chrétien depicts the fury of a proud warrior, the prose writer details the heartrending anguish of a spurned lover temporarily incapacitated by the loss of his love. Under these trying circumstances, the court is in suspended animation until morning, when the duke springs at last into action.<sup>27</sup>

The combat between Cligés and the duke is the final episode in this war. Although the duke's threat was originally directed at the two emperors, it has become increasingly clear that the outcome will be decided between the two rivals for Fenice's affection. In comparing each author's description of this important joust, it is easy to see how much more the prose writer (second text below) is interested in the combat per se, whereas Chrétien (first text below) indulges in a rather impressionistic and metaphorical account, resorting to his usual stratagem of re-creating how the combat looks to the onlookers:

Qant el chanp furent tuit venu,  
Haut et bas et juene et chenu,  
Lors ont andui lor lances prises,  
Et les gardes i furent mises,  
Si s'antrevient sanz feintise  
Si que chascuns sa lance brise,  
Et des chevax a terre viennent  
Si qu'as seles ne se retient.

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<sup>27</sup> Although such displays of grief were common in the Middle Ages, it is interesting to see how the Burgundian chronicler Georges Chastellain describes Philip's reaction to the news of his father's murder. According to Vaughan (see note 1), 2, Chastellain reports that the youth "threw himself onto a bed gnashing his teeth and rolling his eyes with grief." Vaughan adds that "the cold but clearer light of historical record does confirm that Philip's anguish was real enough to occasion a temporary breakdown in the administration." See the contributions to *Grief and Gender: 700–1700*, ed. Jennifer C. Vaught with Lynne Dickson Bruckner (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). For a discussion of medieval displays of emotions versus their modern interpretation as ritual, see Peter Dinzelsbacher, *Warum weint der König?: eine Kritik des mediävistischen Panritualismus* (Badenweiler: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Bachmann, 2009).

Mes tost resont an piez drecié,  
 Car de rien ne furent blecié,  
 Si s'antreviennent sanz delai.  
 As espees notent un lai  
 Sor les hiaumes, qui retantissent  
 Si que lor genz s'an esbaïssent.  
 Il sanble a ces qui les esgardent  
 Que li hiaume espraignent et ardent,  
 Et quant les espees resaillent,  
 Estanceles ardanz an saillent  
 Ausi come de fer qui fume  
 Que li fevres bat sor l'anclume  
 Quant il le tret de la favarge.  
 Molt sont andui li vassal large  
 De cos doner a grant planté,  
 S'a chascuns boene volanté  
 De tost randre ce qu'il acroit;  
 Ne cil ne cist ne s'an recroit  
 Que tot sanz conte et sanz mesure  
 Ne rande chetel et ousure  
 Li uns a l'autre sanz respit.  
 Mes le duc vient a grant despit,  
 Et molt an est iriez et chاوز,  
 Qant il as premerains assauz  
 N'avoit Cligés conquis et mort.  
 Un grant cop merveilleus et fort  
 Li done tel que a ses piez  
 Est d'un genoil agenoilliez

(vv. 4037–72)

[When everyone had assembled on the field—noble and commoner, young and old—and the guards were posted, then both men seized their lances and charged straight at one another, breaking their lances and knocking one another to the ground, for they could not stay in their saddles. But they immediately leap to their feet, for neither was the least bit wounded, and set upon each other without delay. Their sword blows echo from their helmets with a tune that makes their comrades marvel; to the onlookers it seems that their helmets spark and are aflame. And when their swords rebound, flaming sparks leap from them as from the smoking iron the smith strikes upon his anvil after he pulls it from his forge. Both knights are generous in giving blows aplenty, and each is quite willing to return what he is given. Neither of them grows weary of repaying, without accounting and without measure, both capital and interest to his enemy unceasingly. But the duke is truly vexed by his failure to conquer or kill Cligés in the first attack and he becomes inflamed with wrath. He gives him such an astonishingly strong and mighty blow that Cligés falls to one knee at his feet].

Quant les deux chevaliers se voient prestz de commencer les armes, chascun ampoigne la lance, et tant asprement brocent les destriers qu'il samble que tout doibve

fendre devant eulz; et s'entrefierent par tel vertu que lez lances brisent et que le duc wide lez arçons, et Cligés chiet de l'aulture lés par lez changles du destrier qui rompent. Mais combien qu'ilz soient chutz, ilz sont habillement sallis sur piés et ont tost saisissez bonnes espees, du trençant desquelles ilz fierent l'un l'aulture en telle manière que des heaulmes et haubers ilz font estinceller feu, et samble qu'ilz doibvent occirre l'un l'aulture a chascun coup. Or sentent ilz pluseurs coupz lourz et pesans; chascun pence de sauver sa vie, et Cligés, qui tresbien se acquitte, ung coup donne a son ennemi tel que cliner le fait et desmarcier ung pas. Le duc, qui par orgoeul gringne les dens, lors cuide crever de grant ire, il haulce l'espee et en baille telle entortillie a Cligés sur le heaulme que par force il lui fait mettre ung genoul a terre.

(123–24)

[When the two knights see that they are ready to begin their combat, each one seizes his lance, and they spur their steeds so hard that it seems as though everything will split before them; thus, they attack one another with such force that their lances break and the duke falls from his saddle, and Cligés from his as his steed's straps break. But although they are down, they get up expertly and have soon seized their good swords, whose blades they use to strike each other in such a way that they make sparks of fire on their helmets and haubers, and it seems as though they must kill each other with each blow. Then they feel several heavy and weighty blows; each tries to save his life, and Cligés, who is acquitting himself very well, strikes his enemy such a blow that he makes him bow his head and retreat a bit. The duke, who out of pride grinds his teeth and thinks he will burst from his great ire, raises his sword and delivers such a stunning blow on Cligés's helmet that he causes his knee to touch the ground].

At this crucial point in this decisive duel, Fenice lets out a single cry and promptly faints. Chrétien notes that Cligés hears her voice, which gives him heart; he jumps up swiftly and comes angrily toward the duke (vv. 4098–102). The prose writer expands greatly Cligés's thoughts on this occasion:

Cligés a entendu ce doux mot qui de la langue dolente de Fenice est procédé. Cuer et corage lui en croit, car lors congnoist il que Fenice l'ayme aulcunement et, nonobstant qu'il ait mis le genoul a terre, il le relieve et le resourt vistement, et, comme cil qui espoire d'avoir une fois guerredon de son service et qui ne chasse qu'a avoir bruit et honneur, il s'esvertue, et d'estoc ou de taille contre ung coup qu'il ruoit naguerrès il en donne deux.

(124)

[Cligés has heard this sweet word that has proceeded from Fenice's sorrowful tongue. He gains heart and spirit because he knows then that Fenice loves him somewhat and, although his knee has touched the ground, he quickly lifts it up and infuses it with new strength and, like one who hopes one day to have a reward for his service and who pursues only renown and honor, he summons all his strength and, for every blow with the sword point or blade that he returned previously, he now gives two].

Sensing Cligés's renewed vigor, the duke quickly decides that he will need to find a means other than combat to resolve the dispute. In Chrétien's version, he says

that if he did not feel the need to avenge his nephew, he would gladly make peace with him. When Cligés tells him that his nephew was wrong to provoke him and that he intends to deal him the same fate, the duke tries another approach saying that since he would gain no honor from vanquishing someone as young as Cligés, he is willing to acknowledge defeat. The prose writer offers a variation on this exchange: the duke says nothing about revenge and instead evokes his opponent's great youth. He tells Cligés that he pities him because he will have to kill him, mentions the shame he might bring upon himself by slaying him, and says that, if the youth were to ask for mercy, he might take pity on him and pardon him for the harsh offenses and troubles that he has caused him. Here again, Cligés refuses to yield, and the duke has no choice but to surrender. Chrétien records this important moment in indirect discourse: "*Li dus oiant toz le recorde*" (v. 4161; The duke acknowledged defeat before all present). The prose writer turns this speech into direct discourse and has the duke solemnly surrender to Cligés, begging him to have mercy on him:

"Sire chevalier, je me rends a vous, congnoissant que j'ay grandement offensé et mesprins envers vostre haulte noblesse. Je vous prie merci, suppliant que en faveur de gentillesse et de chevalerie vous aïés pitié de moy, et je serai vostre servant durant ma vie." Cligés lors, commeu de pitié, le relievie et lui donne congié.

(125)

["Sir Knight, I surrender to you, recognizing that I have greatly offended and wronged your great nobility. I ask mercy of you, begging you to have pity on me as your nobility and chivalry would dictate, and I will be your servant all my life." Then Cligés, moved to pity, raised him up and let him go].

This scene, full of tender gallantry in the prose, marks the point at which the two men who have fought so long and hard for possession of Fenice become reconciled, and it brings undeniable closure to this protracted rivalry that the prose author has taken such pains to dramatize.

#### 4. Conclusion

Scholars have long claimed that in Chrétien's *Cligés* love and prowess are not linked in the way they are in his other romances. For example, Alixandre does not win Sordamors's love by performing great acts of prowess in her presence; instead, they fall in love on the boat as they are headed for Brittany. But recently, Peggy McCracken has taken issue with those who see a radical disjunction between the sections devoted to love and to war in *Cligés*. Her close reading of certain passages in the first part of the romance reveals that they are actually intertwined and in dialogue with one another, for they share a common



vocabulary, and, as the narrative alternates between the battlefield and the ladies' chamber, between action and stasis, each story-line helps to move the other forward.<sup>28</sup> The situation is not quite the same in the second part of the romance, although Cligés and Fenice do fall in love at first sight when they meet at court, and we witness the same alternation between passages of love and war. However, Cligés gets a chance to perform before Fenice's eyes, and her esteem for this valiant knight (whose name is unknown to her) grows immeasurably as she witnesses his feats of prowess. Moreover, he puts his prowess to work directly for her when he rescues her. In the prose *Cligés*, combat is even more closely linked to love via the changes that the author makes in the duke of Saxony's motivation for recovering Fenice.

Critics have generally been unwilling to credit the author of the prose *Cligés* with much originality. As we have seen, Georges Doutrepoint believed that his main purpose was to present a narrative that was natural and clear, which would explain his decision to add certain details or amplify selected scenes that he thought would resonate with his audience. Scholars studying the romance since Doutrepoint have tended to evaluate it less in terms of how it measures up to its model than of how it reflects the process of acculturation: adaptation to the tastes of fifteenth-century audiences. The general consensus has been that the prose writer and his audience were more interested in the scenes of combat than in the love intrigue, and the impression left by various critical assessments is one of a writer who was not particularly reflective. Yet the foregoing analysis demonstrates that he was perfectly capable not simply of making scattered changes to "update" the story but also of introducing a whole new dimension into the battle for Fenice's affection that serves not only to enhance the love intrigue but also to give the various combat scenes new significance. His innovative treatment of the duke of Saxony's desire to win back Fenice involves the hero in a second love triangle that actually rivals and even outshines, for a time, the one that includes Alix.

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<sup>28</sup> Peggy McCracken, "Love and War in *Cligés*," *Arthuriana* 18 (2008): 6–18.



## Chapter 18

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### Sailing Away from Byzantium: Renaissance Crusade Literature and Peace Plans

#### Introduction

The science of ethnopsychoiatry distinguishes between three different structures of the imaginary: utopianism, messianism, and possession.<sup>1</sup> The attainment of peace belongs to the utopian structure, its aim being to abolish time and create a more or less perpetual peace, while the appeals for a (just) war may be a form of messianism. Although these imaginary structures are theoretically distinct, political history shows us that they are never found in a pure state, as the ethnopsychoiatrists themselves underscore. In studying European peace plans and the appeals for a Just War against the Turks after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the problem seems not to be the pure theory of peace and war, but rather the ways in which particular historical periods shaped an understanding of peace and war, especially among the intellectuals.<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of this paper is thus not the study of international relations but an exploration of early modern approaches to war and peace. The appeals by the Renaissance intellectuals, especially from Greek intellectuals to their European contemporaries to help them to become liberated from Turkish occupation appear to constitute a prelude to efforts at European peace planning in later centuries. The practical and conceptual limits of the rational choice between Just War and peace

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<sup>1</sup> See François Laplantine, *Les trois voix de l'imaginaire: Le messianisme, la possession, l'utopie. Étude ethnopsychoiatrique* (Paris: Éditions Universitaires, 1974).

<sup>2</sup> Istvan Kende, "The History of Peace: Concept and Organizations from the Late Middle Ages to the 1870s," *Journal of Peace Research* 26.3 (1989): 233–47; here 233.

were the product of the political situation in the West and the theoretical limitations of that period, i.e., the years marking the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modernity.

### Renaissance Crusade Literature and Peace Planning

Since 1453, when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, the Greeks did not cease to hope for a European intervention that would deliver them from Turkish tyranny and slavery. The fall of Constantinople, described as “the second death of Homer and Plato”<sup>3</sup> by Pope Pius II (1458–1464), was seen as a cultural catastrophe, particularly for the Greek intellectuals and scholars who left their country and put themselves in the service of European rulers (ecclesiastical or secular). They were joined by other humanist scholars in a common effort to liberate Greece. In this way, the humanist movement and Renaissance Crusade literature converged during and after the reign of Mehmed II (1451–1481). Having chosen to act in favor of Greece, these scholars wrote appeals to the Pope and the monarchs of Europe, inciting them to organize a Just War against the Turks for the liberation of Greece.

These appeals by humanists of the era, written and destined for public dissemination, especially in print, form a distinct literary genre. As Paul Oskar Kristeller affirms, “compositions in prose and in verse against the Turks represent a considerable body of literary production in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries.”<sup>4</sup> The genre was foremost a typical form of oratory: “at diplomatic congresses, the reception of ambassadors, the elevation of a pope, the marriage of a prince, or almost any public occasion an orator trained in the new rhetoric should step forward and deliver an *Exhortatio ad bellum contra barbaros*.”<sup>5</sup> This form of oratory even became a schoolroom exercise: Benedetto Colucci in his *Declamationes* presents Ficino “as assigning the composition of an appeal for a crusade to five of

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<sup>3</sup> See Georg Voigt, *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini, als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*. Vol. 2 (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1862), 94, n.1.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*. Storia e letteratura, Vol. 54 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura 1956), 112, n. 51

<sup>5</sup> Robert H. Schwoebel, “Coexistence, Conversion, and the Crusade Against the Turks,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965): 164–87; here 165.

his pupils."<sup>6</sup> It is the Byzantine Greek Cardinal Bessarion who elevated the genre to literary prominence.<sup>7</sup>

At around the same time, a new idea began to spread throughout Europe, that of a perpetual peace among the nations, primarily the European ones, which emerged through the composition of "Peace Plans" and also shaped a distinct literary genre. The conditions that led to the development of such an idea included: (a) the Renaissance and Protestant Reformation; (b) the fear of Turkish invasion; (c) the expansion of print culture; and (d) the birth of the modern intellectual.<sup>8</sup> These factors, the last three at any rate, played a major role in the publication of appeals for a Just War against the Turks by Greek intellectuals. These intellectuals, after having left Byzantium, contributed greatly to the humanist movement and were heavily engaged in the publishing business of the time; for example, a Greek, Marcus Musurus (1470–1517), was the first editor of the *Complete Works* of Plato at Aldus Manutius's printing house in Venice.<sup>9</sup>

In order to elucidate the significance of the "Appeals to Just Wars" and "Peace Plans," one should consider that throughout the Middle Ages Christianity had not avoided schisms and wars and that humanism is not necessarily a humanitarian movement. Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), for instance, held the conviction that the interior peace of nations is possible although war among nations is natural.<sup>10</sup> Even the different pacifist movements emerging in Europe did not exclude war. The great Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536), although he denounced war in writings that one could call irenic ("peace-promoting"), nevertheless did not exclude the idea of a war against the Turks<sup>11</sup>; he was thus partaking in a great tradition in

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<sup>6</sup> Robert Schwoebel, "Coexistence," 165 (see note 5). For Ficino's anti-Turkish orations, see *Opera Omnia*, 1576 (facsimile Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1959), I, ii, 721, 722, 808–18. For the appeals as schoolroom exercises, see Louis Thuasne, *Djem-sultan, fils de Mohammed II, frère de Bayezid II, 1459–1495* (Paris: Leroux, 1892), 434–37.

<sup>7</sup> Manoussos I. Manoussakas has greatly contributed to the study of the Appeals of the Greek scholars for the liberation of Greece; see his *Appeals (1453–1535) of the Greek Scholars of Renaissance Addressed to the Princes of Europe for the Liberation of Greece* (in Greek) (Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1965), and id., "Appeals of the Greek Scholars to the Princes of Europe for the Liberation of Greece" (in Greek), *Acts of the Academy of Athens* 59.1 (1984): 196–249. See also Vincenzo Rotolo, *Il carne "Hellas" di Leone Allacci*. Quaderni, 3 (Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bisantini e Neellenici, 1966), chapter II: "Appelli" e "Lamenti," 13–48.

<sup>8</sup> See Miriam Eliav-Feldon, "Grand Designs, The Peace Plans of the Late Renaissance," *Vivarium* 27.1 (1989): 51–76.

<sup>9</sup> See Gregoris M. Sifakis, "Marcus Musurus's Poem to Plato (in Greek)," *Kretika Chronika* 8 (1954): 366–88; on Musurus, see Deno John Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), 111–66.

<sup>10</sup> See Miriam Eliav-Feldon, "Grand Designs," 60 (see note 8).

<sup>11</sup> See James Hutton, "Erasmus and France: the Propaganda for Peace," *Studies in the Renaissance* 8 (1961): 103–27. The weakness of the Erasmian peace plans consisted in the "loophole, grudgingly opened by Erasmus, for Just Wars—a loophole that could easily grow into a wide gate to admit

favor of holy or Just War. Religious sects spawned by the Reformation, such as the Anabaptists, supported the idea that the sword is exterior to the perfection of Christ; this did not, however, fully constitute a peace plan as this sect did not attempt to reform society and instead sought to form small islands of resistance to war.

Only the Quakers attempted to put these moral prescriptions into action. Erasmus had proclaimed that violence is not only anti-Christian but also against nature, thus contributing to the birth of a "new ethos of the European scholar." For him, science and education would provide the key to the universe and its management, and the age of bronze would be followed by the age of gold. Gombrich believed that the Renaissance Golden Age suggests the Virgilian formula of a particular ruler's age.<sup>12</sup> While Voltaire was the first to introduce this symbolic image into historiography, it already existed in the Renaissance notion of a messianic ruler. On this point, Gombrich made a crucial distinction between flattery and propaganda: "unlike flattery, propaganda need not be cynical," he wrote, since the latter responds to the "mystique of ancient prophecies fulfilled."<sup>13</sup> In reality, the age of iron was firmly present in Renaissance and was governed by the *virī novi*; Pope Leo II, however, was a man of letters and Erasmus could thus believe that this presumed bronze age would indeed be followed by the golden age.

Now, were we to define further the development of those ideas that gave birth to such peace plans, our results would be as follows: (a) the pacifism of sects; (b) Erasmian humanism and irenism; (c) Hermeticism; and (d) Nicodemism.<sup>14</sup> Hermeticism refers to the idea of a mystical interpretation of the cosmos, inspired by Neoplatonism and the occult sciences: divination, oracles, occultism, and all manner of signs proclaiming a future peace belong to this category.<sup>15</sup> In Nicodemism, one may veil his true religion and convictions often with the intention of making them more effective politically (i.e., by forming secret societies based on these convictions).<sup>16</sup>

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practically every act of hostility," Miriam Eliav-Feldon, "Grand Designs," 58 (see note 8).

<sup>12</sup> Ernst H. Gombrich, "Renaissance and Golden Age," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24.3 (1961): 306–09; here 306.

<sup>13</sup> Ernst H. Gombrich, "Renaissance," 307–08 (see note 12).

<sup>14</sup> See Miriam Eliav-Feldon, "Grand Designs," 56–60 (see note 8).

<sup>15</sup> See Miriam Eliav-Feldon, "Grand Designs," 71–73 (see note 8).

<sup>16</sup> The term *Nicodemism*, generally denotes a secret or timid adherent. John Calvin applied it to those converts to Protestantism in Catholic France who outwardly continued Roman Catholic practices. In modern times, Nicodemism covers all forms of religious simulation. Nicodemus (eventually a saint) was a learned Jew who visited Jesus and initiated the discussion on Christian rebirth narrated in John 3: 1–15; although outwardly remaining a pious Jew, he came to Jesus secretly by night to receive instruction. This means that his behavior may be somewhat suspect as to its dual allegiance. See Carlos M. N. Eire, "Calvin and Nicodemism: A Reappraisal," *Sixteenth-Century*

The essential argument of peace advocates in the Middle Ages was that wars should occur elsewhere and that peace concerned solely the Christians. Pierre Dubois, a French publicist (ca. 1255–post-1321), claimed that peace would come with the unification of all the Christian empires under the authority of the Pope. Dante, on the other hand, advanced the idea of a secular monarchy that promotes peace.<sup>17</sup> The whole problem of peace was intimately intertwined with the question regarding proper leadership. Peace, even in secular minds, was for the Christians an affair of the monarch (whether ecclesiastical or secular). The peace planning movement was to expand with Erasmus's followers. Not all wars were censured by the peace plans: there were always plans that proclaimed or hid a conflict.

These were the various Crusades projects, which posited the inauguration of a new order only at the end of a Just War. There was also the peace plan of the duke of Sully (1559–1641), advisor to the French King Henry IV, who, under an irenic cover, aimed to humiliate the powerful Habsburgs. Sully's plan echoed and found a natural successor in the politics of Cardinal Richelieu.<sup>18</sup> There were, of course, plans that concerned all the nations of the West and/or the East; these were founded on free trade, as in the *Nouveau Cynée* by Emeric Crucé (or Lacroix; 1590–1648). It is highly significant, however, that plans such as this last one were extremely tolerant of tyranny – as regards, that is, interior warfare – because of the fear that an upset of the *status quo* might greatly disrupt free trade.

Peace as a human ideal is something more than non-war; it involves the reform of man's education and culture. Sebastian Franck (1499–1543) was insistent in his belief that humanity is dignified only as a community and through the assertion of the "common." He did not consider war and peace as having a dialectical relationship, since war cannot lead to peace just as poverty cannot lead to riches; his view of war as sin was the first manifesto of pure pacifism. Emeric Crucé seems to have followed the *Grand Dessein* of the duke of Sully. His peace plan pushed for a coalition against the Habsburgs and partly against the Turks before a peace could be established, but Crucé went farther and insisted on the understanding between Christians, Muslims, and Jews. He advanced the idea of an international authority to assure peace, wherein members of both European and non-European states would have equal voting rights. Furthermore, as Crucé claimed, international relations, social equity and progress are necessary in order to establish a peace that would be accompanied by a general development. In his view, states behave like individuals united for a common purpose and with the communal acceptance of a number of mutual values. They are not utopias, as can

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*Journal* 10.1 (1979): 45–69.

<sup>17</sup> See Istvan Kende, "The History of Peace," 234 (see note 2).

<sup>18</sup> See Miriam Eliav-Feldon, "Grand Designs," 67 (see note 8).

be found only in the imaginary realm, and nor should they be opposed to all forms of violence.<sup>19</sup>

## The Evolution of Just War Theory in the Renaissance

It has been said that Rome's anti-Turkish struggle is more proper to be described as a holy war than a crusade because the crusade is a typical expression of the feudal and chivalric world and because the liberation of Jesus's sepulcher is the center of its mystical goals. The Crusade of the Renaissance, as preached by the papacy, was grounded in opposition to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>20</sup> The difference between medieval and humanist crusading reflects, in accordance with pacifist communitarianism, the Renaissance refusal of the papacy's ambition to hold a monopoly of the means of violence within Christendom. Another difference is that the dominant issue had now become not the recovery of the Holy Land but the recovery of Constantinople, although the Holy Land does not entirely disappear from the rhetoric.<sup>21</sup> The Renaissance treatment of the Crusade reflects a kind of balance between Turkish atrocities and submission to papal rule. Although the fifteenth century was a period of moral bankruptcy for the pure crusading ideal, the humanists appear as the protagonists of the anti-Turkish war.<sup>22</sup> Contrary to the great clerical propaganda of the High Middle Ages, the aim of which was to collect large sums of money for the Crusades, the humanists addressed only religious and secular elites, exhorting them to take military action against the Turks. For the clerical writers, a common *topos* was the demonization of the Islamic enemy. The humanists may have written in another tone and style, but only few skeptics dared to criticize the subject of Just War. "In the 15<sup>th</sup> century it was still considered shameful to speak publicly against crusades (...) the arguments in favor of a policy of crusade could be stated, the arguments against it could not."<sup>23</sup>

The new themes of crusading rhetoric included the "necessity" of the whole enterprise, while the lament for Greece was also a recurrent *topos*. The religious symbolism of medieval clerical propaganda was replaced in humanist rhetoric by the distinction between civilization and barbarism, and thus the Turks appeared

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<sup>19</sup> See Istvan Kende, "The History of Peace," 234 (see note 2).

<sup>20</sup> Massimo Petrochi, *La politica della Santa Sede di fronte all'invasione ottomana (1444–1718)* (Naples: Libreria Scientifica Editrice, 1955), 20–21; see also Gaetano Platania, "Innocent XI Odescalchi et l'esprit de "croisade", " *XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* 199 (1998): 247–70; here 256.

<sup>21</sup> James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Symposium on Byzantium and the Italians, 13<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> Centuries) 49 (1995): 111–207; here 113.

<sup>22</sup> James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," 115 (see note 21).

<sup>23</sup> James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," 124 (see note 21).



as *eo ipso* barbarians.<sup>24</sup> The Byzantines, such as the scholar Demetrius Kydones (1324–1398), had already identified the Turks as barbarians.<sup>25</sup> The Turks were regarded as infidels by writers from Petrarch to Giovio. Lauro Quirini (ca. 1420 – ca. 1480), another Renaissance writer and a friend of Bessarion, thought of the Turks as “a rude and barbarous race.”<sup>26</sup> They were described thus by writers nostalgic for antiquity, with the Italians having themselves become the protectors of culture, and the Turks its enemies.<sup>27</sup> This led to an increase in crusading writings during the Renaissance era, equal to the total output of such literature of the High Middle Ages. Can we say that the humanists “secularized” crusading literature? The secularization of crusading is an element of the general articulation of a secular identity within the West, and a West that is seen as high civilization.

### The Byzantine Origins of the Appeals to Just War

There is little doubt that the Byzantines contributed to the formation of the Crusade ideal. Peter Charanis<sup>28</sup> distinguishes between two crusading epochs: the first covers the period from the first Crusade in 1096 until 1291 and the fall of Acre; the second epoch focuses especially on the defense of Europe against the Turks and ends with two failed crusades: the battle of Nicopolis in 1395 and the battle of Varna in 1444.<sup>29</sup> The defeat of these two last Crusades sealed the fate of Byzantium.

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<sup>24</sup> The Muslims had long been viewed as barbarians; see Svetlana Loutchitskaja, “*Barbarae Nationes: les peuples musulmans dans les chroniques de la Première Croisade*,” *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), 99–108; here 106–07.

<sup>25</sup> See Agostino Pertusi, *La caduta di Constantinopoli*, vol. I (Verona: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1976), xi.

<sup>26</sup> Lauro Quirini, “*Oratio de urbis Constantinopolis jactura et captivitate*,” *Notizie storico-critiche intorno la vita e le opere degli scrittori viniziani*, ed. G. degli Agostini. Vol. I (1752; Bologna: Forni, 1975), 216–22; here 218, where the author presents the Turks as barbarian destroyers of books. See Agostino Pertusi, “Le epistole storiche di Lauro Quirini sulla caduta di Constantinopoli e la potenza dei Turchi,” *Lauro Quirini umanista: studi e testi*, ed. Konrad Krautter. Saggi, 23 (Florence: Civiltà veneziana, 1977), 163–259.

<sup>27</sup> See Denis Hay, “Italy and Barbarian Europe,” *Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to the Late Cecilia M. Ady*, ed. Ernest Fraser Jacob (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), 48–68; Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453–1517)* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1967); Ludwig Schmugge, *Die Kreuzzüge aus der Sicht humanistischer Geschichtsschreiber*. Vorträge der Aeneas-Silvius-Stiftung an der Universität Basel, 21 (Basel and Frankfurt a. M.: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1987).

<sup>28</sup> Peter Charanis, “Aims of the Medieval Crusades and How They Were Viewed by Byzantium,” *Church History* 21.2 (1952): 123–34; here 123.

<sup>29</sup> See Oscar Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna: A Discussion of Controversial Problems* (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1943); Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar: 1274–1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Yet we should make a clear distinction between defeat and failure since, as we saw, the crusading ideal continued to persist.

The first Crusades fall into the category of Holy War although there is no general agreement as to their exact causes, and the attribute of "holy" perhaps only implies that those who participated in the Crusade of 1095 were absolved of their sins. The Byzantines, like the tenth-century emperor Nicephore Phocas, were more sincere: they fought also for the conquest of Jerusalem.<sup>30</sup> The Crusade ideal was obscured by the difficult relations between Byzantines and Westerners and also by the ecclesiastical Schism. Many Greeks subsequently felt that the intervention of the Pope in Greek affairs brought nothing but disaster.

The element of the Byzantine appeal for help is present from the beginning, here with the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1056–1118): at the council of Piacenza in the spring of 1095 the Byzantines pleaded with the Catholics under Pope Urban II to take the offensive against the Turks. In their appeal, the ambassadors of the Byzantine emperor referred to the need to liberate the Holy Lands. The Crusade of 1095 was partly the result of this plea. But piety and worldly considerations came together in the formation of the new institution of Crusade under a supreme authority: that of the Papacy. This was by now regarded as synonymous with general Christian interests against the infidel, as well as against the schismatic (for example, with the Crusade of 1107 when Pope Paschal II ordered that the Norman Bohemond be assisted in his campaign against Alexius I). In this sense, the Crusade became an instrument of absolutism.

The Byzantines took an active part in the creation of the institution that they subsequently came to view either as a possible support against the Turks or as a potential danger. The Byzantines thus had to make a rational and calculated use of the Crusades within the context of a growing antagonism with the Latins, at least until the fourth expedition when Constantinople was pillaged with extraordinary cruelty (1204).<sup>31</sup> This initial holy war resulted in the Byzantines perceiving the Crusades as an instrument for own defense yet also as a reason to

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<sup>30</sup> Athena Kolia-Dermitzaki, *The Byzantine Holy War* (in Greek) (Athens: Stephanos Vassilopoulos, 1991); Tia Kolbaba, "Fighting for Christianity: Holy War in the Byzantine Empire," *Byzantion* 68 (1998): 194–221; Angeliki Laiou, "On Just War in Byzantium," *To Ellenikon: Essays in Honor of Speros Vryonis Jr.*, ed. John S. Langdon, Stephen W. Reinert, Jelisaveta S. Allen, and Christos P. Ioannides. Vol. I (New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas, 1993), 153–74; Paul Stephenson, "Imperial Christianity and Sacred War in Byzantium," *Belief and bloodshed. Religion and violence across time and tradition*, ed. James K. Wellman (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), 81–93.

<sup>31</sup> See Thomas F. Madden and Donald E. Queller, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (New York: Viking, 2004); Donald E. Queller and Susan J. Stratton, "A Century of Controversy on the Fourth Crusade," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6 (1969): 237–77, rpt. in Donald E. Queller, *Medieval Diplomacy and the Fourth Crusade*. Collected Studies Series, 114 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980).

hate the Latin intruders and as a permanent source of disunity.<sup>32</sup> As to the specificity of the appeal genre, it must be underlined that this form of discourse expressed the typical relation of the often poor Byzantine intellectual with his emperor.<sup>33</sup> The origins of the appeal genre, however, are not limited only to the Byzantines. After the fall of Acre in 1291, there were *recuperatio* treatises advising secular princes on how to regain the Holy Lands once more.<sup>34</sup> Such treatises were the direct precursor of Renaissance crusading literature.

Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350–1415) was the first of the Greek scholars in Italy before the fall of Constantinople to mention the unity of the two traditions, Rome and Constantinople, appealing to the solidarity of a common heritage and with a distinct Renaissance state of mind. He had been close to Demetrios Kydones, a key figure in the Latinophile Party of Constantinople, translator of Thomas Aquinas in Greek. Chrysoloras's work, *De comparatione veteris et novae Romae*,<sup>35</sup> was designed to foster good relations between East and West, and elucidates his position: he insisted on the Greco-Roman origins of Byzantium since the two most powerful and wise nations, the Romans and the Greeks, had founded Constantinople through a common effort.

This is how he translated emperor Manuel Palaiologos's (1350–1425) politics of reconciliation with the West.<sup>36</sup> Although Chrysoloras's impact on the Italian intellectual scene cannot be doubted and most of his students were ready to acknowledge his influence, praise for him was limited as the Italians were also discovering the value of Latinity and progressively feeling more assured as to their own knowledge of Greek letters. The Greek scholars who migrated *en masse* to the West, principally Italy, after the catastrophe of Byzantium, were not in a position to dominate the Italian intellectual scene, and the humanists' solidarity with Greece was not guaranteed.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Peter Charanis, "Aims of the Medieval Crusades," 126 (see note 27). See also M. Viley, *La croisade: essai sur la formation d'une théorie juridique* (Paris: Vrin, 1942).

<sup>33</sup> Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1897), passim.

<sup>34</sup> See James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," 116 (see note 21).

<sup>35</sup> *Roma parte del cielo. Confronto tra l'Antica e la Nuova Roma di Manuele Crisolora*, intro. Enrico Valdo Maltese, trans. and notes Guido Cortassa (Turin: UTET, 2000); see Lydia Thorn-Wickert, *Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350 – 1415)*, Bonner Romanistische Arbeiten, 92, (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2006).

<sup>36</sup> Yet the reference to a double tradition was constant in Byzantium and we can see it in the work of the philosopher Nicephore Blemmydes (1197–1272) in the years following the sack of Constantinople (1204); see Herbert Hunger and Ihor Ševčenko, *Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Basilikos Andrias und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaïotes*. Wiener byzantinische Studien 18 (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986), §§ 50, 59.

<sup>37</sup> James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," 131 (see note 21) writes: "The hypothesis that there existed some secret affinity between the *studia humanitatis* and the crusading ideal is implausible and unnecessary. Nor can one defend the argument that the humanists favored crusade because

## The Advocates of Just War

The appeals to a Just War against the Turks made by various Renaissance writers have taken different forms. A project of uniting only some forces of the Christendom – France or Venice for example – as opposed to a general alliance of the Christian forces, was the solution promoted by men like Francisco Filelfo (1398–1481).<sup>38</sup> This partial force could join the Balkan peoples in a revolt against the Turkish yoke in the view of the approaching Christian army. Filelfo's anti-Turkish writings cover a period of more than forty years, and his appeals to King Charles VII of France, the council of Mantua (1459), and to several popes are models of crusading rhetoric.<sup>39</sup> On the level of emotions and images, prejudice against the Greeks was a strong sentiment among Westerners before the fall of Constantinople, but this was not necessarily damaging to the idea of Just War: it also created a guilty conscience and the sense of a moral obligation to assist Oriental Christianity. Writers like Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II, 1405–1464) played the psychological factor, attempting to reinforce the feeling of blame and guilt in the West so as to provoke a military reaction in favor of the Greeks.<sup>40</sup> Pius II expressed this sentiment when he stated, "like insolvent tradesmen, we are without credit,"<sup>41</sup> positing a problem of unfulfilled moral obligations in the terminology of trade.

Among the defenders of Just War with the Turks, the Greeks were the most prominent for obvious reasons.<sup>42</sup> The most significant appeals were those of

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of a parallelism between the recovery of classical antiquity and the recovery of Constantinople. Fifteenth-century humanism aimed overwhelmingly at a revival of Roman antiquity and Latin literature. Though some humanists valued Byzantium and the Byzantines for their role in the transmission of ancient learning, this was a sophisticated attitude that emerged mostly among the humanist elite. The majority of quattrocento humanists had little acquaintance with Greek. Some of them even had strong anti-Greek prejudices (...) behind the broader general issue of how valuable the Greek heritage was to Western Latin culture, there was plenty of careerism, jealousy, and backbiting." See also James Hankins, "The Myth of the Platonic Academy of Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 44.3 (1991): 429–75.

<sup>38</sup> James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," 121 (see note 21).

<sup>39</sup> Robert Schwoebel, "Coexistence," 182 (see note 5).

<sup>40</sup> The lament of Aeneas Silvius, in: *Der Briefwechsel des Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini*, ed. Rudolf Wolkan. *Fontes rerum Austriacarum: Österreichische Geschichtsquellen. 2te Abteilung, Diplomataria et Acta*, 68 (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1918), no. 109, p. 200.

<sup>41</sup> See James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," 115 (see note 21).

<sup>42</sup> Among them we find Isidore of Kiev who had named the Sultan a "forerunner of the Antichrist." He was addressing not only the ecclesiastical and secular rulers but also the Christian peoples in general, appealing for the liberation of the "New Rome," that is, Constantinople. The Greek scholar Michael Marullus-Tarchaniote (1454–1500) wrote a poem to the French King Charles VIII pleading for a crusade, but the king preferred to engage in a policy of invading Italy, thus ending the treaty of Lodi. Janus Lascaris (1445–1535), a scholar, also served French kings and Roman

Bessarion, Marcus Musurus, Michael Apostolis, and Ioannes Gemistos. In his studies of the Greek appeals, Manoussos Manoussakas made two important remarks: he distinguishes between appeals addressed to one prince and those addressed to many princes. He also states that, generally speaking, the appeals could never be successful since the Greek nation was not autonomous but enslaved.<sup>43</sup> After the discussion in this chapter, however, these criteria should be expanded to cover the different forms of appeal.

Cardinal Bessarion, a major figure in the humanist movement, writer, editor, patron of letters, whom Lorenzo Valla called “the most Latin of the Greeks and the most Greek of the Latins,”<sup>44</sup> may be considered the true founder of the genre on the basis of two appeals that he authored: the first, in the form of a letter addressed to the Venetian Doge Francesco Foscari on August 13, 1453, the same year that Constantinople was sacked by the Ottoman Turks. But it is his second appeal that has become a landmark of the genre: after learning of the fall of Chalkis to the Ottomans, Bessarion wrote a series of letters to the princes of Italy, imitating Demosthenes’s *Philippics*, and attaching them to a Latin translation of the first *Olynthiac*. These were published by the French humanist and rector of the University of Paris, Guillaume Fichet in 1471, and were a huge success as their many reprints prove.<sup>45</sup> Bessarion’s *Orationes ad principes Christianos contra Turcos* were purely literary compositions, intended to circulate only in manuscript and printed form, in the tradition of Demosthenes’s *Philippic* and *Olynthiac* Orations. The orations were neither formal nor typical but quite pragmatic in their address to the leaders of Christendom, and the fact that they were printed magnified the force of a publicist’s output; this is a characteristic that marks the anti-utopianism of the appeals.

For Hankins, Bessarion’s *Orations* meant not a kind of *mass propaganda*, as other scholars have in mind but rather sought to *persuade* a small elite.<sup>46</sup> By now, a

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popes, writing appeals to the kings of France, Charles VIII and Louis XII, to the German Emperor Maximilian I, and to Popes Julius II and Leo X. His most important appeal was that made to Emperor Charles V in 1525, when Lascaris, then aged 80, was presented to him on a mission from Pope Clement VI. Lascaris’s appeals were in the name of ancient Greece and the Christian people of Greece, who would face any danger to assist an imperial campaign that would actively favor their struggle. The son of Michael Apostolis, Arsenios, Metropolit of Monemvasia, produced an edition of Hesiod’s poem on Hercules’s shield and Homer’s description of the shield of Achilles. These two would metaphorically arm pope Clement’s campaign against the Turks. Subsequently, the idea of crusade declined. Antonios Eparchos (d. 1571) was to rest his hopes for the liberation of Greece on the ancient Olympian gods; see Manoussos Manoussakas, *Appeals* (see note 7).

<sup>43</sup> See Manoussos Manoussakas, *Appeals*, 27–28 (see note 7); “Appeals,” 197 (see note 7).

<sup>44</sup> See Henri Vast, *Le cardinal Bessarion, 1403–1472: Étude sur la Chrétienté et la renaissance vers le milieu du XVe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1878), VII and 255.

<sup>45</sup> See Manoussos Manoussakas, *Appeals*, 13 (see note 7).

<sup>46</sup> See James Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders,” 118 (see note 21); for a view defending Bessarion’s

strategic theory was taking the place of faith: as Cardinal Bessarion has pointed out, the unity of Christian nations could successfully and totally reduce the Turkish aggressor before he can begin to conquer Western lands. In his letter to Doge Foscari, Bessarion described the Turk as a barbarian and urged the Doge to stop the Turk as he embarked on his march against Europe, imploring that the antagonisms between the Christian princes end. Such a campaign could only contribute to the glory of the Venetian Doge. Bessarion, although familiar with classical religious crusading rhetoric, attempted to combat the decline of responsibility by provoking one Western prince to start fighting and thus relieve the other, possibly antagonistic, Christian leaders from the burden and losses of initiating war. The idea of the Turk as barbarian was prominent among the scholar-publishers in the newly established printing business, in which we can identify a certain proto-idea of journalism: the printing press advertised the Turkish threat and revived the Crusader spirit while the fall of Negroponte in 1470 facilitated the publicist's work. Contrary to the mass propaganda view, Bessarion had rather an instrumental view of literature and he was the first to stand for a model of appealing that had many recipients.<sup>47</sup>

The years following 1454 were a turning point for Europe. Though Italy was at peace after the treaty of Lodi, the rest of Europe did not enjoy such stability and the conditions for an effective anti-Turkish campaign were thus absent. The Balkan peoples alone struggled to stop the advancement of Ottoman expansion. At the Congress of Mantua in 1459, Pius II gave an inspiring speech and was followed by Bessarion who, in his own address, appeared more realistic and pragmatic.<sup>48</sup> Although the decision was taken to initiate the holy war against the Turks, it was not possible to convince Germany and Frederick III to participate in the effort. The new Pope Paul II was unwilling to start a new Crusade, and Bessarion thus turned to publicizing his views, with Fichet publishing his collection of letters.

Bessarion was a pioneer in that he adopted the Crusade project and addressed the Princes and the Popes. He knew how to combine humanism with a coherent and rational diplomacy.<sup>49</sup> This was not the case with his protégé Michael Apostolis, who was not able to find a job in Italy. Apostolis addressed an appeal

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"mass journalism," see Robert Schwoebel, "Coexistence," 184 (see note 5).

<sup>47</sup> The diffused model of appealing, although a pyramidal one since it addresses a high authority, distributes the plea to multiple centres of control (princes). See Daniele Archibugi, "Models of International Organization in Perpetual Peace Projects," *Review of International Studies* 18.4 (1992): 295–317. See also Manoussos Manoussakas, "Appeals," 197 (see note 7).

<sup>48</sup> See Manoussos Manoussakas, *Appeals*, 12 (see note 7); see also Robert Schwoebel, "Coexistence," 182 (see note 5).

<sup>49</sup> On Bessarion, see also Ludwig Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann. Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte*. Vol. 20, 22, and 24 (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1923, 1927, 1942; rpt. Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1967).

to the German Emperor Frederick III, full of exaggerated flattery and divinatory signs that were supposed to assure the ruler about the success of the venture.<sup>50</sup> Apostolis had nevertheless correctly assessed the importance of the sole German factor. His *Oratio acclamatoria, ad religiosissimum et serenissimum Romanorum imperatorem... Fridericum III*,<sup>51</sup> was an appeal to the principle of necessity (in Greek *adrateia*), the theory of cyclical change and divinatory art, in order to prove that Frederick's son Maximilian would rule over Byzantium after his father had won the war with the Turks.<sup>52</sup>

As to Marcus Musurus (1470–1517), he preceded his edition of the *Complete Works* of Plato with a long poem in which he pleaded, through the voice of Plato himself, with the new pope, Leo X (r. 1513–1521), to bring peace to Europe, before crusading against the Turks. Thanks to victory “all humanity will be golden,”<sup>53</sup> he wrote, placing himself in the great Erasmian vision of a new golden age. This was entirely natural since both Erasmus and Musurus belonged to the circle of intellectuals around the printer Aldus Manutius.

In the wake of Musurus, Ioannes Gemistos, possibly a grandson of the Byzantine philosopher Georgios Gemistos Plethon,<sup>54</sup> wrote a long poem also addressed to Pope Leo X under the title *Protrepicon et Pronosticon*.<sup>55</sup> The interest in this poem resides in the fact that it explicitly combines an appeal to Just War (in the section called *Protrepicon* or *Exhortation*) with a peace plan after victory (in the section called *Pronosticon* or *Prevision*). This work was based on the astrological and divinatory powers of the writer, and Ioannes Gemistos justified the logic in his appeal through reference to his important divinatory gifts. According to Gemistos, Leo X, by undertaking the war against the Turks, would restore the ancient race of the Greeks to its glorious heroic past. This is the *Protrepicon* section. The *Pronosticon* section describes the future campaign with optimism and enthusiasm. After liberating Greece, Leo X will give the crown of the Greek Empire to his brother Giuliano de' Medici. But the campaign will not only stop here but will continue to Asia, so that any counter-attack by the Turks would not be possible

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<sup>50</sup> See Manoussos Manoussakas, *Appeals*, 14–15 (see note 7); On Michael Apostolis, see Deno John Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, 73–110 (see note 9).

<sup>51</sup> Published in: *Rerum germanicarum scriptores*, ed. Burkard Gotthelf Struve. Vol. II (Strassburg: Dullsecker, 1717), cols. 47–50.

<sup>52</sup> See Deno John Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, 96–99 (see note 9). The principle of immovable necessity was a firm conviction of Plethon; see Georgios Gemistos Plethon, *Traité des lois*, ed. Charles Alexandre, trans. Pierre-Augustin Pelissier (1858; Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1966), 64–78.

<sup>53</sup> Manoussos Manoussakas, *Appeals*, 20 (see note 7).

<sup>54</sup> See François Masai, *Pléthon et le platonisme de Mistra* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1956), 53.

<sup>55</sup> *Ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum Leonem Decimum, Pontificem Maximum, Ioannis Gemisti, Graeci, secretarii Anconae Protrepicon et Pronosticon* (Ancona: per Bernardinum Guerraldum Vercellensem, 1516).

until the universal empire of the Papal seat has established peace throughout the world for the glory of Rome. Gemistos ends his poem by exhorting the Holy Pastor to allow himself to be convinced by the divinatory man (himself) who speaks the truth and reveals the secrets of God in Homer's language.<sup>56</sup>

Other scholars imitated this mixture of humanism and appeal to the Just War. We should note, however, that in the face of the Cardinal's pragmatism the Greek humanists in Richelieu's entourage limited their appeals to a few evocative lines.<sup>57</sup> Faced with the successive frustrations and deceptions that their appeals met with, the Greek intellectuals then pleaded with other European princes, for example, the Swedish or the Russian. When attempting to form secret societies in the tradition of central Europe, they proved their Nicodemism and attempted to hide their intimate beliefs. But in all these efforts, the Greeks were Nicodemists as they spoke of Christianity and not of Orthodoxy. Only Maximus the Greek at the time (real name: Michael Trivolis, 1470–1556), a humanist in Russian lands, was able to refer to the Byzantine religion since his appeal addressed the Grand Duke of Muscovy, Basil IV (1505–1533).<sup>58</sup>

### The Promoters of Peace

Among the promoters of the inter-religious peace, the Spaniard Juan de Segovia was to write: "I want to emphasize that I do not condemn the lawful wars against the Moslems owing to their invasion of Christian lands or other similar causes, but only those undertaken with religious motives in mind or for the purpose of conversion."<sup>59</sup> Here the peace is conceived in terms of converging doctrines and as a new introduction to conciliation. Like most of his Greek opponents, Segovia was a simple intellectual without a position of power and could thus only advocate his position by writing letters to clerical authorities. One of his correspondents was Nicholas Cusanus, with whom he had passionate discussions at the Council of Basel. Cusanus, who traveled to Constantinople in 1437, reported on his meetings there with Muslims who praised the Gospel and preferred it to the Koran. The Eastern question was one of his stronger interests and after the fall of the Byzantine Capital he proposed, in his work *De pace fidei* [=On the Peace of

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<sup>56</sup> See Manoussos Manoussakas, *Appeals*, 20–22 (see note 7).

<sup>57</sup> See Manoussos Manoussakas, *Appeals*, 217–19 (see note 7).

<sup>58</sup> See Manoussos Manoussakas, *Appeals*, 225–26 (see note 7). It is to be noted that the duke of Sully excluded the Russians from his peace plan; see Miriam Eliav-Feldon, "Grand Designs," 65 (see note 8).

<sup>59</sup> Robert Schwoebel, "Coexistence," 176 (see note 5).



Faith], the unity between the various faiths. He was “governed by the idea of unity as the harmonious synthesis of differences.”<sup>60</sup>

Heretics like the Cathars opposed the idea of holy war for pacifist reasons while eschatological thinkers like Joachim of Fiore believed that conversion of the Muslims was necessary. Nicholas Cusanus, although not an opponent of the Crusades, also believed in the power of persuading the Turks. He advocated an ecumenical strategy that would demonstrate to the believers of other religions that their faith was not opposed to the Christian truths. This strategy was set out in *De pace fidei*, written in the four months that followed the fall of Constantinople. In his work *Cribratio Alkorani* (A Scrutiny of the Koran) (1461), Neoplatonism was used to find Christian truths in the false dogmas of the Koran.

Cusanus’s Neoplatonism favored the One, the highest Neoplatonic Principle, as the unity of different, even contradictory, positions, while Bessarion’s Neoplatonism was expressed with a traditional transcendental and hierarchical flair,<sup>61</sup> highly appropriate for appealing to a privileged authority or a Supreme Maker of war. This conciliatory trend finally influenced Pope Pius II after the Council of Mantua.<sup>62</sup> After the disappointment of this Council, Pius II wrote a letter to Mehmed II inviting him to convert to Christianity. As Robert Schwoebel comments: “discouraged, and frustrated in his effort to raise the grand army of crusaders necessary to drive the Turks from Europe, he no doubt found it refreshing to reflect for a moment on the approach urged by those he normally regarded as theoreticians.”<sup>63</sup> Thus, since the distinction between those intellectuals inclined towards a crusade and those who were more conciliatory was not so clear cut, communication between them was not impossible.

Others also wrote to the Sultan; Paolo Giustiniani (1444–1502) invited him to follow the example of Constantine and not that of Alexander. Even a Greek, George of Trebizond, wrote in a conciliatory manner to the Sultan.<sup>64</sup> Georgios

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<sup>60</sup> Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*. Vol. III: *Late Medieval and Renaissance Philosophy*, Part. II (New York: Doubleday, 1963), 39. See Nicholas Rescher, “Nicholas of Cusa on the Koran: A Fifteenth-Century Encounter with Islam,” chapter 2 of id., *Scholastic Meditations*, *Studies in Philosophy and the History of Philosophy*, 44 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 49–57.

<sup>61</sup> See Bessarion, *In calumniatorem Platonis*, quoted and translated in Raymond Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition. Plato's Parmenides in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (New York, London, and Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus International Publications, 1982), 310–11. We know of Cusanus’s friendship with Bessarion, but it appears that his knowledge of Greek was rather limited; see Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 160.

<sup>62</sup> James Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders,” 128 (see note 21).

<sup>63</sup> Robert Schwoebel, “Coexistence,” 179 (see note 5).

<sup>64</sup> See Angelo Mercati, “Le due lettere di Giorgio da Trebisonda a Maometto II,” *Orientalia Christiana periodica* 9 (1943): 65–99.

Gemistos Plethon, a supporter of a universal religion and a transcendental return to pagan sources, was perhaps the origin of what appeared to George of Trebizond as a blend of Christianity and Islam.<sup>65</sup> Those inclined toward peace included Erasmus and Sebastian Franck.<sup>66</sup> This view challenged the Humanist idea of the Turks as barbarians and enemies of culture, as the peace-minded intellectuals granted the Turks and in general the Muslims a "rightful place in God's creation and in His plan for history."<sup>67</sup>

### Just War, Peace Plans and the Culture of Coexistence

Although, Pope Pius II preferred a crusade in the hope that this would expel the Ottomans from the peninsula, the allied Florentines and Milanese were less enthusiastic about it. Both the Genoese and the Venetians sought to gain from the fall of the Byzantine Empire. Thus, a variety of policies had been introduced and many humanists were cool towards the prospect of a holy war with the Turks, following their master's (ecclesiastical or secular) wills and designs.<sup>68</sup> The fall of Constantinople was said to be a divine punishment for all Christians and only a crusade would restore the nobility of Christendom; but there were perhaps also some human reasons for the fall of the city. Some humanists implied that the Genoese betrayed Constantinople, while the Genoese blamed the Venetian defenders of the city. Even the Greeks were to blame, since the rich had hidden away their fortunes instead of giving them to save their country. Moreover, the

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<sup>65</sup> George of Trebizond wrote: "Audiui ego ipsum Florentiae, uenit enim ad concilium cum graecis, asserentem unam eandemque religionem, uno animo, una mente, una praedicatione, uniuersum orbem, paucis post annis esse suscepturum. Cumque rogassem, christine an machumeti? neutram inquit, sed non à gentilitate, differentem," *Comparationes phylosophorum Aristotelis et Platonis* (Venice: per Iacobum Pentium de Leuco, 1523), V6v.

<sup>66</sup> Sebastian Frank came to consider the Turks as spiritual individualist and through his positive appraisal of non-institutional, spiritual religion; see Stephen C. Williams, "Türkenchronik: Ausdeutende Übersetzung: Georgs von Ungarn *Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum* in der Verdeutschung Sebastian Francks," *Reisen und Welterfahrung in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Dietrich Huschenbett and John Margetts (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1991), 189–95; on Franck, see also Patrick Hayden-Roy, *The Inner Word and the Outer World: A Biography of Sebastian Franck*. Renaissance and Baroque: Studies and Texts 7 (New York: Peter Lang, 1994); Geoffrey L. Dipple, "Sebastian Franck and the Münster Anabaptist Kingdom," *Radical Reformation Studies. Essays Presented to James M. Stayer*, ed. Werner O. Packull and Geoffrey L. Dipple. St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (London: Ashgate, 1999), 91–105.

<sup>67</sup> Robert Schwoebel, "Coexistence," 181 (see note 5).

<sup>68</sup> See James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," 125–27 (see note 21).

pro-Turkish Greeks may even have betrayed the city. The Greeks may even have deserved this punishment. These were common views after 1453.<sup>69</sup>

The conciliatory attitudes came from a will to coexist as a result of a growing sense of political realism. This was also seen as a return to primitive Christianity and its pacifistic character. Based on the diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Sublime Porte, there was a will to treat the Turk as an ally so as to weaken a Western rival. There was also an awareness that the Turks had managed to conquer without interfering with the faith of their subjects. The criticism of the papal appeal to a crusade included a critique of the papacy and its indulgences and such criticisms were often intended for a non-academic audience. Thus, one could be led to pacifism either through the return to a primitive, poor, and honest Christianity, or by transcending religion for political realism. In theory, the pacifism of the Christian sects also extended to war against the Turks. Furthermore, ecstatic, apocalyptic, and/or mystical visions may have led to the belief in an imminent conversion of the Turks to Christianity. This helped to establish programs for the peaceful conversion of the Turks by the apostles of conciliation. A crusade was thus seen in some respects as contrary to the true nature of Christianity.<sup>70</sup>

In the *Epistola Morbisani Magni Turcae ad Pium Papam II* (Mehmed's answer of doubtful authenticity to Pius's letter) it was argued that there were no grounds for a religious war against the Turks: "The Turks are innocent of the blood of Christ, they do not possess the Holy Land, they hate Jews as much as Christians do, and their war is directed mainly against the arrogant Venetians, who had stolen islands in the eastern Mediterranean without imperial authority."<sup>71</sup> Because other courts also desired friendly relations with the Turks in this perspective, we thus encounter expressions of praise for Ottoman state institutions and even individual

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<sup>69</sup> The Latins were suspicious of the Greeks even before 1453, already by the First Crusade: see William M. Daly, "Christian Fraternity, the Crusaders, and the Security of Constantinople, 1097–1204: The Precarious Survival of an Ideal," *Medieval Studies* 22 (1960): 43–91; Jean-Charles Payen, "L'image du Grec dans la chronique normande: sur un passage de Raoul de Caen," *Images et signes de l'Orient dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Jean Arrouye. Sénéfiance, 11 (Aix-en-Provence: Publications du CUERMA, Université de Provence; Marseille: diffusion, Éditions Jeanne Laffite, 1982), 269–80; Jonathan Shepard, "When Greek meets Greek: Alexios Comnenos and Bohemond in 1097–1098," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988): 185–277. The growth of such suspicion may be seen in the medieval reappraisal of Virgilian literature: see Birger Munk Olsen, "Virgile et la renaissance du XIIe siècle," *Lectures médiévales de Virgile: Actes du Colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome (Rome, 25–28 octobre 1982)*, ed. Jean-Yves Tilliette. Collection de l'École française de Rome, 80 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1985), 31–48. For the troubled relations between Greeks, Latins and Turks see Basil G. Spiridonakis, *Grecs, Occidentaux et Turcs de 1054 à 1453: Quatre siècles d'histoire de relations internationales* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1990).

<sup>70</sup> Robert Schwoebel, "Coexistence," 174–176 (see note 5).

<sup>71</sup> See James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," 140 (see note 21).

Turks, with Mehmed II presented as a philosopher and a tolerant man.<sup>72</sup> Even so, a campaign against the Turks was not ruled out; coexistence was not meant to be continuously peaceful. This ambiguity as to the possibility of war with the Turks is what the plans for peace inherited. If pressed by Turkish military expansion, the princes would appear favorable to a crusade.

In the peace plans we can see the aforementioned dialectic of the Neoplatonic One in relation to the Supreme Maker of war and peace and the Barbarian. Projects for perpetual peace are often criticized for their utopianism but those of Emeric Crucé, the duke of Sully, the abbé de Saint-Pierre, of William Ladd, and William Jay refer to a pyramidal model of international organization. Two characteristics of this pyramidal form of peace planning were that the members of an international union were the sovereigns and not the subjects and also that the causes of war could be traced to the absence of a supranational authority to which states can *appeal*. In this way, an international authority comprised of the voluntary union of national sovereigns could achieve a perpetual peace, although such an international union requires that national status quos be formally accepted. The primary motion of the peace process is given by the ability to persuade the different sovereigns.<sup>73</sup> This leaves open the question of what happens with the barbaric nations and what happens to slave subjects and their rebellious insurrections. There was a fear of being contaminated by decline, which caused both pity and repulsion toward the Greeks. Anti-barbarism should be set alongside counter-rebellion in a loyalist view of the world order. Thus a peace plan may be no more than an international organization of national powers, such as in the duke of Sully's plan.

Yet during the Renaissance, the secular and especially the human element had undoubtedly progressed further and the Christian peace was at times transformed into a human ideal,<sup>74</sup> relating to general humanity regardless of religious differences. The idea of identifying Christianity with justice and truth was losing ground and the generalizing division between Christians was negating the project of a Christian anti-infidel peace. Erasmus having brought the subject of peace to the foreground, Thomas Münzer claimed that the precondition for peace was social change, meaning the complete equality of people. Peace should be the object

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<sup>72</sup> See Franz Babinger, "Mehmed II und Italien," *Byzantion* 21 (1951): 127–70.

<sup>73</sup> Daniele Archibugi, "Models of International Organization," 298 (see note 47).

<sup>74</sup> See Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "Christianisme et ressentiment," *La vie intellectuelle* 7/n.s. 36 (1935): 278–306, rpt. in id., *Parcours 1935–1951* (Lagrasse: Verdier, 1997), 9–33. Merleau-Ponty discusses Christian resentment, inspired by Nietzsche but seen through a philosophy of values; see also, Gilles Labelle, "Merleau-Ponty et le christianisme," *Laval Théologique et Philosophique* 58/2 (juin 2002): 317–40.

of affirmative action. In this sense, Erasmus may be seen as a forerunner of the Enlightenment coexistence of cosmopolitanism and national powers.<sup>75</sup>

## War, Peace and Episteme

The involvement of medieval clerics and renaissance humanists with the idea of (Just) war implies the idea of political academism conceived by Plato. This last advanced the idea of philosophers becoming kings or, otherwise, the idea of a person combining philosophical knowledge and ethics with kingly power.<sup>76</sup> The case of Manuel Chrysoloras shows in an archetypal way the inability of the academics and the breaking up of the intellectuals into factions. Machiavelli established the non-practical dimension of scholarly politics in the Renaissance by distinguishing between two kinds of violence: social and political. The first may include the academic force as part of the social *status quo*; but this force lacks a decisive political influence since political violence is far more powerful and capable of establishing the official history of a particular society. The prince, according to this view, can and ought to override the scholarly elites and take matters in hand on the basis of a logic far surpassing scholarly reasoning. The same behavior is valid for the religious elites, so long as these do not possess effective means of enforcement.<sup>77</sup>

In this light, we must envision the humanist treatment of the question of Turkish origins as reflecting a deeply rooted belief in the importance of origins. This was especially true for the Renaissance, since it was then that it had become crucial to trace the cultural origins of peoples.<sup>78</sup> This led to a great number of works discussing *de originibus Turcarum*. The Byzantines had already established the practice of referring to their enemies by using ancient names.<sup>79</sup> Such discourse on this question owed more to prejudice than to observation. We thus see the emergence of experts on ethnic definition and subsequent errors: amateur

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<sup>75</sup> Istvan Kende, "The History of Peace," 234 (see note 2).

<sup>76</sup> Plato, *Republic*, VI; see C. D. C. Reeve, *Philosopher-Kings: The Argument of Plato's Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); in recent times, a strong opponent of political academism was Max Weber; see Max Weber, *The Vocation Lectures*, "Science as a Vocation", "Politics as a Vocation", ed. and with an introduction by David Owen and Tracy B. Strong, trans. by Rodney Livingstone (Indianapolis, IN, and Cambridge: Hackett, 2004).

<sup>77</sup> See Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, §§ 6, 12.

<sup>78</sup> See Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Greek, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York: Harper, 1961), 75–82.

<sup>79</sup> On the anachronisms of Byzantine enemy naming, see Koray Durak, "Defining the 'Turk': Mechanisms of Establishing Contemporary Meaning in the Archaizing Language of the Byzantines," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 59 (2009): 65–78.

philologists, as proof of their classical knowledge, liked to associate the Turks with the Trojans—*Teucrici* in Latin—tracing them back to the house of Priam.<sup>80</sup> This led to the belief that the objective of the Turks was no longer world conquest but revenge and the restoration of Troy.<sup>81</sup>

Humanists like Andrea Cambini in his *Della origine de' Turchi* (Venice, 1538) rejected the Trojan origin theory. For the Greek Theodore of Gaza (ca. 1400–1475) the Turks were the descendants of an ancient Persian tribe, continuing the Byzantine analogy of defending ancient Greece from the Persians and modern Greece from the Turks. George of Trebizond was of the same opinion while Pletho identified them with the Paropamisadae, a Hindu tribe that was defeated by Alexander the Great. This was a bad idea as the conquest of Greece could then be represented as the revenge of the people against whom Alexander had waged war.<sup>82</sup> The Trojans were also seen as the ancestors of the Romans and even the Franks. Aeneas Silvius complained about the identification of the Turks with the Trojans: the perception of the Turks as Trojans could lead to a political conciliation with the Italians, as the Trojans and the Italians shared common origins. Furthermore, the conquest of the land of the Greeks, their ancient enemies, could be seen as part of temporal justice.<sup>83</sup>

However, the identification of Turks with Trojans was not always to the advantage of pro-Turkish Italians. When the Venetian colony of Negroponte fell to the Turks in 1470, Bessarion reminded the southern Italians that that city had been known in antiquity as Chalkis of Euboea and had been the mother city of the ancient Greek colonies in Naples and Cumae.<sup>84</sup> Such heated dispute over a name can be easily understood if we consider the fact that name-labeling is a central operation of political identification.<sup>85</sup>

The German intellectual's position, given his perception of the papacy and the Greek Orthodox Church, marked a turning point in the crusading ideal. There was the Trojan argument against the Greek case but for some German scholars, the Turks and the Germans had other common ancestors, namely the Macedonians. The German humanists attempted to distance themselves from any idea of retributive philhellenism.<sup>86</sup> The discovery of the Byzantine Greeks by the German Lutherans after 1540 can be credited to philologists like Martin Crusius,

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<sup>80</sup> Robert Schwoebel, "Coexistence," 165 (see note 5).

<sup>81</sup> James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," 140 (see note 21).

<sup>82</sup> James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," 136–38 (see note 21).

<sup>83</sup> See Robert Schwoebel, "Coexistence," 166, 168 (see note 5).

<sup>84</sup> James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," 139, 141 (see note 21).

<sup>85</sup> See Gerald Bruns, "Language and Power," *Chicago Review* 34 (1984): 27–43.

<sup>86</sup> See Asaph Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists and Greek Antiquity: Melanchthonian Scholarship between Universal History and Pedagogy*. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 183 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009).

Hieronymus Wolf, Wilhelm Xylander, Johannes Löwenklau, and David Hoeschel, who were ambivalent in their attitude toward the Byzantines. Their interest was principally focused on the Greek Orthodox Church and Greek manuscripts, around which a genuine cultural commerce had evolved in the Renaissance. Byzantium was not seen as something different from Greece and so the appeals for a Christian Crusade to liberate Greece were perceived as a secular demand rather than as a Christian obligation.

The incommunicability of values in the cultural exchange between Orthodox Greeks and Lutheran Germans provoked an awkward embarrassment: the fall of Byzantine Greece was for the Lutheran Germans a divine retribution and in Byzantium they saw Athens in inescapable decline. The conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II thus put an end to the Athenian glory having begun with Solonian legislation. The remaining Greeks were semi-barbarous and the modern Greek language was a barbarous idiom. We see here how the barbarian theme had acquired new meaning in the thinking of the German humanists. The Greek faith was for them Greek superstition; the Greek culture was a culture where one reads but does not understand.

The Greek Church did not conform to the vision of a pure early Church in contrast to the corrupt papacy and, as a result, Greek Orthodoxy came to be viewed as a form of papism. *Turco-Graecia*, the title of Crusius's work<sup>87</sup> reflects the idea that Turkish rule was at the time a *fait accompli* for the Greek nation. The emphasis was now placed on the German inheritance of Christian wisdom and Greek philosophy.<sup>88</sup>

### The Medieval Theory of Just War and the Augustinianist Impediment to the Greek Case

The Just War theory provides not only a war clause but also, and in some regards primarily, a peace clause. The present section will deal with the question as to whether the appeals of the Byzantine Greeks and other Renaissance scholars were right in regard to Western Just War theory. This last is said to be the "longest-

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<sup>87</sup> See Asaph Ben-Tov, "*Turco-Graecia*: German Humanists and the End of Greek Antiquity," *Crossing Boundaries: New Perspective on Cultural Encounters in the Mediterranean before 1700*, ed. Claire Norton, Anna Contadini, and Alan Chong (Pittsburgh: Periscope, forthcoming) retrieved on 01/27/2011 from <http://hcc.haifa.ac.il/~medrens/Ben-Tov-Turco-Graecia.pdf>.

<sup>88</sup> This is one of the sources of Hegel's contempt for Byzantium, together with the influence of Enlightenment historiography. See Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (1837; rpt. New York: Cosimo, 2007), 336–40; see also George Arabatzis, "Hegel and Byzantium (With a Notice on Alexandre Kojève and Scepticism)," *Philosophical Inquiry* 25.1–2 (2003): 31–39.

continuing study of moral decision making known in the Western World,"<sup>89</sup> and consists of an effort to bring moral considerations to bear upon the eternally vexing question of justifying war. From the Christian perspective, Just War must be part of the divine order and the commandment to love. Medieval society was, all the same, a society of violence.<sup>90</sup> "The cynics" Jonathan Barnes writes, "may remain unimpressed [by the Just War theories]; for having decided to take Constantinople, the Crusaders ravaged the city with unbridled ferocity."<sup>91</sup>

The conditions for pursuing a just war were condensed during the Middle Ages into a nomenclature comprising the categories of authority (*auctoritas*), state of mind (*affectus*), intention (*intentio*), condition (*conditio*), merit (*meritum*), and cause (*causa*). This nomenclature had changed slightly throughout the ages. For Aquinas, the conditions are three: authority, just cause, right intention. He omits *condition*; his *causa* is the *meritum*; while his *intentio* embraces traditional *intentio* as well as *affectus* and *causa*. War can be declared only by someone having the authority to do so, meaning in practice not imperial authority but that of the different princes. The notions of fault, wrong, redress or rescue in the relative discussion may succumb to a semantic confusion: the wrong to be redressed concerns at least two people, the wrongdoer and the victim. For Gratian, wrong refers also to a person's associates (*socii*), and for Ambrose, if this is not taken into consideration then the wrongdoer and the tolerant are to be blamed equally, an idea with which Aquinas also concurs.

The injured people and their avengers do not have to be connected through a treaty or special friendship but simply through mere hope. In this respect, the appeals for Greece seem to be sound, yet other humanitarian reasons do not warrant consideration, as, for example, in Thomas More's *Utopia*, which specifies that a humanitarian war may be undertaken for a people oppressed by a tyrant. But in general, medieval Just War theory does not account for the plight of the oppressed. Fear of imminent danger is also a cause for Just War and the appeals rightly emphasized the threat of a Turkish invasion of Western lands. However, this particular threat can also be answered by military preparation and vigilance rather than by engaging in immediate war action. The self-defense clause is not elastic but rather must be seen narrowly, as analogous to a private battle against

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<sup>89</sup> Paul Ramsey, *War and Christian Conscience: How Shall Modern War Be Conducted Justly* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1961), xxiii.

<sup>90</sup> See Marc Bloch, *La société féodale* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1968), 116 who claims that the dangers of everyday life "donnaient à l'existence comme un goût de perpétuelle précarité."

<sup>91</sup> Jonathan Barnes, "The Just War," *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg, associate ed. Eleonore Stump (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 771–84; here 784. The following argument on the medieval theories of Just War is based on this article.



an invader of one's house; a people's self-defense can be immediate but its magnitude must remain in proportion to the wrongfulness of the invader.

Since engagement in warfare is represented as applied ethics, the prerogative of the just cause points to a form of warfare that will produce more positive results. The cause of war does not depend on the degree of provocative wrongdoing but on the idea that the outcome of the war must do more good than the abstention from war. For Aquinas, there is no case for the positive war; going to war must imply that less harm will be done than in leaving matters as they are: evil cannot be a proper motivation. Moreover, does redressing the wrongs of war simply mean undoing the wrong or providing a proper compensation for the casualties and expense of the war in war programming? Only the Utopians advocate the first possibility. In the face of all these additional clauses, the appeals for the liberation of Greece were in a rather weak position.

The father of Just War theory in Christianity is Augustine. Roland Bainton writes that Augustine's view "continues to this day in all its essentials to be the ethics of the Roman Catholic Church and of the major Protestant bodies."<sup>92</sup> Augustine emphasized the mental aspects of warfare<sup>93</sup>; he departed from the pacifism of the early Church, being almost militarist in some ways. For Robert Holmes,<sup>94</sup> Augustine was a "political realist" and a personal pacifist in treating relations between individuals, and in Peter Brown's assessment, Augustine showed no trace of pacifism, at least not toward heretics.<sup>95</sup> Augustine continued the thinking of Ambrose, who expressly supported war while lamenting it, as did other Christian writers. It has often been observed that Augustine, especially in the *City of God*, was attempting to respond to the critics who claimed that Rome's fall to the Visigoths in AD 410 was largely due to Christian teachings.

Such tenets of Western Christianity demonstrably differ markedly from Eastern Christianity, which was *de facto* militarized by Constantine the Great. This gave way to quite different developments regarding thinking about war and, to a great

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<sup>92</sup> *Christian Attitudes toward War and Peace* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960), 99. See also Frederick H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3d ser., 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

<sup>93</sup> The principal passages where Augustine discusses Just War theory are compiled by David Lenihan, "The Just War Theory in the Work of Saint Augustine," *Augustinian Studies* 19 (1980): 37–70; *De libero arbitrio*, 1–5; *Contra Faustum*, 22; *Epistulae* 138: to Marcellinus; *Epistulae* 189: to Boniface; *Epistulae* 222: to Darius; *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* 6.10; *De sermone Domini in monte* 1.30; *City of God*.

<sup>94</sup> Robert L. Holmes, "St. Augustine and the Just War Theory," *The Augustinian Tradition*, ed. Gareth B. Matthews. Philosophical Traditions, 8 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1999), 323–44. Much of the argument hereafter is taken from Holmes's article.

<sup>95</sup> *Augustine of Hippo* (New York: Dorset Press, 1967), 291; for Peter Brown the Augustinian City of God presents an in-the-world philosophy and not an out-the-world one; it just is about being otherworldly in the world (*ibid.*, 324).

extent, these reflected a continuity from Greek and Hellenistic thought on the subject.<sup>96</sup> In early Byzantium, history was already being theorized not on the basis of conflict but rather in keeping with historical examples. By imitating these examples, one departs from natural deliberation, tends toward divinity and exists socially through moral actions.<sup>97</sup> War was seen as a last resort: "a war must be undertaken if all the pacifist means, even the most expensive, are ineffective and a victory must be reached without serious losses for it not to be absurd," says the writer of a Byzantine military treatise from the late sixth or early seventh century.<sup>98</sup> In Byzantium we see a tradition, inherited from ancient Greece, of a measured, gradual, effective, and case-by-case smoothness.<sup>99</sup>

Relative to the contradictions between pacifism and militarism in Augustine is his conception of an inward Christianity, emphasizing the Christian subject's inner state.<sup>100</sup> It is the intention that determines whether praise or blame is to be accorded to each act, including war. This distinction is crucial to Augustine's theory of war, which is posited against any simplistic moralism. Augustine's categories of Just War are the following: (a) a just war is every war commanded by God, which is thus fully justifiable and furthermore obligatory; and, (b) if a war is not commanded by God then one must have full authority and a just cause for declaring war.<sup>101</sup>

Just War is provoked by the sufferings of one state that are caused by another state, and this mostly exceeds self-defense as the only clause; this was a convenient clause for the appeal to liberate Greece. A problem may arise from the legalism of medieval Christianity where it holds that the ruler is always right since his power over his subjects is bestowed on him by God and even an impious ruler is to be obeyed. This is not true for the Byzantines, who maintained a long tradition of the

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<sup>96</sup> For Plato, war belongs to all other evils of the state (*Republic* II). For Aristotle, the wars were justified against those who were naturally born slaves and yet not ready to be submitted to the natural order (*Politics* I). In Plotinus, although the gentle disposition is fairly strong, the military metaphors are abundant; see Lucien Jerphagnon, "Doux Plotin? Essai sur les métaphores militaires dans les *Ennéades*," *Revue philosophique* 2 (1982): 397–404.

<sup>97</sup> See Gregorii Nysseni, *De vita Moysis. Opera exegetica In Exodum et Novum Testamentum*, ed. Herbert Musurillo. Gregorii Nysseni Opera, Vol. 7, pars 1 (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1991).

<sup>98</sup> Quoted in André Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris: Arthaud, 1990), 144; see Warren Treadgold, "Byzantium, the Reluctant Warrior," *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities: Warfare in the Middle Ages*, ed. Niall Christie and Maya Yazigi. History of Warfare, 37 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 209–33.

<sup>99</sup> See Jacqueline de Romilly, *La douceur dans la pensée grecque*. Collection d'études anciennes (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1979).

<sup>100</sup> Here also we can see a difference with Hellenism, which, according to Nietzsche, emphasizes the surface and not interiority. See Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, ed. Bernard Williams, trans. Josefine Nauckhoff. Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 8.

<sup>101</sup> It is not until Aquinas that right intention was added to Christian thinking about Just War.

right to resist imperial authority: especially as they were now subjects of the infidel.<sup>102</sup>

Yet in Augustine, interiority does not resolve the problem because the individual is divided. Here, the radical duality of Augustine's metaphysics becomes obvious. A formally right intention is not sufficient if the adequate right motivation is lacking. Therefore, only the motivation can show the adequacy to love. But the motivation is fundamentally opaque and so we are in no position to know what love requires in every case, and right conduct is often inscrutable. Neither right intention nor temporal love can be normative; only Christian *agape* can. So temporal justice can be the sole warrant of acting justly. In the classification of Just Wars, exemption for waging war was commanded by God; the truly Just and the temporally Just Wars both fulfill the requirements of legitimate authority and just cause, while the truly Just War also demands the right intention and the right kind of love. But these last two factors can neither be decisively nor conclusively defined. As such, the truly Just and the temporally Just Wars are more or less identified in temporal terms, if not in God's truth.

In the case of the appeals for Greece, there is a form of heteronomy between legitimate authority and just cause. The appeals had a just cause but the Greeks were not an authority. This is what Manoussos Manoussakas suggests,<sup>103</sup> but this must also be further explained in terms of the action of legitimate authority according to Augustine. True justice is opaque to us but its unknowability produces nevertheless a sort of guidance for this world. In this regard Augustine provides some hints as to how to bridge the gap between temporal and true justice. Obeying the ruler gives the soldiers a sort of moral advantage concerning true justice, since for Augustine the duty to obey is almost absolute. The duty to wage war is a fact, which makes the soldiers participate somehow in true justice in temporal terms.<sup>104</sup>

The criteria for the practicalities of war are based on the fact that we can know when we are acting for motives other than love such as greed, malice, hate, love for violence, revenge, cruelty, etc. We readily recognize such inner states (although we can hide them more easily from others than from God). Illicit motives such as the above cannot provide true justice even when they accompany temporal justice. In order to be temporally just, then, we must avoid acting out of identifiably evil motives and committing equally recognizable sins. Soldiers must thus not kill gratuitously, for this constitutes acting out of base motives. Such constraints point

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<sup>102</sup> See Ioannes E. Karayannopoulos, *The Political Theory of the Byzantines* (in Greek) (Thessaloniki: Vantias, 1992), 35–37.

<sup>103</sup> See Manoussos Manoussakas, *The Appeals*, 27–28 (see note 7).

<sup>104</sup> For Erasmus, the rulers put the soldier into a terrible dilemma: to become a murderer or die; see Istvan Kende, "The History of Peace," 234 (see note 2).

to a potential predicament for those seeking to avoid evil in the absence of ways for securing good. Rulers must preserve their temporal power and the state's order. No ruler has more privileged access to true justice than any other of his subjects and also no priority in the face of non-Christian rulers. Yet Augustine does not support the moral relativism of the two warring sides. For him, Christian love does not entail the right to self-defense, and even the defense of others from a single wrongdoer does not entail a Christian position. There is no harm other than sin.

The Byzantine Greeks are not exempt from sin and they cannot pretend to have any moral superiority over their Turkish rulers. Their defense is secondary compared to the necessity of making the wrongdoer a brother in Christ. The Greeks or the Turks must fulfill this standard in order to acquire the right to allegiance. In a way, to Christianize the Turks is a far worthier aim than saving the Greeks from the infidels and a far greater proof of Christian love, which requires us to love our enemies more than the needy and the poor. From this perspective, it cannot be ascertained that a war for the sake of the Byzantine Greeks will avoid the evil ingredients of war and obey the tenets of Christian love. This leads to a rather hypocritical compromise holding that any warfare in which a ruler must engage should have religious motives, as with the Crusades. These eternally pious motives serve to mask the immoral grounds of the entire enterprise while affirming that, beyond morality, the rulers may have correctly interpreted Augustine's position that only God's command to war is infallible and thus irrefutable.

From the above analysis, it appears that Augustine is closer to a philosophy of war such as that of Kant or Hegel<sup>105</sup> than to a form of applied ethics, such as Just War theory in the late Middle Ages. Augustine shows the ultimate inconsistency of the true justice of war and the prevalence of the sin of pride, thus returning the whole matter to the realm of metaphysics. The metaphysical problem is that love is not always governed by love.<sup>106</sup> It is clear then that although the medieval Just War theory may have been to a certain extent positive in light of the appeals to liberate Greece, Augustinianism could not favor the claims for a privileged treatment of the Greeks.

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<sup>105</sup> See Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Essay*, trans. W. Hastie (1795; New York: Cosimo, 2010); see Walter Bryce Gallie, *Philosophers of Peace and War: Kant, Clausewitz, Marx, Engels and Tolstoy*. The Wiles Lectures, 1976 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), especially 8–36 and 134–35. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, trans. S. W. Dyde (1821; New York: Cosimo, 2008), §§ 324, 330–40.

<sup>106</sup> Everyone is in a state of internal warfare with himself (Plato, *Laws* 626) translated into a hostility of one's will toward his feelings and inversely (*City of God*, 19.28).

## Conclusion

In sum, the Christianity of the Greeks was a good but not coercive reason to incite to Just War. As to a possible examination of the relations between these appeals and peace plans and their position in the European humanism, we can say that historically they were both marked by their immediate failure. Most of the peace plans were written at around the time of great wars while the appeals never led to the liberation of Greece. How then can one avoid a feeling that something has been deferred for later, provoked by so many successive failures?

From a formal point of view, a peace plan seems more organized, articulated, methodical, almost *more geometrico*. The appeal is rather fragmentary, literary, and philological, often in epistolary or poetic form. The plan is a view to the many possibilities that it desires to put in order, in that it espouses God's point of view. It is, then, a view that looks out onto the hierarchically inferior. The appeal is constructed around an individual (Pope, monarch, prince) viewed as the privileged Other: it aims toward the superior. We may see in the relationship between plan and appeal a difference akin to that of form and expression. The plan is the form and the reasoning, while the appeal is the expression and emotion. Does this provide a sufficient reason for saying that the plan is more positive than the appeal? The fact that the plan hides something profoundly negative is a result of the historical paradigms given. Moreover, this negativity is the groundwork of the plan. In some sense, the deferred totality of the plan is a common characteristic of all metaphysical systems: Plato's *Republic*, displaced in the world of ideas; Augustine's divided love, or Kant's cosmopolitanism as part of the world of disinterested morality. From here stems the deferred character of the plan: it is the deferral of the great rational systems.

As for the appeal, it is always addressed to an authority identified as such by one of the two parties that confront each other, an authority which constitutes the Supreme Maker of war and peace and issues the decisive argument, the final support toward an agreement with the pleading writer. But, who is the party with whom the fate of the appeal is disputed? It cannot be the enemy, since it is *a priori* designated as an opposing force. The opposing party of an appeal cannot be other than the Supreme Maker of war and peace to whom the appeal is addressed and who answers in the negative or, more precisely, through the negativity of his own planning or inability to assist. From here stems the particular feeling of deferral in the appeal: the frustration felt with the negative answer of the authority through which the Supreme Maker becomes a Bad Maker.

Appeals and plans are positive generators of time and history and, at the same time, are themselves history. To say which one precedes the other involves a search for origins. To define them would presuppose a work on negativity. To make them real or to supplant them is a question of strategy. Peace plans and

appeals are not as distinct as one might think since there is an appeal felt by every writer of a peace plan and a plan inherent to every appeal. In other words, the plan is the product of an appealed writer while every appeal contains a latent or manifest plan. They both point to the historical non-evidence of peace, the constant proximity of war and, in our case, to the advent of national states as the new makers of peace and war. The peace plans and the appeals failed to convince their royal addressees in the context of Christian discord and the progressive emergence of nationalism while the Greeks in particular had to strengthen their proper means of national autonomy in order to gain freedom.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> See Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "War and Political Consciousness: Theoretical Implications of Eighteenth-Century Greek Historiography," *East Central European Society and War in the Pre-Revolutionary Eighteenth Century*, ed. Gunther Erich Rothenberg. War and Society in East Central Europe, 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982); rpt in id., *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the Culture and Political Thought of South-Eastern Europe*. Collected Studies Series, 453 (Aldershot, Hampshire, and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1994).

## Chapter 19

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### The Art of Defying the Enemy: Albrecht Dürer's Concept of the *Ars fortificatoria*

The supreme power and sovereign authority arms themselves with the inventions of the arts and sciences to meet the power turned violent. (Die Gewalt rüstet sich mit den Erfindungen der Künste und Wissenschaften aus, um der Gewalt zu begegnen.)

Carl von Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege* (On War), 1832–1834

While the Middle Ages have not yielded an independent theory on warfare, the pertinent knowledge from antiquity was passed on in manuscripts and later in print.<sup>1</sup> Teachings on war, especially considerations on fortification, which began to appear in treatises at the start of the sixteenth century, were more firmly fixed on new defense strategies. The main reason was the radical change of the military reality, in particular the extensive use of firearms and heavy gunpowder weaponry: the strategic symmetry between attack and defense on which the fragile balance of power had hitherto been resting was eroding. During this process, architecture became an issue of main concern when places and cities had to be defended. Through the dissemination of the relevant treatises' knowledge by the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rainer Leng, "Zum Verhältnis von Kunst und Krieg in den illustrierten Kriegslehren des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts," *Mars und die Musen. Das Wechselspiel von Militär, Krieg und Kunst in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Jutta Nowosadtko, Matthias Rogg, and Sascha Möbius. Herrschaft und Soziale Systeme in der Frühen Neuzeit, 5 (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2008), 33–57; here 33–40; Hartwig Neumann, *Festungsbau-Kunst und -Technik: Deutsche Wehrbauarchitektur vom XV. bis XX. Jahrhundert* (Augsburg: Weltbild Verlag, 2000), 142–45, 162–64; Ulrich Reinisch, "Maß, Zahl und Kanonenkugel: Thesen zu einem neuen Forschungsprojekt über den Zusammenhang von Festungsplanung, Städtebau und Gartenkunst," *Kritische Berichte* 32.3 (2004): 84–96; here 88–90.

printing press, the military discourse gradually gained more attention in the Early Modern period.

Before discussing fortification as part of the *artes militares* in the Renaissance by referring mainly to Albrecht Dürer's *Manifold Teachings on How to Fortify Towns, Castles, and Places* (1527),<sup>2</sup> I will first glance at a novel from the twenty-first century: Winfried Georg Sebald's *Austerlitz*. Its narrative provides a prism through which to recognize the long-lasting effects of the fortification efforts and their corresponding rhetoric until today. Conversely, the articulation of these issues may raise questions on their original meaning, intent, and reception as well.

In *Austerlitz*, Winfried Georg Sebald's first-person narrator meets the eponymous and second protagonist, Jacques Austerlitz, in the Belgian city of Antwerp in the late 1960s. In the Centraal Station, the two men start an extensive conversation revolving around architecture. The passage is revealing because after informing his interlocutor that the station's architect, Louis Delacenserie, took recourse to the Italian Renaissance's palaces as role models for his edifice, Austerlitz expatiates on fortifications. While delineating the military architecture from the Renaissance to Vauban, he wonders about

[. . .] the persistence with which generations of masters of the art of military architecture, for all their undoubtedly outstanding gifts, clung to what we can easily see today was a fundamentally wrong-headed idea: the notion that by designing an ideal tracé with blunt bastions and ravelins projecting well beyond it, allowing the cannon of the fortress to cover the entire operational area outside the walls, you could make a city secure as anything in the world can ever be. No one today, said Austerlitz, has the faintest idea of the boundless amount of theoretical writing on the building of fortifications, of the fantastic nature of the geometric, trigonometric, and logistical calculations they record, or the inflated excesses of the professional vocabulary of fortification and siege-craft, no one now understands its simplest terms, *escarpe* and *courtine*, *faussebraie*, *réduit*, and *glacis*, yet even from our present standpoint we can see that towards the end of the seventeenth century the star-shaped dodecagon behind trenches had finally crystallized, out of the various available systems, as the preferred ground plan: a kind of ideal typical pattern derived from the Golden Section, which indeed, as study of the intricately sketched plans of such fortified complexes as those of Coevorden, Neuf-Brisach, and Saarlouis will show, immediately strikes the layman as an emblem both of absolute power and of the ingenuity the engineers put to the service of that power. In the practice of warfare, however, the star-shaped fortresses which were being built and improved everywhere during the eighteenth century did not answer their purpose, for intent as everyone was on that pattern, it had been forgotten that the largest fortifications will naturally attract the largest enemy forces, and that the more you entrench yourself the more

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<sup>2</sup> The edition I am referring to is: Albrecht Dürer, *Etliche vnderricht / zu befestigung der Stett / Schlosz / vnd flecken* (Nuremberg: Hieronymus Andrae, 1527; as a facsimile: Nördlingen: Verlag Dr. Alfons Uhl, 1980); cf. also Albrecht Dürer, *Etliche vnderricht/* [. . .], Faksimile 1971 der Erstausgabe von 1527, mit der Übertragung des Textes in modernes Deutsch und einem kritischen Kommentar von Alvin E. Jaeggli (Dietikon and Zurich: Verlag Bibliophile Drucke von Josef Stocker, 1971).



you must remain on the defensive, so that in the end you might find yourself in a place fortified in every possible way, watching helplessly while the enemy troops, moving on to their own choice of terrain elsewhere, simply ignored their adversaries' fortresses, which had become positive arsenals of weaponry, bristling with cannon and overcrowded with men.<sup>3</sup>

Of course, Austerlitz is not a source of positive, factual information. But the anecdote underpins the inextricable interrelatedness of past and present, as well as the correlation of the *architectura civilis* and *militaris*. Austerlitz, for instance, states certain analogies that can be noticed in the utilization of the Central Station as a site of representation and pragmatic function. Instead of adorning the edifice with an array of deities so as to manifest a specific hierarchical order, the building displays new elements. In the 1960s, mining, the industries, traffic and commerce, as well as the capital stocks are the new systemic forces defining the normative catalogue of values, virtues, and power in society.

All of these are surpassed by time as the omnipotent regulator. Time, represented by the grand clock high up in the central hall, is furthermore combined with a panoptic device: every subject entering the station can be monitored. The elaboration on fortifications subsequently mirrors a sensitive awareness of a likewise will to display power claims. It is implicated that the military architecture is a site of perturbation that invites a multi-layered inquiry. It challenges to scrutinize the exact military-strategic purposes of early modern fortifications, besides acknowledging their symbolic function. Sebald's documentary-style reflection on these issues points at something that may be called the 'disposition/Dispositiv of the military'. This disposition comprises a specific knowledge and concrete architectural evidence facilitating sovereign engagement.

The *editio princeps* of Albrecht Dürer's *Manifold Teachings* [. . .] was published in Nuremberg, in 1527. The book holds 26 folios, mostly printed recto and verso. The pages are densely filled with text and drawings. All together we find 21 woodcuts, either oversized and folded in, full-page, or interspersed in the flow of the elaboration and descriptions. There are both black and white and colored editions. In comparison to other German-speaking treatises on the subject matter, all of whom appeared later—to list only: Daniel Specklin's *Architectura von Vestungen* (1589, Straßburg), Leonhart Fronsperger's *Kriegßbuch* (1596, Frankfurt), and Adam Freitag's *Architectura Militaris* (1631, Leiden)—Dürer's book is rather thin, notwithstanding that it is quite compendious. Its significance lies in the fact that it is the first writing on the subject in German, it is the product of the transition from the late Middle Ages to the early modern period; it employs rather novel representational techniques, and it is entangled in a precariously political situation charged with military conflict. Facing the continuation of the Ottoman expansion

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<sup>3</sup> Winfried Georg Sebald, *Austerlitz* (New York: The Modern Library, 2001), 14–16.

into Christian Europe, Dürer decided to come forward with his own fortification concept.<sup>4</sup> In the book's dedication to the embattled King and governor of Hungary and Bohemia, and the later emperor of the Reich, Ferdinand I, Dürer states explicitly that the main impetus for his deliberations was the imminent threat by the Turks.<sup>5</sup> This argument is plausible since only two years after the publication the first siege of Vienna took place.

Although the dedication as a paratext is formulaic, it is nevertheless telling. What we can infer from it is that, on the one hand, its author praises a sovereign who holds the supreme power and who is regarded as the guarantee for security in a situation of military escalation and cultural clash. On the other hand, a self-confident artist is offering his service to the regent. Throughout the teaching, Dürer urges any potential sovereign to enhance existing fortifications in order to counter the modern attacking forces. In principal his concern is twofold: firstly, how to achieve the best possible upgrading of a fortification system, and secondly to name the criteria for an urban residence to be viably safe and secure for its inhabitants, and especially for a prince regent. Dürer drafts an urban setting to be structured in a perfect and hierarchical order as far as the formation and allotment of the social groups and functional units are concerned, i.e., the trades and guilds; a keyword is 'ideal city' ("Idealstadt"). Dürer's elaboration invites the reader-observer to consider the historical effort to organize space, namely as a contested territory of power which has to be fortified, as a residential place as well as a site for/of representation.

Dürer's thinking is not without being grounded in his own personal situation: the fortified city of Nuremberg being the center of his life, his transmontane and other journeys, and also the political situation around 1500 confronted him with the military reality of his time. It is fair to assume that he knew the relevant works of thinkers, artists, and engineers of (late) antiquity such as Vitruvius and

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<sup>4</sup> There has been ample research on Dürer's treatise, cf. Wilhelm Waetzoldt, *Dürers Befestigungslehre* (Berlin: Verlag Julius Bard, 1916); Alexander von Reitzenstein, "Etliche vnderricht/ zu befestigung der stett/ schlos/ vnd flecken. Albrecht Dürers Befestigungslehre," *Albrecht Dürers Umwelt: Festschrift zum 500. Geburtstag Albrecht Dürers am 21. Mai 1971*, ed. by the Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg (Nuremberg: Selbstverlag des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 1971), 178–92; Wolfgang Neuber, "Sichtbare Unterwerfung. Zu den herrschaftsstrategischen Raumvorstellungen in frühneuzeitlichen Idealstadtentwürfen und Utopien," *Politische Räume: Stadt und Land in der Frühneuzeit*, ed. by Cornelia Jöchner (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003), 1–22; Ulrich Schütte, "Militär, Hof und urbane Topographie. Albrecht Dürers Entwurf einer königlichen Stadt aus dem Jahre 1527," *Der Hof und die Stadt: Konfrontation, Koexistenz und Integration in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. 9. Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen veranstaltet in Zusammenarbeit mit der Historischen Kommission für Sachsen-Anhalt*, ed. Werner Paravicini and Jörg Wettlaufer. *Residenzenforschung*, 20 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2006), 131–54.

<sup>5</sup> Dürer, *Etliche vnderricht* | *Manifold Teachings*, Aii, recto (see note 2).

Vegetius, he should have come across Alberti, Filarete, di Giorgio Martini, Tartaglia, Leonardo, and Michelangelo, all of whom had been or were toiling on fortifications. In addition, suggestions and ideas by humanists such as Willibald Pirckheimer have to be taken into account for Dürer's attention to the subject, including his decision to produce the book. Furthermore and eventually, Dürer was not just an artist, if the term artist be understood in its modern sense. His multifarious œuvre bespeaks him as *l'uomo universale* of the Renaissance, i.e., the widely engaged *artefice*. But he was neither a trained engineer nor a masterbuilder. However, he put his knowledge in the service of architectural innovation for military purposes. In comparison to his contemporaries and successors who were also seeking new defense solutions like the above mentioned, experienced fortress builder and urban planner Daniel Specklin from Strasbourg (1536–1589), Dürer's work shows inconsistencies: a topic to be treated more fully later in this study.

To outline the historical context of Dürer's endeavor more in depth, it is important to bring to mind the state of the art of the military, and in particular fortifications at that time. Dürer presents us with a pen drawing (Fig. 1) in which he catches the siege and heavy bombardment of the Hohenasperg fortress in 1519. The scene is based on the historical event to which Dürer became a witness while on his way to Italy. The artillery shelling of the vertical wall around the medieval settlement located on the hilltop speaks for itself. In another image, rendered as a large woodcut seven to eight years later (Fig. 2), Dürer depicts the fictitious siege of a fictitious fortified place.<sup>6</sup> There are novel particulars with which Dürer modifies the medieval fortification system. The reduced verticality of the main wall behind which a wide trench opens up is noteworthy. Furthermore, attention goes to the rather horizontal spreading of the system into the depth of space along the lateral axis of the oval-shaped ground plan. Likewise striking to the (modern) beholder is the enormous, donjon-like main fort which Dürer calls 'pastey' (Bastei) and/or 'Rondell.' Last but not least, there are solitary strongholds dug in the trench-area, so-called 'Kaponniere.' They are to be accessed through secret underground pathways from within the pastey. They serve as outposts from which to saturate an attacker with an enfilade of fire.

The transformation manifest in the two images can be summarized as follows: with the advent of the modern fire power, the medieval protective circumvallation gets modified. It is taken down so that it cannot be targeted by the enemy artillery so easily. The wall is strengthened and its diameter enlarged by means of earth and stone works. The defense line is further enforced by setting up artillery batteries. To achieve that, compact pastey-forts protruding from the wall circuit

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<sup>6</sup> The woodcut is part of some editions of the treatise where it is added as a surplus on the last folio.

are built. They serve as platforms on which the heavy canons are mounted. Their interior provides protective places for the fighting squad and storage room for ammunition and the like. Since the forts reach out into the trench area, ground-level casemates are established inside from which close-range fire can be administered.<sup>7</sup> All subsequent elaborations on fortification had a common ground in this fundamental adjustment.

The question that ensued from this constellation in the sixteenth century was basically which shape the forts in the wall circuit should have, i.e. whether with semi-circular front sides or whether their form should resemble a polygon, for instance a triangle. The latter type came to be named 'bastion.' As a consequence, the prime criterion to determine the fortification system was whether it employed pastey-forts or bastions. The prospective discussion in Italy, France, Spain, the Netherlands, and the German Reich throughout the sixteenth century more or less revolved around this crucial point. Dürer favored the pastey-fort but it would not prevail because it was imperfect. Its disadvantage was the dead angle caused by the semi-circular shape. (Fig. 3) Although Dürer attempted to counterbalance it by employing the Kaponniere, the 'Bastionary System' (Bastionärschema) proved superior. It was more qualified to avoid blind angles because no enemy troops could gather at the tip of the bastion without coming under fire from its straight flank lines (Fig. 4). The Bastionary System triggered a long tradition of further refinement.

To demonstrate the changes, three sketches synoptically show the transformation process from the Middle Ages through the late seventeenth century, focusing on one and the same place (Fig. 5a–c). The first scheme (5a) renders the defense system of a medieval city: the main gate, a high circuit wall around the city with thin intermediary and a few stouter guarding towers at the corners, plus the main entrance. A trench filled with water from a river simultaneously protecting the rear runs before the wall. In the second sketch (5b), the place has changed. In front of the high wall and the wet trench an additional, stouter wall has been erected. One massive and one lesser pastey as well as more compact guarding towers subdivide the main wall. In front of it, a second wet trench has been excavated. Eventually, the third image (5c) demonstrates a noticeable change. The crenelated wall and round towers have given way to a polygonal wall circuit, furnished with bastions. The front sides of the bastions are shaped like a jigsaw, and they reach out into the prefield area, the so-called 'rayon.' The cannon ball can no longer strike against a vertical and straight bulwark; instead it will hit a slanted and geometrically oblique construct. Due to

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. Christof Baier, Marion Hilliges, "Festungsbau als mathematische Kunst," *Maß, Zahl und Gewicht: Meisterwerke der Sammlung Architektur der Kunstbibliothek*, ed. Elke Blauert and Karin Rhein (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2008), 108–23; here 108.

the star-like shape, the protection of the flanks of each part of the wall is greatly improved. The defense concept reacts to the offensive power with a more rigorously mathematical-geometrical construction. So, the gradual architectural adjustment to the fire power and its logic becomes obvious. Ballistics shapes the defense manner, it shapes the landscape in which the fortification is embedded, and likewise the arrangement of the affected cities and places. Wolfgang Schäffner, who characterizes this outcome as the effect of "diagrams of power" (powerful diagrams, resp.), states:

Instead of heavy walls, the manner becomes the decisive principle of the new fortification defense and impregnability[. . .]. Neither height nor sheer bulk mass of the medieval wall guarantee safety and security, but the geometrical form. This is the principle of the early modern fortress.<sup>8</sup>

Dürer's treatise can be divided in four main parts with 26 sub-chapters. Of special interest are the first two parts. Since Dürer is primarily occupied with the construction of pastey-forts, the deliberations on the topic take up most of the treatise. Right at the beginning, he develops three ways to construct them. While the circuit defense line, in which to integrate the pastey-forts, ought to be polygonal at best, the forts are to be set up at the corner points of the wall. The three types resemble each other closely. One type looks like it is shown in (Fig. 6a–c). The floor plan of the edifice (6a), including the instructive inscription how to measure and place it in the defense line, is presented. In addition to the inscriptions in the drawing, the indices reference to the explanation in the text.

Here, it is important to point out that Dürer's entire concept appears to be rather unrealistic in terms of dimension. One might say that it runs contrary to common sense. What does that mean? The amount of building material, human work force, expert supervision, and capital necessary to implement a system of such monumental proportion in reality can hardly be afforded by a king, let alone some lower noble. The length, height, and strength of the edifices, the depth and width of the trenches, the sheer quantity of all kinds of required resources are almost utopian and surpass the potentials given at the time.<sup>9</sup> Interesting enough, Dürer himself anticipates such objections and offers an analogy by which to legitimize

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<sup>8</sup> Wolfgang Schäffner, "Diagramme der Macht. Festungsbau im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Politische Räume*, ed. by Cornelia Jöchner, 133–44; here 135 (see note 4).

<sup>9</sup> Attempts have been made to prove the feasibility of Dürer's concept with regard to the contemporary reality, cf. Kersten Krüger, "Albrecht Dürer, Daniel Speckle und die Anfänge frühmoderner Stadtplanung in Deutschland," *Formung der frühen Moderne. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. Kersten Krüger. Geschichte: Forschung und Wissenschaft, 14 (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005) 285–308; here 286–91; see also Schütte, "Militär, Hof und urbane Topographie," 135 (see note 4).

his decision. In the introduction, he reminds those wondering if all this effort was necessary of the Egyptian kings.

Their expenditures on the pyramids were even greater, and in contrast to a sound fortification the pyramids were not useful. What more, there are always enough poor people who are dependent on charity.<sup>10</sup> They should be called up so that they can earn their livings, while at the same time be prevented from staging a revolt. One way to interpret this statement is to see Dürer express a rigorously protestant work ethic, coupled with an economic consideration of utility ratios. He furthermore seems to be wary of insurgent impulses possibly arising from within the communities. In any case, he elaborates his draft with great accuracy. Offering several intermediate sketches and visualizing further details, he comes up with another tableau (6b): it displays the openings for 20 canons inside the pastey. Besides showing the shape of the crenels and two staircases in the rear of the two-storey fort which lead up to the artillery ramp, it is striking that an entire firing line is directed backward, into the city.

Eventually, the scaled-down front view of the edifice is presented (6c). How closely textual explanation and visualization correspond with each other can be seen in another example. After spending great attention to the shape of the pastey's interior (design/strength of the vaults to be safe against mortar, etc.), and after prescribing the height, strength, and sloping of the different outer and inner wall segments, Dürer stresses the correct environment of the canons. He precautions to add sufficient vents for the resulting smoke as well as openings for light to ensure proper operations in the casemates. The openings, in return, will have to be protected against the enemy fire, too. When the paragraph is complete, it gets interlinked with the corresponding, three-parted drawing (Fig. 7). In the figure, according to Dürer's explicit hint, the beholder will find the floor plan in the middle part, above the front view and below the cross section profile which runs from B through A to C.

Dürer strives at facilitating the instructive momentum of his teachings. The frequently indexed drawings not simply illustrate the verbal exposition. They assist the perception of the geometrical, mathematical, and technical details. The pictorial and diagrammatical 'language' is quintessential in the sign-combining effort to generate and communicate a specific knowledge. Not few of the images have an artful or artistic potential. Dürer inaugurates a representational strategy that Simon Stevin (1548/1549–1620) conceptualizes some 70 years later. The Dutch military engineer stresses the necessity that every fortress must, or at least ought to be designed before the building is erected. To do so, the two basic levels,

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. Dürer, *Etliche vnderricht* | *Manifold Teachings*, Aii, recto (see notes 2 and 5).

namely top view/ground plan and profile, have to be produced. This then was, as Wolfgang Schäffner comments, the Copernican turn in the *ars fortificatoria*, which favored from then on the new basic design concept: Instead of front view, top view/ground plan.

The topographical sight of the top view becomes the decisive principle of construction. The most significant trajectories of the artillery which are incorporated in the defensive bulwark will otherwise be invisible or difficult to discern. The topographical plan then engenders its own landscape; the graphical lines become earth walls, mural defense lines, and trenches that noticeably materialize the arrangement.<sup>11</sup> Stevin also recommends the building of a miniature prototype as a palpable model “[. . .] for even as in describing the world it is good beside the globe’s flat counterfeiting to have several corporeal globes, as that of the earth, of the fixed stars, of the planets and the like, so likewise [. . .] also the bodily forms of fortresses [are] very useful to know all their particulars more fundamentally.”<sup>12</sup> This statement reveals Stevin’s intention to facilitate the fortification design even further. The fortresses, to quote Schäffner again, are like small home planets around which the canons revolve.

Dürer’s fortification concept, as already suggested, was too heavy-weight, too expensive, and it was not well enough adjusted to the realities of contemporary warfare. Nevertheless, modified forms of the pastey à la Dürer were realized in the years to come. The ‘non-Bastionary System’ did not entirely vanish. In the course of time, the engineers realized that it was not the fort-type alone which distinguished the Bastionary from the non-Bastionary System. Fortress masters like Daniel Specklin paid much attention to other aspects as well. Due to his expertise as a military and civil architect and due to his participation in military operations, such as the besieging and defending of places, Specklin knew that non-Bastionary Systems could be as defensive as Bastionary ones. Having witnessed the advanced pragmatics of siege warfare which favoured the far-distant shelling of the wall sections (Kurtinen) between the bastion-forts, in his *Architectura von Vestungen* he devotes his initial deliberations to the Kurtinen.<sup>13</sup> Sixty years after Dürer, the range and fire power of the artillery had greatly improved, so the close-distant defense from within the forts came to be of secondary importance.

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<sup>11</sup> Simon Stevin, *The Art of War* (1594), ed. by W. H. Schukking = Part IV, *The Principal Works of Simon Stevin*, ed. by Ernst Crone and E. J. Dijksterhuis (Amsterdam: C.V. Swets & Zeitlinger, 1964), cited after Wolfgang Schäffner, “Operationale Topographie. Repräsentationsräume in den Niederlanden um 1600,” *Räume des Wissens. Repräsentation, Codierung, Spur*, ed. Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, Michael Hagner, and Bettina Wahrig-Schmidt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997) 63–90; here 74–76.

<sup>12</sup> Stevin, *The Art of War*, cited after Schäffner (see note 11).

<sup>13</sup> Daniel Specklin, *Achitectura von Vestungen. Wie solche zu unsern Zeiten . . .* (Straßburg: Bernhart Jobin, 1589).

All of Specklin's proposals show a high degree of feasibility, and his approach is based on the precise observation of the actualities of warfare.<sup>14</sup> To do justice to Dürer, he did likewise, he also considered ways to reinforce the medieval wall. Dürer came up with rather outdated solutions, though. Even if Specklin proposes constructions on a grand scale, his conceptual work is more bound to his experience as an engineer and fortress builder. What more, he offered his service to clients who would pay him for tangible results, and his drafts and concepts were actually realized so that he was able to examine and revise them. His motto which could be expressed as 'Beware the appropriateness; pay the utmost effort to achieve a maximum in defense with low costs.' bespeaks an engineer-theoretician whose professional (and probably personal) well-being depended on the close reference to the conditions and requirements of the contemporary real-life feasibilities.<sup>15</sup>

Research in the history of the military architecture has tried to distinguish the non-Bastionary from the Bastionary System under the perspective of their operational and medial, i.e., the symbolic-representational functions. Recently, Stephan Hoppe raised the issue again to which extent either system answers to these two functions. Taking up Umberto Eco's semiotics of architecture, Hoppe argues that in principal each manner/system fulfils both functions. Designed as defense bulwarks, the operational function—according to Eco the first and basic function—is the primary intent of any military building effort. If this function is undermined because novel manners advance, supersede, and set new standards in the defense, the previous construct does not cease to be important and useful. Its symbolic function gains preponderance. That means that its value as an emblem of power continued to be of supreme importance. It is not clear whether this value was as high as it was before. Its symbolic performance, in any case, was not automatically diminished because it had become obsolete as a bulwark for actual warfare.<sup>16</sup>

This interpretation is significant because it suggests that fortifications always live a double life: they serve the twofold purpose of protecting places and representing power. Even if that may not seem surprising, it corroborates the tension in which the fortification effort is entangled. Whether the particular endeavor in the field of military architecture was precipitated by the necessity to come up with a viable design for actual warfare, or whether it was an exercise of the author's erudition

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<sup>14</sup> Stephan Hoppe, "Artilleriewall und Bastion: Deutscher Festungsbau der Renaissancezeit im Spannungsfeld zwischen apparativer und medialer Funktion," *Jülicher Geschichtsblätter: Jahrbuch des Jülicher Geschichtsvereins*, 74/75 (2006–2007), 35–63; here 44–48.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Albert Fischer, *Daniel Specklin aus Straßburg (1536–1589): Festungsbaumeister, Ingenieur und Kartograph*. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1996), 59.

<sup>16</sup> Hoppe, "Artilleriewall und Bastion," 36–38 (see note 14).



and artistic dexterity, the practice of such an engagement *nolens volens* implicates a stance toward the question of power.

Dürer's treatise is a combination of fortification theory and city planning, and the second part of the book may be titled "The Capital of a Kingdom." There, Dürer offers proposals how to fortify the city of a prince and— rather misleadingly— calls it the 'fortified castle' ("fest schloß"). Simultaneously, Dürer drafts a communal and urban setting that shall be perfectly structured in every respect (Fig. 8, two sketches, here a and b). The place to be chosen by a prince who possesses a wide and well-situated land shall be advantageous. The surrounding area of the capital city, the so-called rayon, will be of one short mile in depth. For the sake of reconnaissance and the sufficient firing range, this rayon must be completely levelled. No one is allowed to settle there, buildings of any kind must not be erected. While this zone attracts special attention and authoritarian regulation, it is also the place which the regent will jettison most quickly if the city comes under attack. The rayon's significance seemingly hinges upon a monocausal usefulness. The chosen place, then, will have specific territorial support in its main corners: to the North there is a mountainous wooded area while to the South there is a stream of fresh water which cannot be dried out. The Northern corner will provide building material and suitable positions for watch towers and outposts, whereas the Southern environment ensures the drinking water for the city as well as drainage to dispose of the municipal waste.

Both the fortification system and the city will be of square shape with enormous proportions. The streets will run in a rectangular manner. In the exact center of the city complex another fortified structure will be set up. This is the actual residence and palace of the prince which Dürer terms the 'royal house' ("königliches Haus"). Its design will be of the same kind as the fortified city although it contains extra features fit for a prince and his councilors. After developing at great length the multilevel, wall-trench-pastey system protecting the *urbs*, Dürer elaborates the city's arrangement and the sovereign's self-contained palace. He allots the space of the clergy in the Eastern corner of the city, defines the agora of the municipality (town hall, market square, etc.), the living quarters of the plebs, the foundries and magazines, the working units, and so on. He stresses that the prince shall not allow useless people to dwell in the city. Only skillful, experienced, and otherwise useful men are to be granted permission to live there. Most of them have to be ready to take up arms whenever there is need.

That means that all of those who do not fit into the desired group of people will face the risk of being expelled from the city. As monofocal and seemingly monofunctional the rayon can be, as exclusive the city hence proves to be: the right of residing in it depends on the capability and willingness to defend the city and the sovereign at all costs and to submit under his authoritarian rule.

Although the construction and organization of the city complex starts from its periphery, the palace of the prince marks the center of gravity. The symbolically charged city center is no longer occupied by the clergy and the church, but by the royal palace. The entire arrangement focuses on the maintenance of the prince, the arrangement aims primarily at representing and facilitating the supreme power. The city plan and the sovereign's position may be described in terms of totality or absoluteness: as square, compact, and seemingly inexpugnable the fortified city, as central and omniscient the sovereign. He holds the privilege of seeing beyond the city's boundaries as well as into every corner within from a tower set up on the palace grounds. He holds absolute authority over his subjects, including the prerogative to suspend their rights at his will. Not only is he protected against an outside enemy by the city's fortification and the people's military service, but also against danger arising from his own people. Because at all times must he be able to escape from the city by means of secret passages leading from the palace out into the rayon. The hierarchical order of the different social entities, their corresponding grouping around the palace, as well as the emphasis on an administrative body executing sovereign power provide for an autopoietical discipline of the community.

Dürer's concept rests upon polarities: the bare land outside the city vs. the well-structured interior of the city, an amorphous, latent enemy force vs. the distinguished city community, the useful vs. the useless denizen of the city, a people under sovereign rule vs. a people at the disposal of a self-contained and wary ruler. What can be assumed is that two different but interwoven concepts of space-design inform the draft: while the concept relies on Dürer's living experience in major cities such as Nuremberg, Venice, and Antwerp in terms of fortification, administration, municipal services, fraternities and trades, etc., it also exhibits elements of utopian thinking by evoking an all but perfect urban setting of gigantic dimension. Dürer may have regarded the task to draft the design as an artistic exercise, a theoretical challenge, and an experiment in social structuring.

If sovereign engagement can be understood as social practice which is based on the communication between a sovereign and his subjects, this practice has to be analyzed according to its actual or projected, i.e. imagined implementation. The communicative relationship will always be regulated by norms which are set and adjusted by the authorities. Dürer's plan is part of the social practice insofar as he envisions a form of interaction between a community and their prince. By paying great attention to upholding and representing sovereign power—namely what the sovereign's place should be like, how his splendor and might are represented, and how he is to be protected against an enemy—many of Dürer's considerations are in line with medieval reasoning. In the Middle Ages power has to be enacted and performed so that it becomes visible and tangible to its subjects as well as to

others. This can be achieved by possessing a force which will ensure rule and control over the land and the people, including the ability to fend off power claims from an outside enemy. It can also be achieved through "consensual means of representational performance and practice,"<sup>17</sup> which comprise the multimedia and multisensory demonstration of social status, i.e., the representational, public display of a legitimate and given or claimed power status. Again, the status and rank must be made visible on the sovereign himself and his appearance, in the arrangement of his territory, as well as through emblematic configurations such as books, images, etc. While Dürer's concept is still implicated in a medieval tradition of power display and representation, his treatise nonetheless raises the question as to sovereignty, warfare, and fortification in the early modern time. Wolfgang Neuber opines that territories of power in the sixteenth century were still confined in terms of movable borderlines.<sup>18</sup> That means that a territory would not yet be defined from the periphery to a fixed center but rather from a mobile center toward a potentially unlimited space.

The implication is that the territory under sovereign rule did not necessarily mean a *de facto* bordered space. Sovereign power was still seated in a feudal system with nobles granting privileges to person-bound loyalty groups that would uphold sovereign power within their reach of control. The idea of indeterminate territorial demarcations thus challenges an assumption arising not least from Dürer himself that there was the need to defend defined territories of power (the German Reich vs. the Ottoman empire) already in the early sixteenth century. To be sure, urban and other places had to be fortified so that they could be protected. However, they may not have been intended as a means to safeguard a far-reaching territory under sovereign rule; instead they served as focal points for that central power to present itself in its military might.

On the basis of Dürer's treatise, it is hard to determine what the exact military-strategic function of the early modern fortress was, and the question remains to what extent Dürer intended to construct a bulwark ready for real-life warfare. Despite his explicit reference to the imminent threat of the Christian world by the advancing Turks, his design holds numerous contradictions. What I deem fair to suggest is that one of Dürer's principal goals was to represent sovereign power by an excessiveness of might and wealth through colossal edifices. The excessiveness is combined with an overabundance of defense devices which contribute to the representational performance.

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<sup>17</sup> Horst Wenzel, *Hören und Sehen, Schrift und Bild: Kultur und Gedächtnis im Mittelalter* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 1995), 21.

<sup>18</sup> Neuber, "Sichtbare Unterwerfung," 9 (see note 4).

Since power is quintessentially dependent on the ability to display the might it is resting upon also through symbolic means, military architecture becomes a medium of concrete evidence. It physically incorporates an actual or assumed status of power. Dürer's fortification concept is characterized by a tension: on the one hand, the military architecture is meant to defy an enemy, guarantee security, and uphold sovereignty. On the other hand, fortifications implicate a precarious status of security and sovereignty. What can be inferred in particular from Dürer's concept is that measures are taken to organize and defend a place and a community in ways that help to ensure sovereign power. At the same time, fortifications bespeak an illusion of impregnable defense measures. The architecture seems to be the answer to a latent power struggle. Against the historical background from around 1527, Dürer's fortification effort may indeed be interpreted as his design for a potential outpost at the frontier. The task of such a stronghold is to define and secure a demarcation line between two reigns of imperial and religious power, and at the same time to structure, control, and discipline the side to which the author of the design belongs. The fortified city, as envisioned by Dürer, will furthermore facilitate the creation of a collective body with a strong sense of cohesion.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Editor's note: Münkner's analysis provides an important perspective for the study of early modern cities which was not represented in the volume *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 4 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009). This confirms, once again, how fertile the topic of 'urban space' proves to be for the critical analysis of the history of mentality, everyday life, history of philosophy, and the history of ideology. See also Marguerita Z. Herman, *Ramparts: Fortification from the Renaissance to West Point* (Garden City Park, NY: Avery, 1992); Marzio Dall'Acqua, *Le città dei signori* (Bologna: Analisi, 1989); Conrad Doose, Jürgen Eberhardt, Hajo Lauenstein, Guido von Büren, and Günter Bers, *Das "italienische" Jülich: Grundzüge im Konzept Alessandro Pasqualinis für die Stadtanlage, die Zitadelle und das Residenzschloss*. *Jülicher Forschungen*, 8 (Jülich: Fischer OHG ; Goch: B.O.S.S Druck und Medien, 2009).

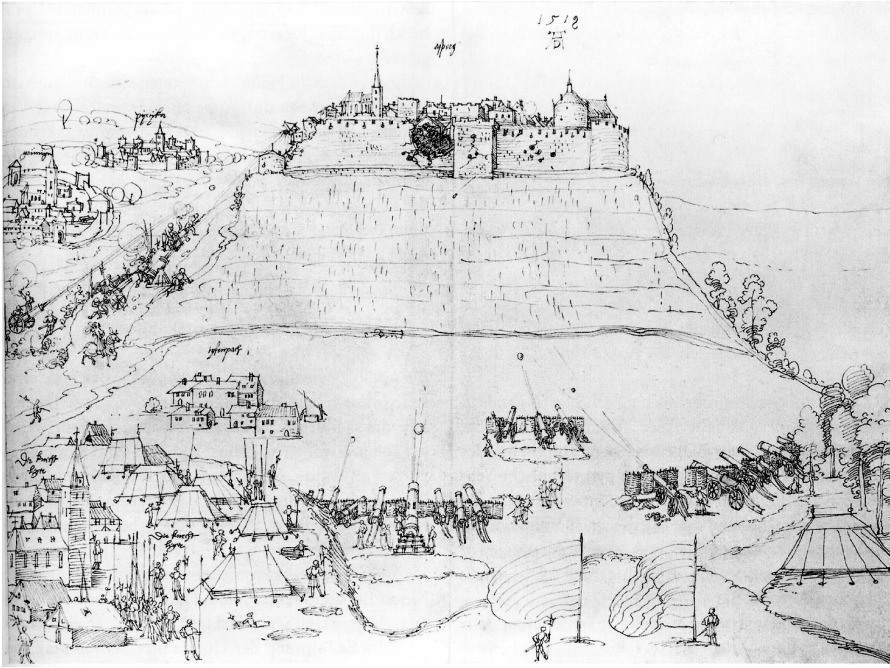


Fig. 1: Siege of the Fortress on the Hohenasperg (Pen Drawing, 31,2 × 43,6 cm); Albrecht Dürer, 1519; Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett – Sammlung der Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik, Inv.-Nr. 31

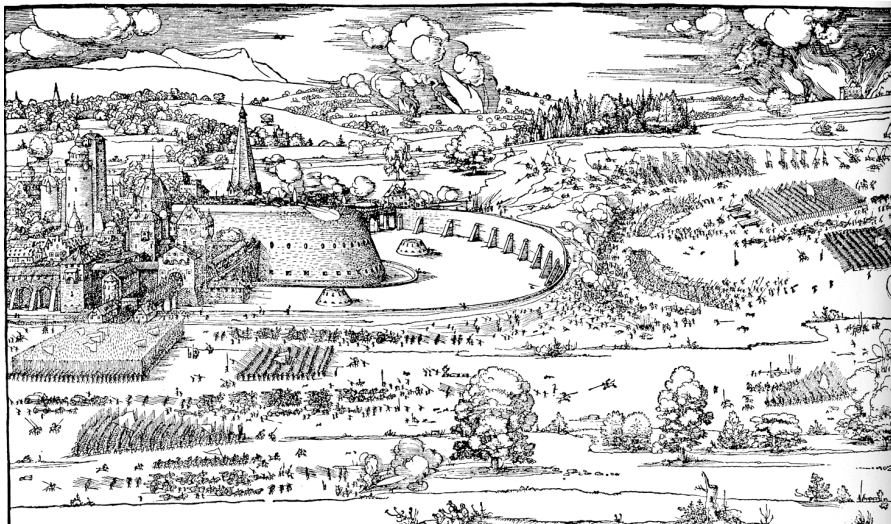


Fig. 2: Without title, or: fictitious siege of a fortified place.

The woodcut is part of some editions of the treatise by Albrecht Dürer *Etliche vnderricht* | *Manifold Teachings* (Nuremberg, 1527), where it is presented as a surplus on the last folio.

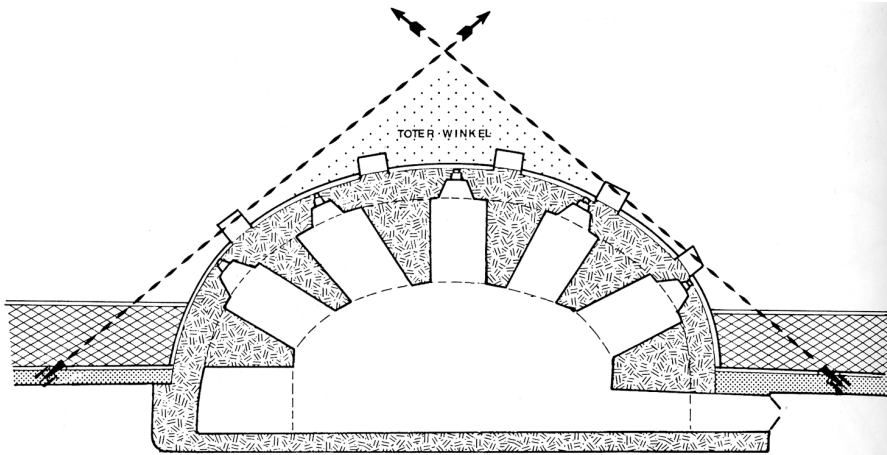


Fig. 3: Sketch/Top view of the dead angle in front of the Bastei/Rondell (stronghold)

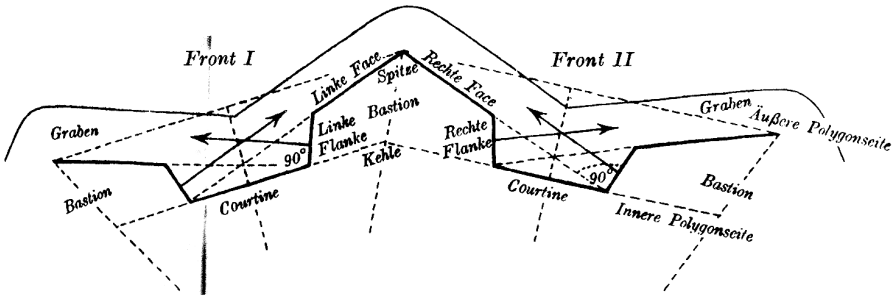


Fig. 4: Sketch/Top view of the bastionary system and its ballistic logic



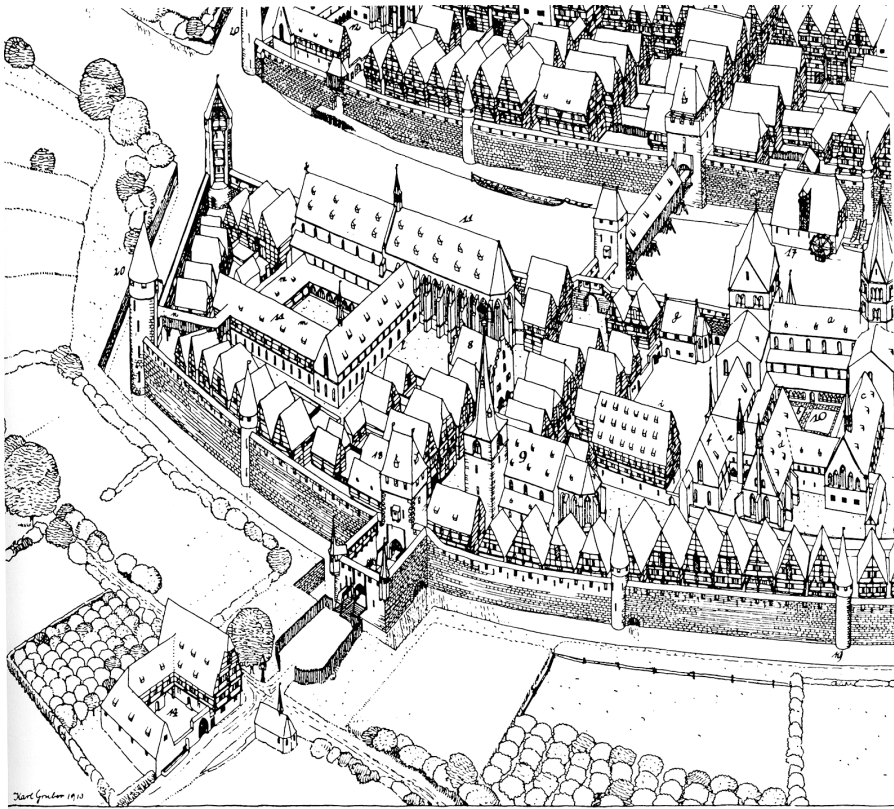


Fig. 5 a–c

Three synoptic sketches demonstrating transformations in fortification strategies from the Middle Ages (a), and the early modern period, sixteenth century (b) (see below) till the early modern period, and the seventeenth period (c) (see below)

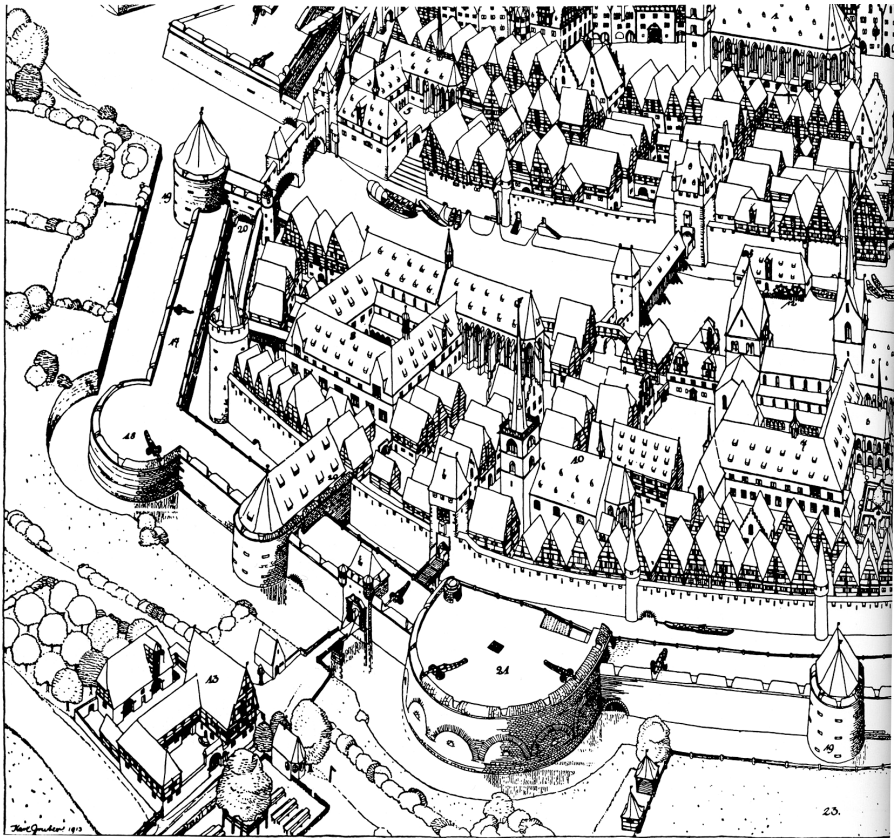


Fig. 5 b

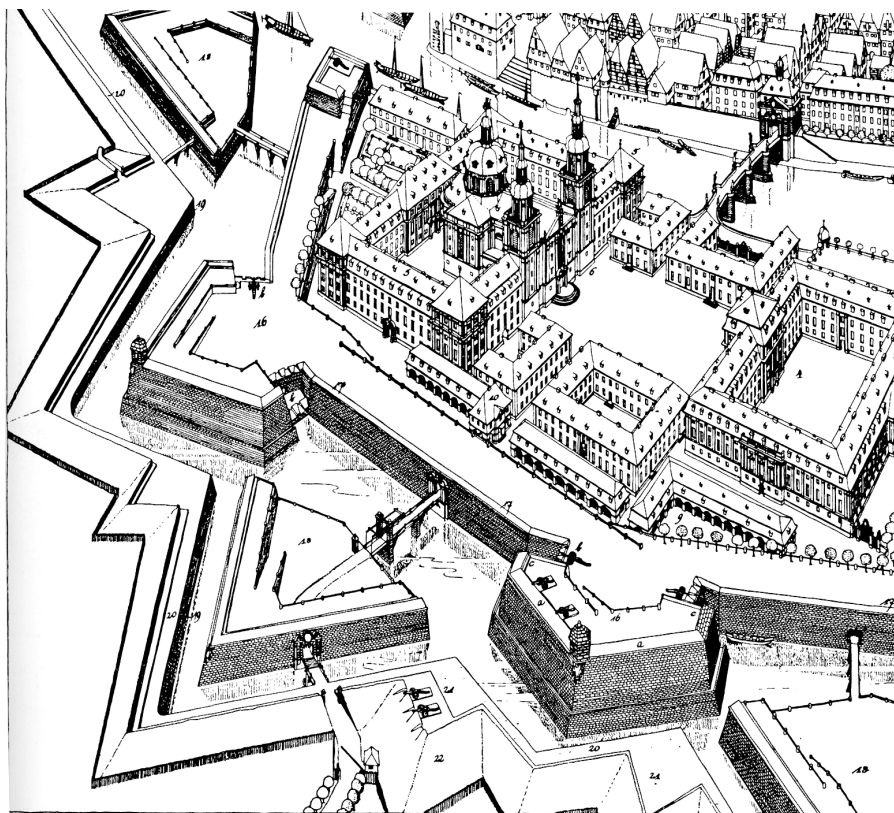


Fig. 5 c

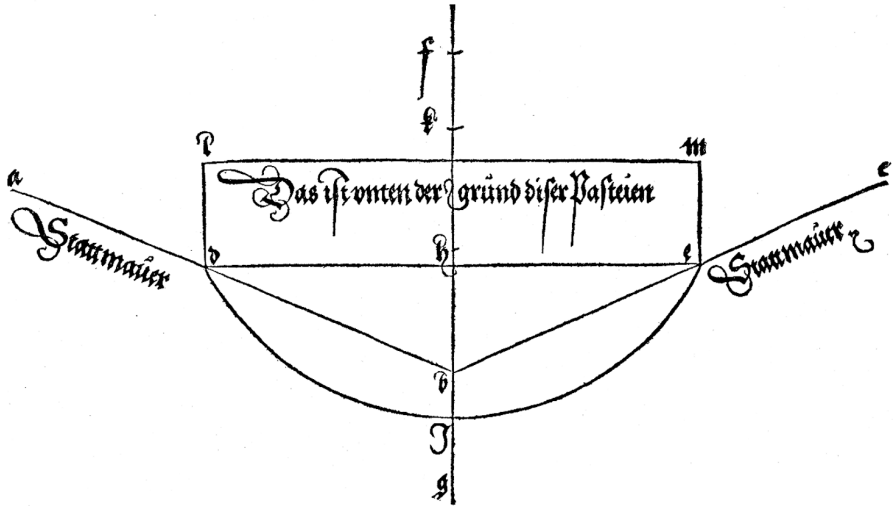


Fig. 6 a–c: Three views of the Bastei/Rondell (stronghold), drafted by Albrecht Dürer: Fig. 6a: Floor plan of a Bastei/Rondell (stronghold); Fig. 6b: Top view on the interior and the openings for 20 Canons inside the Bastei/Rondell (stronghold)

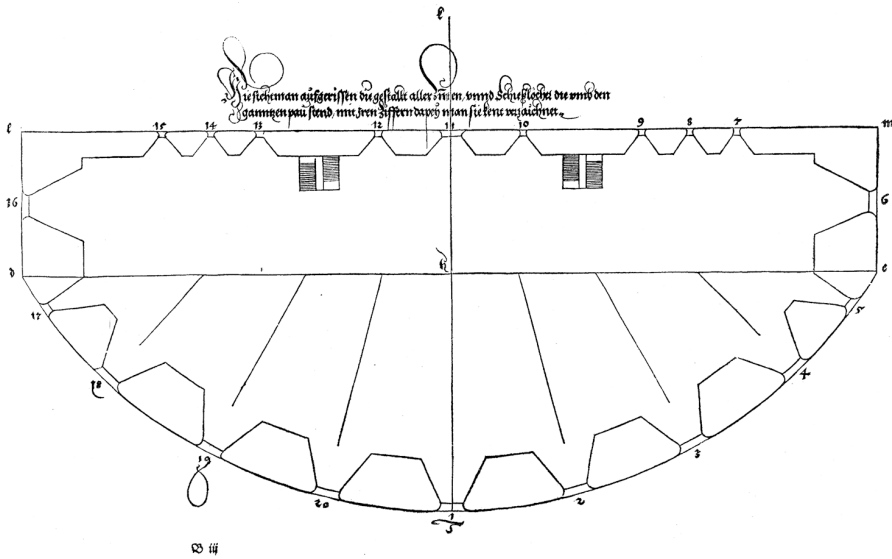


Fig. 6b: Top view on the interior and the openings for 20 canons inside the Baste/Rondell (stronghold)

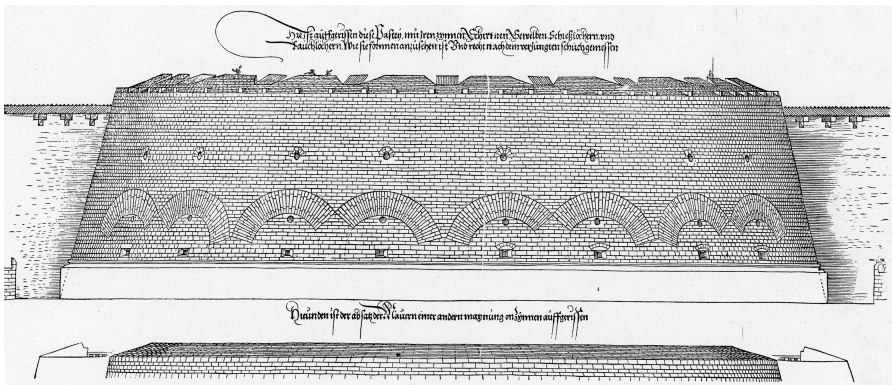


Fig. 6c: Scaled-down front view of the Bastei/Rondell (stronghold)

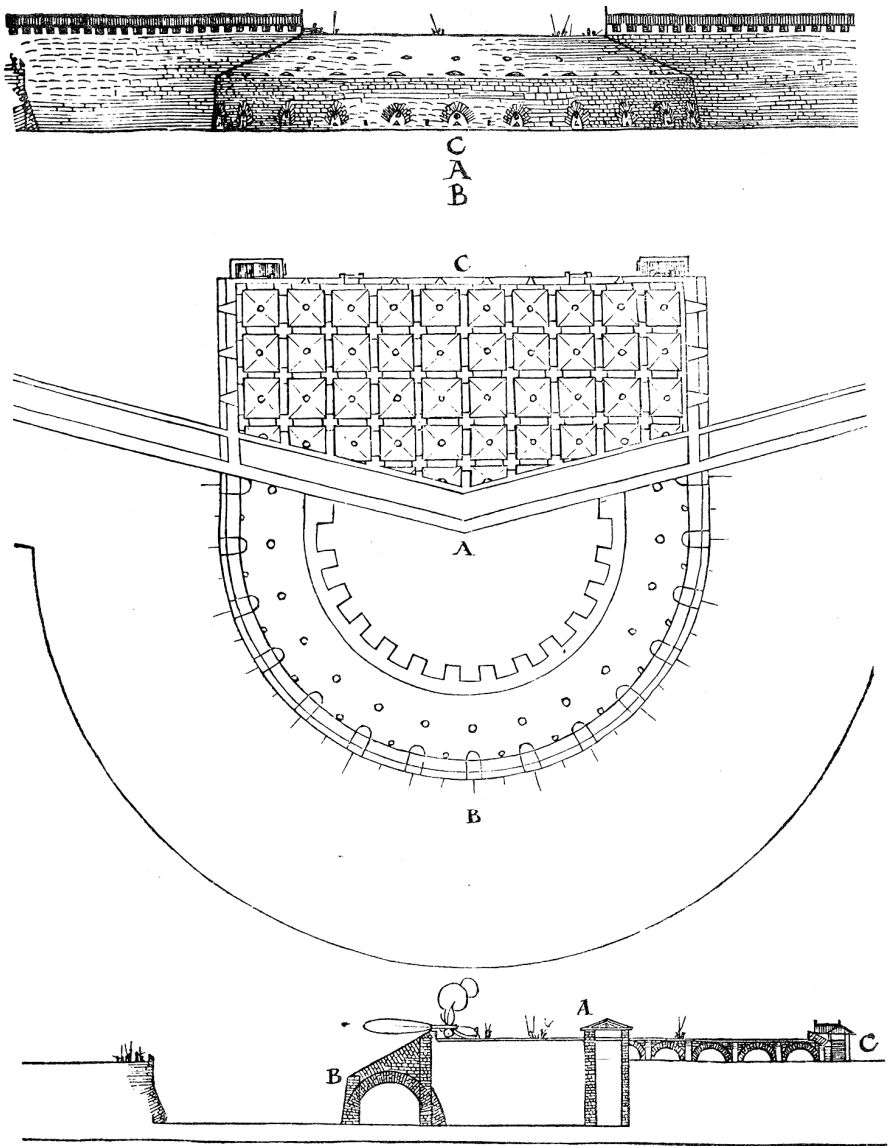


Fig. 7: Three-part drawing presenting a combination of several perspectives on the Bastei/Rondell (stronghold)

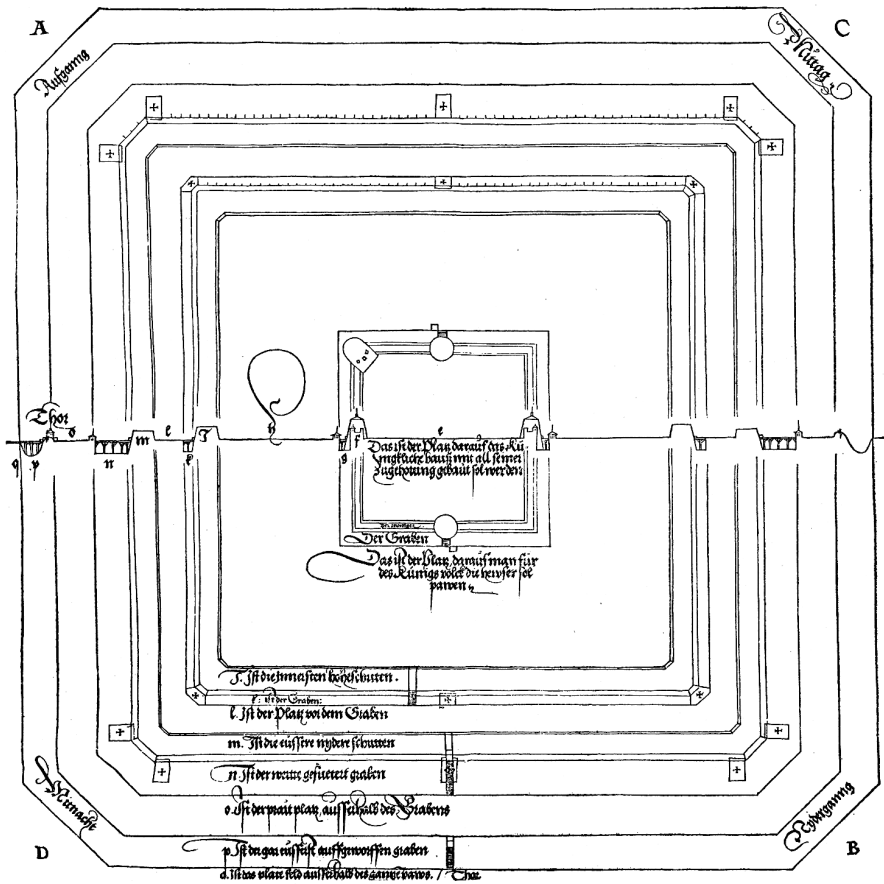


Fig. 8: Floor plan of the city of a prince and the fortified castle (*fest schloß*) with the royal house (*königliches Haus*); two sketches (a and b)





## Chapter 20

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### Sixteenth-Century Protests Against War and Its Tragic Consequences: The Testimony of Hans Sachs and His Contemporaries

#### I. War, Suffering, and the Individual

It seems almost cynical to search for voices against war in premodern literature, considering the ever-expanding war machinery spanning the entire globe today, with a steadily growing war industry and corresponding military conflicts on most, if not all, continents in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. Why would anyone involved in this international war business be interested in or troubled by protests against the war voiced hundreds of years ago, when even the most vehement protests formulated by some of the greatest intellectuals and artists throughout the twentieth century have not achieved their intended purpose of impacting governments, courts, and, above all, the military-industrial complex?<sup>1</sup> Tragically, the horrendous experiences in the First and the Second World Wars have not changed much in human mentality, despite intensive efforts by

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<sup>1</sup> Philip Metres, *Behind the Lines: War Resistance Poetry on the American Homefront Since 1941* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2007); Detlev Münch, *Der Krieg der Zukunft vor 100 Jahren: Antikriegs- und Kriegsutopien von P. Berendt, Carl Grunert, Anton Oskar Klaussmann, Bertha von Suttner u.a. aus den Jahren 1900 - 1912. Beiträge zur Bibliographie und Rezension der deutschen Science Fiction*, 9 (Dortmund: Synergen Verlag, 2006); *Krieg und Literatur: Internationales Jahrbuch zur Kriegs- und Antikriegsliteraturforschung* = *War and Literature: International Yearbook on War and Anti-War Literature* (Osnabrück: Erich Maria Remarque Archiv, 1999). See also the anthology of recent anti-war poems collected by Sam Hamill and Sally Andersen, *Poets Against the War* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation Books, 2003).

individuals, groups, organizations, and even countries to block, prevent, avoid, and warn against wars and its devastating consequences.

At the same time, over the last decades the calls for peace have grown exponentially, and so the scholarly investigations of peace as a historical, sociological, economical, technological, and religious phenomenon.<sup>2</sup> Tragically, throughout time war seems to have worked like a metastasizing cancer, greedily making its way through the arteries and lymph nodes of human existence at virtually all social levels. Whenever we believe that we have solved one military conflict and patched the wounds torn open by the use of deadly weapons, employed for the establishment of law and order within the framework of humanitarian, democratic principles, other conflicts erupt elsewhere. Although Europe, for example, has currently been enjoying probably its longest period of peaceful coexistence ever, at least within the boundaries of the European Community, since the end of World War II, its own weapons industry and military involvement in other parts of our globe undermine this illusion. Even though the general conditions of Western societies more or less prevent the outbreak of open military aggression, there are plenty of substitute war scenarios elsewhere because of religious, economic, cultural, and political conflicts and because the international weapons industry continues to make huge profits from human suffering.<sup>3</sup>

What can an ordinary person do to fight effectively against the recurrence of war? Our survival as a civilized society very much depends on it, yet it proves to be a never-ending struggle to revisit and re-examine the same problem-solving process, probably because people are, as a species, just too aggressive and prone to find productive and satisfying responses to primitive needs and urges. Demonstrations and protests have never achieved the desired goals of establishing peace on a large scale, unless the quantity of the participants reached a truly

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<sup>2</sup> Though of an older date, A. C. F. Beales's study *The History of Peace: A Short Account of the Organised Movements for International Peace* (New York: Dial Press, 1931), still represents one of the many admirable efforts to outline what peace efforts have been made in the past and which ones continue to be pursued. See now also Ted Gottfried, *The Fight for Peace: A History of Antiwar Movements in America* (Minneapolis: Twenty-First Century Books, 2006); *What Is a Just Peace?*, ed. Pierre Allan and Alexis Keller (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), to mention just two recent titles. Here is not the room to cover the entire scholarship of Peace Studies, but see Charles F. Howlett, *History of the American Peace Movement, 1890–2000: the Emergence of a New Scholarly Discipline*. *Studies in World Peace*, 18 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005); *Schlüsseltexte der Friedensforschung = Key Texts of Peace Studies = Textos claves de la investigación para la paz*, ed. Wolfgang Dietrich, Josefina Echavarría Álvarez and Norbert Koppensteiner (Vienna and Münster: Lit, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> See the movie "Lord of War," most impressive in its criticism against the capitalistic war machinery; written and directed by Andrew Niccol, released in the United States on September 16, 2005, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lord\\_of\\_War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lord_of_War) (last accessed on April 13, 2011).

critical mass, as in the U.S. during the waning years of the Vietnam War. Complaints to and protests against politicians and the military often seem utterly useless, whereas the outreach to the young generation through classes at schools and university seminars might be the ideal channel necessary for such an approach.

We must be aware of the long tradition of fighting for peace and of opposing war, and we must hold up literary and visual documents from the past to our contemporaries to remind them of the enormity of suffering in human history.<sup>4</sup> Those past voices ring through the centuries and continue to appeal to us today and tomorrow. Hans Sachs (1494–1576) was one of those poets who argued vehemently against war, powerfully formulating his criticism in a number of his longer texts. The analysis of this sixteenth-century German's protests against the bane of human life might seem a small contribution to Peace Studies, but every small effort to raise the bar against war deserves full attention. But before I turn to Hans Sachs specifically, I shall survey the history of literary struggles for war in the German context from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries.

## II. Literature as a Medium to Protest War

Literary analysis and the search for voices in the past that had argued explicitly against war are more important today than ever before, particularly because they confront us with alternative perspectives of which the current discourse increasingly seems to lose sight, precisely because complacency tends to set in, along with a focus on the self, one's personal life, hence the comfort of the ordinary citizen in a sheltered existence seemingly free of and isolated from the actual war activities.

Not to be mistaken, I am not discounting the vast field of Peace Studies, and I do not want to belittle anti-war protests, wherever they might take place. The key question, however, for us in the area of Medieval Studies pertains to the specific strategies that we can pursue within our professional domain, thereby drawing from the greatest strength that we can muster, speaking up against war with a voice of authority. By contrast, unless we have specific and reliable information about, say, weapons production and sales, the concrete situation in the various war zones, and can address knowledgeably the political and economic conditions underlying a war, literary scholars are not particularly well qualified to examine such global concerns. The true strength, however, of our research material and the appropriate investigative tools available to us rests in identifying and analyzing

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<sup>4</sup> See the contribution to this volume by William C. McDonald.

texts, for example, that deal with the issue at hand, bringing to bear the voices of the past for problems of today and tomorrow. After all, human suffering has never been limited to specific cultures, people, religions, nations, or periods. What appears constantly to have changed, however, has been the approach to, and evaluation of, military and other types of violence. In this sense, we would be fully justified in treating war, in the broadest range of meaning, as a reflection of cultural history, though probably in its darkest hour.<sup>5</sup>

### III. Anti-War Sentiments in Medieval German Literature

Medieval literature, despite the Peace-of-God movements,<sup>6</sup> does not lend itself particularly well for a critical discussion of war because chivalry and knighthood were predicated on war and fundamentally accepted the positive value of fighting and killing an opponent in the name of God (crusades) and as an expression of courtly values when the enemy belonged to monstrous races or to outsiders threatening the well-being of aristocratic society—this has been called “legitimate violence,” or “Just War.”<sup>7</sup> Hannah Arendt has already pointed out the endemic contradiction to the whole notion of war, though from a modern perspective: “Violence can be justifiable, but it never will be legitimate. Its justification loses in plausibility the farther its intended end recedes into the future.”<sup>8</sup> And Peter Haidu correctly underscored the inescapable aporias (perplexing impasses) in European civilization based on the concept of knighthood and chivalry that have always, including today, led to ever new forms of violence either in the name of the Church, the kingdom, or any other “national” entity.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the discourse

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<sup>5</sup> *Violence in Medieval Courtly Literature: A Casebook*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Routledge Medieval Casebooks (New York and London: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Dominique Barthélémy, *L'An mil et la paix de dieu: La France chrétienne et féodale 980–1060* (Paris: Fayard, 1999); Thomas Gergen, *Pratique juridique de la paix et trêve de Dieu à partir du Concile de Charroux, 989–1250 = Juristische Praxis der Pax und Treuga Dei ausgehend vom Konzil von Charroux, 989–1250*. Rechtshistorische Reihe, 285 (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2004).

<sup>7</sup> Frederick H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 293, concludes: “theologians often conflated the spiritual war of virtue against vice with physical warfare. This and the lack of a proper *locus classicus* for their debates rendered the theology of the just war deficient until the theologians were emancipated from their dependence on canon law by the reception of Aristotle, whose definition of the just war as a means of promoting the common good of a society arrived at just the right moment to be applied to contemporary societies.” [Ed. note: on different aspects of Just War, see also the essays by John Campbell, John Dempsey, Angus Kennedy, and especially Ben Snook in this volume].

<sup>8</sup> Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (1969; New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), 52.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Haidu, *The Subject of Violence: The Song of Roland and the Birth of the State* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 201.

on peace can be traced back at least to the thirteenth century, if not earlier, if we consider mendicant sermon literature, chronicles, law books, but then also didactic, gnomic poetry.<sup>10</sup>

The entire genre of heroic epics, specifically the *chansons de geste*, but also countless courtly romances from the high Middle Ages, idealizes knightly fighting, either one person against another in a joust or in a battle situation, or a whole army against another.<sup>11</sup> Occasionally we hear a poet or a theological writer address his or her discomfort with war, polemicizing against the tragic consequences, especially when scores of worthy knights succumb to death.<sup>12</sup> Wolfram von Eschenbach proves to be one of those few authors who suggested ways to bridge the gulf between people of different religions and race by means of global love, perhaps even determined by a desire for peace for all, based on mutual respect and tolerance.<sup>13</sup> But such voices did not have much, if any, bearing on their contemporaries in this regard.

The only significant literary example in which an anonymous poet is speaking out against the consequences of violence, hatred, and war was the strange doom-saying text, *Diu Klage* (The Lamentation; ca. 1200–1220), a follow-up poem describing the consequences of the events in the *Nibelungenlied* (Song of the Nibelungs; ca. 1200), in which the entire group of Burgundian warriors dies in the terrible apocalyptic fight at the Hunnish court. But whereas the *Nibelungenlied* still discusses with some bitter fascination the slow but steadfast dying of one hero after the other, and this on both sides, in *Diu Klage* all fighting has come to an end, and only three survivors are left who mourn the tragic scene, lament the destiny of each individual warrior, and bury the fallen heroes. In a previous study, I have

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<sup>10</sup> Hannes Kästner, "'Fride und Reht' im 'Helmbrecht': Wernhers Maere im Kontext zeitgenössischer Franziskanischer Gesellschafts- und Ordnungsvorstellungen," *Wernher der Gärtner: 'Helmbrecht': Die Beiträge des Helmbrecht-Symposiums in Burghausen 2001*, ed. Theodor Nolte and Tobias Schneider (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 2001), 25–43. See also Albrecht Hagenlocher, *Der guote vride: Idealer Friede in deutscher Literatur bis ins frühe 14. Jahrhundert*. Historische Wortforschung, 2 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1992); Stefan Hohmann, *Friedenskonzepte: Die Thematik des Friedens in der deutschsprachigen politischen Lyrik des Mittelalters*. Ordo: Studien zur Literatur und Gesellschaft des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 3 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1992).

<sup>11</sup> Horst Brunner, et al., *Dulce bellum inexpertis: Bilder des Krieges in der deutschen Literatur des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Imagines Medii Aevi, 11 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2002).

<sup>12</sup> See the various contributions to *War and Peace in the Middle Ages*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1987). Particularly Karl Heinz Göller's study on Middle English romance, focusing on Chaucer, above all, deserves our attention in this context (118–37). One particularly interesting voice in the Middle Ages was Albertanus of Brescia, see James M. Powell, *Albertanus of Brescia: The Pursuit of Happiness in the Early Thirteenth Century*. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 107.

<sup>13</sup> G. Ronald Murphy, S. J., *Gemstone of Paradise: The Holy Grail in Wolfram's Parzival* (Oxford, New York, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2006), 141–43.

argued that here we face one of the most penetrating warnings against human failings and lack of compassion, which ultimately leads to a catastrophe of enormous proportions. But it would be difficult to claim that the poet was radically and strictly opposed to war and knighthood.<sup>14</sup>

One of the first, however, to thematize the ghastly consequences of war, which actually leads to an Armageddon entailing the death of an entire people, was the Constance public notary Heinrich Wittenwiler (ca. 1400). In his *Ring*, an allegorical romance of surprisingly dialectical messages about man's proper approach to human life and God, based on a sarcastic portrayal of the ignorance of the peasant world, the outcome is deadly for the entire village population of Lappenhäusen. Only the protagonist, Bertschi Trüefnas, survives yet, because of his desperation, he withdraws into the Black Forest to spend the rest of his life as a hermit. Significantly, he does not seek the consolation of the Church; instead at the end he simply desponds and disappears from the theater of human existence because he has witnessed the worst a person can be confronted with: the death of his entire community, including his recently-married wife. Bertschi simply does not know how to respond to it and does not comprehend the reasons and causes of the devastating fighting in his village during the wedding ceremonies.<sup>15</sup>

#### IV. Hans Sachs: A Sixteenth-Century Poet Protests Against the War

If we search farther in later periods, we come across two significant examples of anti-war poetry, the best known being Andreas Gryphius's extremely moving sonnet "Trawerklage des verwuesteten Deutschlands" (Elegy upon the Destroyed Germany; 1630), in which he outlined the horrendous impact of the Thirty Years War on all people.<sup>16</sup> But long before him, the Nuremberg shoemaker-poet Hans Sachs had already composed a large number of most remarkable poems in which he seriously warned his audience against the consequences of war. Whereas Sachs is normally regarded with some suspicion and contempt because of his highly

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<sup>14</sup> Albrecht Classen, "Trauer müssen sie tragen: Postklassische Ästhetik des 13. Jahrhunderts in der *Klage*," *Ostbairische Grenzmarken. Passauer Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde* 41 (1999): 51–68.

<sup>15</sup> For an online introductory article, see Albrecht Classen, "Heinrich Wittenwiler," *Literary Encyclopedia*, <http://www.litencyc.com/php/people.php?rec=true&UID=11850> (last accessed on Nov. 1, 2010).

<sup>16</sup> Albrecht Classen, 395, here cited from idem, "Andreas Gryphius.," *The Literary Encyclopedia*. 27 Sep. 2007. The Literary Dictionary Company. 27 September 2007: <http://www.litencyc.com/php/people.php?rec=true&UID=5448> (last accessed on Nov. 1, 2010).

prolific fictional output — automatically indicating a rather low literary quality for many scholars —<sup>17</sup> in such literary reflections, this Meistersinger demonstrated not only a great sensitivity regarding human tragedy, but also an astonishing skill in describing the concrete, cruel impact of war on people's lives.<sup>18</sup>

Before I turn to some of these anti-war poems, let us first examine the historical conditions. Sixteenth-century Germany was not a peaceful place; on the contrary, particularly because of the peasant uprising in 1524–1525, there also raged the long-term religious wars between the Protestants and Catholics, with their attendant military conflicts, not to mention struggles among many other parties for ideological and political influence.

If the religious wars came to a preliminary, official conclusion by 1555 with the signing of the Augsburg Peace Treaty, the tensions, aggressions, fear of the other side's retaliation, hatred, and envy continued ever thereafter, ultimately leading to the horrible Thirty Years War from 1618 to 1648. In this larger context, the Nuremberg poet Hans Sachs actually proves to be a most astute observer of his culture, making rather profound and insightful comments in his huge œuvre. In light of the dire consequences that could result for individual cities if they were caught in the ever-changing religious conflicts in Germany, with the emperor strictly pursuing his Catholic politics, whereas many territorial princes to the North pushed for a transformation of the lands into a Protestant world, Nuremberg was vacillating and moved very carefully in allying itself with neither side in this religious and military conflict.

In fact, after having mostly moved toward the Protestant religion, the city returned to a large extent back to Catholic rituals in 1548 against the resistance of its own preachers. But such calculations proved flawed, since the political and military alliance in northern Germany rose up against the emperor and hence also harbored great suspicion of Nuremberg, among other imperial cities. First Margrave Albrecht Alcibiades, one of their leaders, demanded free delivery of war equipment, food, and money, a demand with which the city complied, especially because much of the money was then used to buy further material from the urban merchants. But soon enough Alcibiades turned aggressive and attacked merchants and robbed them of their wares. The Margrave let his soldiers loose around the city

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<sup>17</sup> Horst Brunner, "Hans Sachs – Über die Schwierigkeiten literarischen Schaffens in der Reichsstadt Nürnberg," *Hans Sachs und Nürnberg: Bedingungen und Probleme reichsstädtischer Literatur. Hans Sachs zum 400. Todestag am 19. Januar 1976*, ed. id., Gerhard Hirschmann, and Fritz Schnelbögl (Nuremberg: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 1976), 1–13.

<sup>18</sup> I have worked on the same topic in a previous study, "Poetische Proteste gegen den Krieg: Der Meistersänger Hans Sachs als früher Kriegsgegner im 16. Jahrhundert," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 63 (2007): 235–56. Here, however, I will examine Sachs's anti-war statements in a broader context and will also incorporate other texts by him, comparing his statements with views expressed by some of his literary contemporaries.

of Ulm, and once they had plundered the territory empty, he turned them against Nuremberg in May of 1552. Although his threats were terrifying, underscored by his soldiers who created a scorched area around the city, killing the peasants and raping their wives and daughters, ultimately Nuremberg could achieve a compromise peace settlement, paid 200,000 guilders, and was let off the hook. Nevertheless, the results were devastating for many people involved, and whereas many had lost their lives or family members, others had lost their estates, farms, mills, and other property.<sup>19</sup>

This gave rise to Sachs's attempt to discuss war as a deplorable and horrifying strategy that forced him to reject it outright by demonstrating the cruel reality behind all ideological pretenses. In his "Clagspruech der stat Nürenberg ob der unpillichen schweren pelegrung margraff Albrechtz anno 1552" (Lament Poem of the City of Nuremberg Regarding the Heavy Siege by Margrave Albrecht in the Year 1552)<sup>20</sup>—never printed, probably for political reasons—it seems at first as if he were copying nothing but the genre of the medieval allegorical dream poem,<sup>21</sup> as perhaps best exemplified by Guillaume de Lorris in his *Roman de la rose* (ca. 1230), insofar as the narrator walks through a dew-covered pasture on an early May morning. Both the plants and the birds provide him with much pleasure, and then he encounters a beautiful young woman sitting on a rock next to a creek, as if evoking the classical *locus amoenus* (pleasant place) setting.

But because Sachs's "Clagspruech" is not a dream vision of future love; the young woman, as principal narrator of the lament, instead expresses deep sorrow over the sad state of affairs in Germany and particularly of the imperial city of Nuremberg, which she represents allegorically. In the ensuing exchange between her and the narrator, identified as an old man, she increasingly raises her voice in criticism and protest against the city's enemy who can be easily recognized as Margrave Albrecht. She laments not only the prince's cruel and unjust treatment, she also bitterly complains about having been abandoned by all former allies and supporters (544). Even the neighbors have left her alone, which indicates Sachs's criticism of the utter self-centeredness of all political and military entities, instead

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<sup>19</sup> Eckhard Bernstein, *Hans Sachs* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1993), 66–69; for a more detailed historical analysis, see Rudolph Genée, *Hans Sachs und seine Zeit: Ein Lebens- und Kulturbild aus der Zeit der Reformation* (orig. Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1894; rpt. Wiesbaden: Dr. Martin Sändig, 1971), 286–308; most recently, Horst Brunner, *Hans Sachs. Auf den Spuren der Dichter und Denker durch Franken* (Gunzenhausen: Schrenk-Verlag, 2009). For a history of the margrave, see Otto Kneitz, *Albrecht Alcibiades, Markgraf von Kulmbach, 1522-1557. Die Plassenburg: Blätter für Heimatkunde und Kulturpflege in Ostfranken 2* (Kulmbach: E. C. Baumann, 1951; 2nd ed. 1982).

<sup>20</sup> *Hans Sachs*, ed. Adelbert von Keller and Edmund Goetze. 26 vols. (orig. Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein, 1870–1908; rpt. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), 22: 541–50. All quotations from Sachs are cited from the rpt. edition.

<sup>21</sup> Genée, *Hans Sachs*, 295 (see note 18).



of collaborating in a strong fight against the tyrannical and brutal Margrave who obviously never felt bound by any political or religious agreements and plundered the land wherever his soldiers could find profits and food for themselves.

Only her own children, so the Lady tells us, would stand by her without demanding any payment or rewards for that service (545), implying that the city had to rely on its own people against a much stronger enemy. Nevertheless, as the poem indicates, evil rumors are spreading among the members of the Protestant alliance concerning the city's failing reliability, as if adding insult to injury (546), though the old man consoles the poor woman with the reference to foolish people as the authors of those rumors who would not understand true value and honor and easily malign others. He goes even one step further and encourages the allegorical lady, the city, to eradicate those among the population who endanger the general solidarity and spread poison (547), perhaps even call for a riot because they might be afraid of losing all outside property to the enemy.

War produces misery and suffering, so it is time, as the old man emphasizes, for the rich people to help the poor, and then all should live together like brothers ("Prüederlich leben in deim haus," 547, v. 26; live brotherly in your house). In such an emergency, selfishness must be expelled because only complete cooperation and mutual assistance can avert the collapse of the entire community, especially when the war drags on and famine breaks out. But above all, Sachs advocates peace at almost any price, warning the city that even greater damage, if not destruction, could result from a recalcitrant attitude against the enemy: "Drumb handel umb frid in der güet!" (548, v. 9; therefore negotiate demurely for peace).<sup>22</sup>

The lady immediately agrees, as all cities at that time would have because of their dependence on peaceful conditions within the empire, for without stable conditions they could not continue doing their basic business of trading in goods. However, she is fully aware that the Margrave could blackmail Nuremberg with ever higher demands for increased payments, whereas the city might run out of money, food provisions, and ammunition, especially because all of its neighbors have abandoned it (548).

At this point, Sachs, through the figure of the old man, rather naively, and certainly helplessly, refers to trust in God: "So hab dw dein zwfluecht zw got" (548, v. 32; Thus have you your refuge with God), and if everyone were to pray honestly and sincerely to Him, the city could be safeguarded and rescued (549).

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<sup>22</sup> Johannes Rettelbach, "Zwischen Gott, dem Kaiser und dem Markgrafen: Hans Sachs über den Krieg," *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, 602–66; here 609–11 (see note 10). He focuses primarily on the historical conditions and examines Sachs's religious perception of war. His analysis excellently outlines the major points that Sachs addressed in his anti-war poetry, particularly with regard to the question of Just War.

This poem proves to be so significant in our context because it serves as an illustration of how Sachs, here at first expressing only global opposition to military operations, gradually and surely assumed a more aggressive and negative attitude about war in general and finally found a strong voice condemning all military methods and actions as completely wrong within human society.

Only shortly thereafter, for instance, he composed another poem, "Unterscheid zwischen krieg und fried" (415–20, v. 7; The Difference between War and Peace), in which we come across markedly more dramatic images concerning the consequences of war. Curiously, the poet at first reveals his long-time interest in war, which he had previously studied diligently from a learned perspective yet without any practical experience in it. Now, however, he criticizes himself for this "fürwitz" (415, v. 9; foolish curiosity), as the subsequent dream allegory demonstrates by showing him suddenly confronted with the real-life horrors of war. In his sleep, the allegorical figure of war appears to him, frightening him mightily with her ghastly appearance. Blaming himself for his previous fascination with war at a safe remove, he now suddenly realizes why everyone fears it so, and thus tries to flee both the badly affected rural population and the urban citizens (415, vv. 22–27). Although Sachs subsequently offers only a list of buildings and sites destroyed in the course of the war, this enumeration in itself proves to be frightening enough since it shows undeniably that nothing is spared; that total destruction ensues, whether of peasant farms or noble estates.

The fury of war does not spare anything, not even gardens and trees, fish ponds, and at the end, as the narrator comments: "Strassen und landtschafft sah ich ler, / Sam ob kein mensch auff erden wer" (416, vv. 15–16; I saw that the roads and the countryside were empty as if there were no person left on earth). This apocalyptic perspective grows in intensity in the following lines in which the poet describes how the crops in the fields are burned, and corpses of murdered people litter the landscape: "Ir etlich hiengen an den baumen" (416, v. 21; many were hanging off the trees). From here Sachs turns to the damage suffered by the city, focusing on the destroyed city wall and houses hit by canon balls. Aspiring to achieve the highest level of empathy among his audience in his indictment of the war, the poet also includes the timeless image of the sorrowful mother: "Da saß manch mutterhertz in trawren" (416, v. 28; There sat many mothers' hearts in sorrow), in a way significantly anticipating several hundred years early the most moving charcoal drawings by Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945).<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> See, for instance, *Hommage an Käthe Kollwitz*, ed. Martin Fritsch; catalogue compiled and collated by Annette Seeler; with contributions by Gudrun Fritsch and Annette Seeler; trans. Ingrid and Fred Flindell (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 2005); for good images online, see: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/K%C3%A4the\\_Kollwitz](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/K%C3%A4the_Kollwitz) (last accessed Nov. 1, 2010).

Farther on, he bitterly comments on the consequences of war for the daily life of all citizens, since everyone has to serve as a soldier, all workshops have been closed, no church services or schools are being held, and ultimately human life and civilization also seem to have come to an end: "Rho und wild war alter und jugent. / Gericht und recht stund still im krieg. / Burgerlich policey die schwieg, / Dergleich all statuten und gsetz" (417, vv. 5–8; Both old and young were raw and wild. There were no courts and law during the war. The city police were quiet, likewise all statutes and laws).

War also means, as Sachs underscores, that both poor and rich soon suffer badly, famine breaks out, and all joys and happiness are lost. The entire population is gripped by fear: "Ich hört kein seitenspiel noch singen, / Sonder forcht, angst, zittern und wemmern, / Echtzen, weheklagen und gemmern" (417, vv. 25–27; I heard not one person playing a stringed instrument or singing; instead everyone was filled with fear, horror; they trembled and whimpered, sighed, lamented, and screamed). But since the vision is composed as only a dream poem, in the second part he allows the allegorical figure of peace to enter the stage, who then returns everything to its normal condition as in the past, without any change in the political and social structure.

However, Sachs still uses the opportunity to argue against the internecine strife among the citizenry before the war and admonishes them to heed the warning and to stay away from abusing each other: "Keiner den andern mehr beschwert / Mit wucher, auffschlag und gefert" (418, vv. 39–419, v. 1; No one burdens the other anymore with usury, additional costs, and attacks). For him, then, the shocking war experience leads him to reflect upon the ideals of a harmonious community before the war, almost like a utopia, in which each person treats everyone else with respect and love: "Ein rechtes brüderliches leben" (419, v. 5; a truly brotherly life).

Most important, Sachs then adds the significant observation that might have a direct impact even on us today as well. Those completely ignorant of the reality of war are easily caught up in the illusion of it as a glorious means by which the individual can gain fame and respect, as perhaps best expressed today by the recruiters for the U.S. military, or any other professional army. Citing from Erasmus of Rotterdam's *Querela pacis undique gentium eiectae profligataeque* (A Complaint of Peace Spurned and Rejected by All the World), the poet alerts his readers to the danger, particularly for the younger generation, if they are seduced by militaristic ideology into naively thinking that it represents a "süß und angem" (419, 20 sweet and pleasant) experience.<sup>24</sup> Erasmus apparently had hit a

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<sup>24</sup> For Sachs's reception of Erasmus, see Martin Walsh, "Die Stultitia mit irem Hofgesind," *Michigan Academician* 13 (1980): 17–29. See also Angelika Wingen-Trennhaus, "Die Quellen des Hans Sachs. Bibliotheksgeschichtliche Forschungen zum Nürnberg des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch*

raw nerve among his audience with his peace treatises which were quickly reprinted many times and then also translated since their first appearance in 1517.<sup>25</sup> Sachs reformulated the new adage as follows: “. . . , wer des kriegs ist unerfaren, / Dem sey der krig süß und angnem” (419, vv. 19–20; he who knows nothing of war [in practical terms] believes that war is sweet and pleasant). Moreover, anyone who has ever been exposed to a real war situation would immediately reject war and never defend it again: “Sonder allein des frieds begert!” (419, v. 24; instead desires peace alone!).

At least here Sachs does not engage in any discourse with Luther's teachings regarding the validity of the 'just war' to defend one's own cause, creed, or people<sup>26</sup>; hence he does not consider the question whether the authorities are entitled to defend themselves against external enemies, such as the Turks, and simply, categorically, condemns war altogether: “Derhalb ich in mein jungen tagen / Dem krieg gentzlichen ab thet sagen” (419, vv. 32–33; Therefore I renounce in my young days the war altogether), with the small proviso that one has to defend one's fatherland (419, vv. 29–30). Peace emerges as the absolute ideal for Sachs, and he obviously aims for peace both in external affairs and within the social community, which seems not to have existed before, as a brief comment indicates: “Ir aller freundschaft wur erst new” (418, v. 38; Their friendship was only then renewed).

Interestingly, Sachs did not only respond to specific military events that effected Nuremberg and his own personal existence in order to reflect upon war and peace. Already in 1534 he had composed a lengthy poem, “Des verjagtn Frids klagred uber alle stendt der welt” (vol. 3: 325–32; Complaint by Rejected Peace against all Estates of this World), obviously in close parallel to, or rather, borrowing from, Erasmus's *Querela pacis*.<sup>27</sup> Already here he had resorted to the usual practice of

10 (1995): 109–49; Niklas Holzberg, “Möglichkeiten und Grenzen humanistischer Antikenrezeption: Willibald Pirckheimer und Hans Sachs als Vermittler klassischer Bildung,” *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch* 10 (1995): 9–30.

<sup>25</sup> Joachim Hamm, “*Pax optima rerum*.. Zu den Friedensschriften des Erasmus von Rotterdam und ihrer zeitgenössischen literarischen Rezeption,” *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, 394–463 (see note 10).

<sup>26</sup> Freimut Löser, “Luther und der Krieg gegen die Türken,” *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, 332–93 (see note 10), clearly outlines Luther's significant change of mind later in his life when the threat by the Turks against the European heartland increased, particularly since the battle of Mohács (1526). Luther became, not quite involuntarily, a propagandist for the secular authorities, strongly opposing the little people's occasional uprising. He concludes, 389: “Wer der Obrigkeit in einen gerechtfertigten Krieg folgt, kommt seiner Gehorsamspflicht nach. Krieg ist dann nicht unrecht, wenn er die gottgewollte Ordnung im Inneren wieder herstellt oder sich gegen einen ungerechtfertigten Angriff wendet” (He who follows the authorities in a justified war, meets his obligation to obey. War is then not unjust when it reconstitutes the public order, as God wishes it to be, on the inside, or when he turns against an unjustified attack).

<sup>27</sup> Hamm, “*Pax optima rerum*,” *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, 445–55 (see note 10).

presenting a narrative voice who is wandering one day into the woods during the month of May. Searching for rare herbs, he suddenly reaches an old decrepit castle on the top of a mountain, but it is already in ruins and only a far cry of the old days in the Middle Ages, obviously a metaphor of the loss of traditional values and ideals: "Viel schetz wurden auch da gefunden" (325, v. 15; many treasures once had been found there).<sup>28</sup> The narrator vividly comments on the inaccessibility of the castle because of wild growth and the collapse of the walls and bridges. After much effort he finally reaches his goal, but is shocked to discover a grievously lamenting woman, most impressive to look at, despite her sorrow and weeping.

As in the much later text (see above), she also proves to be an allegorical figure who represents a major value in life, that is, Lady Peace: "Fraw Pax" (327, v. 3). But she reveals to the narrator that she has been expelled from the entire world (326, v. 39). Upon his frightened inquiry, she relates that first none of the great lords tolerated her at their courts any longer: "Der viel lassen nach blut sich dürsten / Und füren groß verderblich krieg / Inn wandelbarem glück und sieg / On not, auß ubermut allein" (327, vv. 9–12; many of whom thirst for blood and lead great destructive wars, subject to mutable fortune and victory, without any need, simply out of arrogance). In fact, she accuses the rulers of having turned into tyrants (327, v. 13) who have chased her away from their countries.<sup>29</sup> In her desperation she then sought refuge with the clergy, yet there she had to realize very quickly that they were enmired in bitter internecine strife against each other—a clear reference to the conflict over the Protestant Reformation and the resultant multitude of splinter groups.

Remarkably, Sachs's attack is not one-sided—for example, against the Catholics, as we would assume considering his strong adherence to the Protestant cause—but rather he reproaches all the various theologians for their radical sectarianism and Nicolaism: "Mit schreyben gehn einander stürmbten, / Im glauben also irrigh schwirmbten. / Ie lenger wurden mehr partey, / Griffen endtlich

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<sup>28</sup> Albrecht Classen, "Mittelalterliche Chronistik und Literatur im Werk von Hans Sachs: Rezeptionshistorische Perspektiven im 16. Jahrhundert," *Colloquia Germanica* 37.1 (2004): 1–25; id., "Hans Sachs's Reception of the Medieval Heroic Tradition: Social Criticism in the Cloak of *Nibelungelied* Source Material," *Parergon* 23.1 (2006): 93–117.

<sup>29</sup> For a global history of tyranny in the past, see Alan Axelrod and Charles Phillips, *Dictators and Tyrants: Absolute Rulers and Would-Be Rulers in World History* (New York: Facts on File, 1995); Laura Scandiffio, *Evil Masters: the Frightening World of Tyrants* (Toronto: Annick Press, 2005). See also Friedrich Schoenstedt, *Der Tyrannenmord im Spätmittelalter: Studien zur Geschichte des Tyrannenbegriffs und der Tyrannenmordtheorie insbesondere in Frankreich*. Neue Deutsche Forschungen, 198 (Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1938). For a discussion of tyrannicide in the Middle Ages, both in philosophical treatises and in literary texts, see Albrecht Classen, "The People Rise Up against the Tyrants in the Courtly World: John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, the *Fables* by Marie de France and the Anonymous *Mai und Beafloer*," *Neohelicon* 35.1 (2008): 17–29.

zu mörderey / Unverschembt tyrannischer ar" (327, vv. 18–21; They fought against each other with tracts; they swarmed with their [different] creeds. The longer it continued the more parties there were, and in the end they turned to murder in an unabashedly tyrannical manner). The reference to the numerous conflicts, not only between Protestants and Catholics, but also the many non-orthodox groups such as the Anabaptists and Schwenkfeldians, among others, is quite obvious and indicates how much the ordinary citizen, well represented by the rather conservative Sachs, viewed the theological chaos and widespread animosity with great dismay and suspicion.<sup>30</sup>

Lady Peace subsequently relates how she tried to find refuge among the urban class, but quickly had to realize how much the aristocracy was fighting the burghers out of envy over their material wealth, leading to endless violent conflicts. These conflicts, however, she blames primarily on the nobles because of their unprovoked attacks, whereas she indirectly defends the burghers as simply protecting themselves. The specific subgroup of merchants faced even more trouble according to the allegorical figure, being constantly under attack against their wares while transporting them to the various markets: "Mörder und rauber in zu setzen" (327, v. 36; murderers and robbers haunt them). But Lady Peace also observed internal fighting among them, so she accuses them as well of not doing their part in observing basic ideals and values so relevant for the maintenance of the community. Tragically for Sachs, a shoemaker himself, the situation among the craftsmen was even worse because of constant envy and jealousy (328, 2–7). And when Lady Peace turned to the peasant class, the degree of bickering and fighting was just as bad as among all other people.

The comments by this poetic figure sound almost like a response to the famous allegorical romance, *Der Ring*, by Heinrich Wittenwiler (ca. 1400), where the entire peasant community ultimately meets its death because they do not understand how to listen to any advice, are betrayed from within, and then become victims of their own arrogance and hubris.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> See Philip Broadhead, "The Contribution of Hans Sachs to the Debate on the Reformation in Nuremberg: A Study of the Religious Dialogues of 1524," *Hans Sachs and Folk Theatre in the Late Middle Ages: Studies in the History of Popular Culture*, ed. Robert Aylett and Peter Skrine. Bristol German Publications 5 (Lewiston, Queenston, and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 43–62; Bernd Hamm, *Bürgertum und Glaube: Konturen der städtischen Reformation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996).

<sup>31</sup> Albrecht Classen, *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung: Die Suche nach der kommunikativen Gemeinschaft in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, 1 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2002), 401–35. See also my comments above, and Horst Brunner's comments on Wittenwiler's critique of war in *Dulce bellum inexpertis: Bilder des Krieges in der deutschen Literatur des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (see note).

Leaving the peasants behind, Lady Peace tried her luck among married people, but found out that those were involved just as much in fighting each other as everyone else. The list of condemnable, if not lamentable, people who destroy their own existence because they do not know how to strive for peace and instead embrace a most aggressive form of interaction continues for a long time and includes neighbors, women, men, young people, judges, the general public, players, and so forth. Utterly distraught and frustrated she finally turned her back to all of human society and fled into the lonely castle ruins: "Verjagt von allen menschen-kindern, / Bey den ich gar kein rhu mocht finden" (329, vv. 22–23; Chased away by all people among whom I could not find any rest). The parallel with Bertschi Triefnas's decision at the end of Heinrich Wittenwiler's *Ring* is striking, but here the allegorical figure explicitly comments on the essential shortcomings of society at large and criticizes all of its members for not understanding and appreciating the extreme value of peace. Bertschi, on the other hand, not having learned anything from the catastrophe, simply leaves this world and disappears for good, remaining a peasant in the allegorical sense even then, though the narrative itself conveys the same message as Sachs's poem regarding the impact of violence. However, whereas Wittenwiler had divided up the world into those who understood and embraced the value of peace, and those who lusted for war and hence also died of it, without analyzing further the consequences of human aggression, Sachs offers a critical analysis of the root causes of war, not shying away from holding up a mirror to everyone in his own society.

From a religious perspective, here we are specifically instructed to remember Christ's teachings regarding peace as the ultimate foundation for all human existence: "Er und sein jünger den frid allwegn / Wünschten dem volck zu eynem segn" (329, vv. 34–35; He and His disciples always wished for peace, giving it as a blessing to the people). Nevertheless, as Sachs observes, people everywhere continue to idealize war: "Und thun den kriege für mich liebñ" (330, v. 2; And love the war instead of Me [God]). When war then breaks out, as the poet emphasizes, and suffering follows as an unavoidable consequence, this has to be seen as divine punishment. Filled with sadness and frustration, the poet underscores how blind people tend to be with regard to the horrors of war, but he attributes it, though only fleetingly, in a traditional Christian approach to the workings of the devil (330, v. 11).

Prophetically, and this might actually apply even to our modern world as well, Sachs utters the warning that wars have so far always destroyed the greatest empires, whether Chaldea, Assyria, Egypt, Crete, Medea, Persia, Macedonia, and Judea (330, vv. 15–18), and so as well the mightiest cities, Troy, Jerusalem, and Rome (330, v. 2). Lady Peace specifically warns the sixteenth-century audience: "Fürcht, des noch dem römischen reich / Geschehen wer auch deß-geleich, / Wie ander durch krieg werd zertrümet" (330, vv. 21–23; I am afraid that the Roman

Empire [German] will suffer the same destiny and will be destroyed like other empires through war). Although the narrator tries to insist that some rulers and governments long for peace, he has to learn from his female counterpart that if those same rulers experience only the slightest opposition to their wishes, war immediately becomes the regularly pursued strategy (330, vv. 30–32). The Lady does not deny that some people prove to be peace-loving, indeed, but she warns her interlocutor that the very same people tend to have hateful neighbors, meaning that they cannot avoid defending themselves, hence that peace has no real chance here in this world: “Des hab ich niergend kein bestand” (331, v. 2). Even if she were to return and establish peace and harmony, all that would be of short duration because: “Verschreibung, bündnuß und ayds-pflicht / Die welt so unverschemet pricht, / Das es mich thut im herzten trawren” (331, vv. 12–14; The world breaks contracts, alliance, and oaths so brazenly that I feel sorrow in my heart).

In his epimythion Sachs refers to Erasmus’s treatise *Querela pacis*, as he was going to do so a number of years later once again (see above), warning that only those who have no first-hand knowledge of war could glorify it: “Krieg sey lüstig den unerfahren” (332, v. 1), and he also cites Cicero, adding a significant qualification: “Kein krieg sey löblich anzufangen, / Denn der, damit fried zu erlangen” (332, vv. 3–4; No launching of war can be praised except the one with which to achieve peace). Nevertheless, for Sachs peace seems to be entirely elusive and not possible for people to achieve. Of course, he idealizes those who can patiently accept everything here in this life and pursue peace at all cost, following the teachings of Saint Peter and Saint Augustine (332, vv. 9–13), but true peace can, as he concludes, only be realized in the afterlife.

Even though the literary quality of this poem might be lacking, the critical analysis of people’s aggressiveness and inclination to turn violent at every stage in life proves to be impressive and far-sighted. The urban craftsman and poet did not shy away from challenging particularly his own fellow citizens and to accuse them all without any exception of displaying a disastrous willingness to enter a fight with the neighbors, the own marriage partner, and the authorities. In other words, true and lasting peace cannot be achieved in reality, not even within the framework of a pious Christian society, so war will continue to rage everywhere either in large, bloody conflicts or on a personal level.<sup>32</sup> In other words, the poet draws an important analogy between violence and aggression affecting

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<sup>32</sup> Hamm, “*Pax optima rerum*,” *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, 450–51 (see note 10), observes that Sachs’s source, Erasmus’s *Querela pacis*, significantly differs in this orientation, since the humanist still appeals to all of Christianity to realize its own goals and ideals; hence peace is within reach for everyone willing to listen properly. Sachs, on the other hand, harbors only pessimism in this regard.



individuals and warfare threatening whole peoples and nations. If one were to aspire seriously for peace, one would have to begin oneself on a personal level by establishing peace with those people in the small, individual, social environment. Sadly, however, as the poet concludes, this seems to be impossible, and therefore the larger, deadly conflicts, such as wars, can also not be prevented since they are part of human nature.<sup>33</sup> Judging from an earlier poem, "Was das nützeſt und ſchedlichſt thier auff erden ſey" (3: 450–54; What is the most useful and most destructive creature on earth), Sachs harbored rather negative feelings regarding man in general who used to be an ideal copy of God while still in the Garden of Eden, but who turned since then into a vile, evil-minded, ignorant, immoral, untrustworthy, even criminal creature: "Der menſch in ſumma iſt ein ſchübel / Zuſamen bunden aller übel" (453, vv. 32–33; Man is, in ſum, a pile of all evils bound together).

In fact, Sachs proves to be extremely sobering in this text, if not overly negative, as the desperate attempts by the narrator himſelf indicate who is trying to convince the Lady that there would be ſome exceptions to her ſweeping condemnations. The relevant point, however, conſiſts of Sachs making a moſt ſerious attempt to comprehend, through this extenſive dialogue between the narrator and the allegorical figure, the fundamental nature of violence, hence of war. Inſtead of reſorting to large political, religious, or other ideological explanations, he basically pinpoints the weakness of the human character and human ſociety as reſponsible for ceaeſeſs new outbreaks of aggression. Sachs has no poſitive words left for war, and condemns it outright, utterly, and completely.

This does not mean that the poet would not have diſcuſſed military events in future poems as highly news-worthy and exciting, and then without criticizing thoſe involved, defending themſelves, for inſtance, againſt the Turks outside of Vienna in 1534 (22, vv. 155–57), or in an attack againſt them in Northern Africa in 1535, and elſewhere in the following years (22, vv. 174–82). We would alſo miſtake Sachs as a radical paciſtiſt, deſpite the earlier text, ſo when he expreſſes his unwavering ſupport for Nuremberg's deſiſion to protect itſelf againſt an external enemy by drafting a civic army (22, vv. 184–87). He alſo did not oppoſe Juſt Wars and legitimized, for example, Queen Mary of Hapsburg in her effort to fight againſt the Duke of Cleves in a battle on 24 March 1543 (22, vv. 288–89), although

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<sup>33</sup> Hamm, "Pax optima rerum," *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, 451 (ſee note 10), ſeems to place too much emphasis on two lines in Sachs's poem in which he blames the workings of Satan for man's inclination to embrace violence and war. The dominant and overarching argument conſiſts in the plain obſervation that all people lean toward aggression, and even thoſe who might ſupport peace would quickly face a ſituation in which they are forced by others to turn violent as well in deſenſe of themſelves. In other words, Sachs purſued a highly realistic concept of what cauſed violence and war in this world, and did not ſimply refer to the devil as the one ultimately reſponsible for all wrongs in human exiſtence.

here he emphasized at the end that the goal could only consist of establishing stable and satisfying peace: "Auf das nach dem plutigen sieg / Fried werd gemacht auß diesem krieg, / E weitter schad daraus erwachs" (289, vv. 12–14; so that after the bloody victory peace can be established following this war before further damage might result).

Criticism comes up, however, over and over again regarding internal discord among people, against envy and jealousy, disagreement, lack of subordination, greed, robbery, arson, and murder, such as in his dialogue poem "Ein clagred Dewtschlandes und gesprech mit dem getrewen Eckhart" (22, vv. 352–58, at 356; An Elegy on Germany and a Dialogue with the Loyal Eckhart). Many of these poetic statements do not necessarily qualify as extraordinarily literary, and they might have actually contributed to the general contempt that Sachs experienced at the hand of modern scholarship. However, his texts prove to be fascinating particularly because of their plain character and direct address of specific topics and concerns dominant at his time.

In "Gesprech von der himelfart margraff Albrechtz anno 1557" (23, vv. 113–21; Talk About Margrave Albrecht's Ascension to Heaven in the Year 1557) he voiced his most acrimonious condemnation of the by then deceased enemy of Nuremberg and many other cities and territories that had suffered under his military aggression.<sup>34</sup> The harshness of Sachs's tone and the unmitigated attack against the prince seem to have struck a very tender nerve indeed with the authorities, considering the fact that the city, immediately after Sachs's death on January 20, 1576, ordered the pages containing this poem to be cut out of his collected works, though copies by other hands have preserved the text.<sup>35</sup>

Expressing deep frustration with the miserable times in which the threats from the Turks and various tyrants—specific names are not mentioned, though Sachs certainly had Albrecht Alcibiades in mind—the narrator underscores that it would be better to die than to keep living, otherwise one would not find any peace and quiet: "So würd doch ainem rue gegeben, / In seinem grab mit fried zu liegen / Vor thiranny, aufrur und kriegem (113, vv. 14–16; then one would find peace, lying in one's grave peacefully, [freed from] tyranny, riots, and wars). A genius then takes

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<sup>34</sup> Theodor Nolte, "Der Nachruf des Hans Sachs auf den Markgrafen Albrecht Alcibiades von Brandenburg-Kulmbach," *Daphnis* 13 (1984): 77–100; Stefan Trappen, "Das 'Gesprech von der himelfart Margraff Albrechtz' von Hans Sachs: zur Rezeption der menippeischen Satire im 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 121 (1992): 309–33.

<sup>35</sup> A. von Keller and E. Goetze, *Hans Sachs*, 23: 113 n.1 (see note 19). See also Genée, *Hans Sachs*, 303–08 (see note 18). He comments on this poem that it "durch kühne Phantasie und kraftvollen poetischen Ausdruck zu den bedeutendsten und merkwürdigsten Schöpfungen des Dichters gehört" (304; belongs to the most important and unusual creations by the poet because of the bold fantasy and powerful poetic expression). He correctly notices even some parallels with Dante's *Inferno*.

him down to Hell to introduce him to a warlord responsible for the destruction of large swaths of Germany by his cruel and illegitimate actions ("mit gewaltiger hant," 114, v. 8; with violent hand). While they enter the nether land, they hear the ringing of bells, which the narrator mistakes for the sound accompanying a sad funeral of the person who is walking ahead of them, sighing and crying. The genius enlightens him, however, that these are bells of happiness because everyone is exceedingly delighted by the death of that horrible prince.

At first Sachs comments that he could fully understand that joy among the city dwellers and the peasants who had suffered the most under him, but he wonders about the reaction of the other princes whom he witnesses in Hell (115, v. 6). Genius explains, however, that those were ultimately also abhorred by that monster of a military leader (115, v. 10) and had completely turned against him as well. When Alcibiades's spirit then enters the group of soldiers lingering in the neither world, they all scream for money that he must have withheld from them during their existence on earth (115, vv. 27–28), adding a ghoulish atmosphere to the entire scene. Yet worse proves to be the welcome from women, children, citizens, and peasants who full of fury yell at the prince and accuse him of having caused them greatest misery: "'On ursach hastu uns verderbt, / Weib und kinder hungers gesterbt'" (116, vv. 26–27; "Without any reason you have ruined us, you made women and children die of hunger). When Alcibiades arrives at the bank of river Styx, he is greeted with bitter curses and accusations because the large group of souls belongs to those soldiers who had committed countless crimes against mankind on his behalf (117). Genius resorts to the revealing term "thiranny" (118, v. 3; tyranny) in his characterization of the Margrave's behavior during his lifetime, especially because he was guilty of plundering churches, monasteries, and convents. Portentously, the Hellish ferryman Charon refuses to take him across the river until he has thrown all of his sins and evil into a huge fire. These include drunkenness (118, 37), tyranny (119, 1), envy and hatred (119, 5), perjury (119, 8), flattery and deception (119, 19), disloyalty (119, 10), then murder, arson, and robbery (119, 25), and many other vices.

Subsequently Alcibiades is intimately associated with other tyrants from world history, including Nero, Commodus, and Caligula (120, 12–14) who "all vergossen menschenblut" (120, 16; who all spilled human blood), and the poem concludes with most frightening images of the terrors awaiting evil people in Hell. Here the poet does not specifically argue for peace; instead he expatiates on the dramatic consequences of tyranny, cruelty, illegality, and violence, promoting, if *e negativo* (by negative example), a peaceful, just, and free coexistence of all people. The Margrave, whom Sachs obviously targeted as his personal enemy, emerges as the epitome of those who break the peace and bring misery upon people. But the poem also indicates that the final punishment for the perpetrator awaits him only in Hell, whereas true hope for a radical reform and energetic opposition to war,

violence, aggression, and crimes in real life does not seem to exist. The victims scream out against the despised ruler, and he also meets the hatred of the other princes, but the poem does not offer any hope for a significant change on earth because it is entirely situated in Hell, or the afterlife. Indirectly, then, Lady Peace would have confirmed this observation as well, except that here Sachs only expresses his utter condemnation of the Margrave who is presented as a veritable terrorist and monster.

But war, as implied by this poem, has wider implications, as everyone suffers from it, including women and children. In other words, to draw from modern military parlance, the "collateral damage" gains a voice here and is allowed to accuse those who are responsible for their misery and death. Nevertheless, Sachs does not know of any significant measures through which to fight back, to defend the ordinary people, and to help the innocent victims of military aggression. Still, and in this sense he deserves our greatest respect after all, he utilizes his poetry as a most powerful tool to embark on a crusade against war and to plead for peace, as elusive it ultimately might be. Not surprisingly, certain texts, particularly those "revolutionary" poems addressing these issues, were deliberately removed from Sachs's corpus after his death. Such excisions signal how much the authorities at that time already feared any repercussions within the community and for their own well-being if they allowed such radical voices to speak up and insult the living relatives of the responsible perpetrators.

Later in life, Sachs returned to the problem of war and addressed soldiers as a group, formulating in specific terms what their function would have to be, if they wanted to avoid criminal, illegal behavior, hurting and killing innocent people. In his "Die reimen uber ain gancz kriegsfolck zw fues und zw roß" (23, vv. 435–36; Verses upon All Soldiers on Foot and on Horseback) he admonishes them very concretely that they must obey the authorities and not act against their own conscience (1st stanza). Soldiers ought to assist justice, promote the common weal, and defend the community from external enemies (2nd stanza). They must have trust in God and rely on Him in the first place, whereas hubris would quickly lead to self-destruction (3rd stanza). Most important, however, soldiers have to subscribe to brotherly love, mercy, protect the innocent, whether rich or poor, then widows, mothers, and children: "Der verschon all mit trewer hand / Mit schaczung, raub, mort, gfencknus, prand!" (436, vv. 6–7; Protect them loyally from plunder, robbery, murder, imprisonment, and arson).

As is to be expected, neither here nor anywhere else does Sachs explicitly outline how to bring war to an end and to allow peace to rule throughout the world. We might even object that his poem proves to be nothing but a feeble attempt to admonish the powerful rulers and military leaders to abstain from further violence and to recognize all their subjects and subordinates as brothers and sisters. Nevertheless, here once again Sachs emerges as an energetic defender of peace,

though without arguing for the complete abandonment of all military structures. But these need to be incorporated into the community and operate on its behalf; otherwise havoc would break out, as had happened countless times throughout Sachs's lifetime. So the poet indeed deserves our recognition for a consistent literary strategy of opposing war and struggling in favor of peace, however difficult its actual attainment.

In a poem composed in 1556, Sachs went one step further and identified, as he saw it, the four major causes that undermine peace and lead to war (3, vv. 461–64). Relying on an imagined historical context involving an exchange between Emperor Charles IV and the fourteenth-century Italian humanist poet Petrarch, Sachs isolates fundamental problems in human nature requiring constructive and unrelenting rectification in order to create a solid defense against the danger of war. These problems are so common, however, that the reader might wonder how addressing them poetically might realistically achieve the desired outcome, if they can be overcome in the first place: envy, miserliness, or greed, wrath, and vanity.<sup>36</sup> Although Sachs appears initially to have assumed the role of priest in reprimanding and imploring the sinner to shed these basic vices, the poet actually proposes, through Petrarch's words, practical steps that could lead to structural changes within the political arena: "Mit guten gsetzen sie verqualten / Und auch statlich darüber halten / Bey des reichs stenden allen sander, / Wo ein herrschafft wieder die ander / On recht wolt kriegten oder rumorn" (464, vv. 12–16; to suppress them with good laws and to keep a solid control over them in all social classes in the entire empire, wherever a lord, without any legitimacy, wants to start a war or raise trouble against another).

Of course, neither here nor elsewhere does Sachs emerge as a powerful politician or leader of whom one could expect the energy and concrete influence to combat those who threaten the peace. But he demonstrates systematically throughout his œuvre how concerned he was with war as he strove ardently and consistently to continue formulate new poems in which he examined the burning issue that tortured him personally and most of his contemporaries who were also victims of warfare in whatever form and to whatever extent. If for no other reason but our growing admiration for his courage and perceptiveness in his treatment of the topics of war and peace, we can lay to rest any doubt regarding the literary-historical significance of Sachs's work.

Undoubtedly, the civilian population has always suffered badly from military activities, and had they received the opportunity to voice their concerns, they would have formulated their opposition and protest in the strongest terms. But the survival of specific texts from the past also depends on the relevant power

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<sup>36</sup> I have discussed this poem already extensively in "Poetische Proteste gegen den Krieg" (see note 17), but for the present purpose I summarize the key points here briefly.

structures in place at specific times. Wittenwiler's *Ring* has come down to us in one manuscript only, and, as noted above, several of Sachs's poems were deleted on purpose by the authorities, in addition to sustaining equally damaging attacks by Margrave Alcibiades. Political concerns and constraints play a significant role in the discourse of peace, and poets like Sachs who dared to speak up publicly and vehemently against the respective perpetrators and against the alleged glory of war certainly faced severe criticism. The more important point thus emerges in the fact that this Nuremberg poet raised his voice repeatedly in composing rather painful, at times even desperate, statements against war, thereby initiating a literary discourse continuing through today and having actually gained tremendously in strength since then. By rediscovering Sachs's poetry in light of our need to fend off war and strive for peace, we gain argumentative ammunition from the past and can turn to a voice that already had exposed the tragedy of warfare in terms of human life.

## V. Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof's Criticism of Tyrants as Warlords: A Contemporary's Viewpoint

Contemporary German writers such as Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof, who had served as a lansquenet (mercenary foot soldier) himself and became best known for his voluminous collection of facetious tales, his *Wendunmuth* (1563; Cheer Up the Spirit), to some extent also pursued this agenda and criticized the princes because of their ruthless pursuit of military strategies for personal enrichment at the expense of their subjects and others. One example must suffice here to illustrate how Kirchhof came to terms with this general dissatisfaction and devised a protest against the war operated by tyrants purely for selfish interests. In "Warumb und wie lang die herren fried halten" (no. 31; Why and for How Long the Lords Keep Peace), we learn the political news that the French and the Spanish kings have reached a peace accord in 1559. But this accord would only last, as the narrator comments, until one of them would feel the urge to gain the upper hand again: "Da hetzt sie doctor Stolz weidlich an, ein ursach von eim zaun, den betteltantz widerumb anzufahren, zureissen, biß sie entweder gar überwunden, gefangen oder doch in verderblichen unverwindlichen schaden getrieben werden" (Doctor Pride agitates them boldly to use any cause, the beggar's dance [idiomatic], until they are overcome, imprisoned or brought into irreversible damage).<sup>37</sup> The princes,

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<sup>37</sup> Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof, *Wendunmuth*, ed. Hermann Österley. 5 vols. Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins 95–99 (1869; Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1980), 1: 44. For a more comprehensive study of Kirchhof's narratives, see Albrecht Classen, *Deutsche Schwankliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu Martin Montanus, Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof und*

on the other hand, are not willing even to consider peace unless their supply of available soldiers, money, and power dwindles.

Their overall motivation consists only in gaining the necessary respite until they can embark on the next military operation, obviously their exclusive *modus vivendi*: “allein darumb, biß daß sie sich wider stercken und müntz zuewegen bringen mögen, einen anstandt oder frieden begeren und auffrichten” (44; only until they have regained strength and can use their money, do they desire armistice or peace and follow up to it). Kirchhof particularly criticized tyrannical rulers and their ruthless method of waging war for personal gain (nos. 7, 27, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60), whereas he often reflected, quite understandably, more positively on the life of lansquenets and other soldiers, but these lay outside his primary concern: the fundamental impact of war on the civilian population.

## VI. Conclusion

It would be too far-fetched to claim that the sixteenth century saw a veritable anti-war movement in text and image, hence also in physical and abstract terms. Nevertheless, writers such as Sachs and Kirchhof clearly outlined the devastating consequences of war on the life of ordinary people and presented shockingly contrastive images of civilians as the innocent victims of war, anticipating by more than hundred years the “classic” anti-war novel *Der abentheurliche Simplicissimus Deutsch* (1668; *The Adventurous Most Simpleton*, in German) by Johann Jacob Christoph von Grimmelshausen. Sachs in particular emerges as a most remarkable critic of war, which, as we too have seen, he represents as a devastating and destructive force in human life, especially if the fighting was not done to protect a people, and hence did not adhere to Just War rationale.<sup>38</sup>

Insofar as peace can be identified as one of the most urgent goals for mankind today and tomorrow, we also need to consider the voices from the past who had already addressed this issue and laid the foundation for the development of this critical discourse that will hopefully lead to the containment of war as the ultimate bane of all humanity. To expect from Sachs an insightful and penetrating analysis of the social, economic, and political circumstances that conditioned many of the military operations, and thereby to judge his poems according to their value as historiographical mirrors, would not do justice to him as a poet. He was neither a sociologist nor a political scientist in the modern sense of the word. Instead, he deserves our recognition, as Kirchhof does to some extent in this regard as well,

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Michael Lindener. *Koblenz-Landauer Studien zu Geistes-, Kultur- und Bildungswissenschaften*, 4 (Trier: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2009), 64–146.

<sup>38</sup> Rettelbach, “Zwischen Gott, dem Kaiser und dem Markgrafen,” 664–66 (see note 21).

for addressing the issues at hand and voicing his vehement opposition against any and all military strategies, particularly when they were turned against the own people within the German Empire.



## Chapter 21

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### Racine's Holy Wars

If war and tragedy might seem to be natural bedfellows, the relationship between war and religion has proved no less constant, and intimate.<sup>1</sup> On the one hand, tragic dramatists such as Euripides and Shakespeare have used war as a natural context and vehicle for the representation of those moments when the invisible restraints that tie one human being to another are sundered, opening up an abyss of suffering and evil: *The Trojan Women* or *Macbeth* are only two of the more eloquent witnesses. On the other hand, and perhaps more paradoxically, the need to convince others of one particular religious truth, or at least prevent the expression of any other, has often led to acts of barbarity committed in the name of the God of love: on this bloodstained holy battlefield, the Crusades are an egregious example. For the modest purposes of this paper, there is thus no need to embark on yet another analysis of the links between violence, religious ritual, and tragedy, of the sort that René Girard and others have pursued so brilliantly.<sup>2</sup> For it seems only natural for religion and war, when placed together, to provide a fertile ground for tragedy. In particular, the very existence of the sacred invites transgression of it, with the consequent move from transgression of the sacred

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<sup>1</sup> On the relationship between war and tragedy, note, however, the caveat entered by Andrea Frisch, "French Tragedy and the Civil Wars," *Modern Language Quarterly* 67 (2006): 287–312, who argues that seventeenth-century French tragedy could only come about because of the efforts made to "obliterate the memories" of the previous century's (religious) civil wars (288).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977); orig. *La Violence et le sacré* (Paris: Grasset, 1972), and Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, *Tragedy and Athenian Religion*. Greek Studies (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003).

towards transgression in the name of the sacred, the ultimate transgression being war.

One can speculate that such considerations were not in the mind of Mme de Maintenon, the morganatic wife of King Louis XIV of France, when in 1688 she asked Jean Racine (1639–1699) to compose a pious drama for pupils of her very religious school for the disadvantaged daughters of the nobility, at Saint-Cyr, near Versailles. Though Racine had given up writing plays in 1677, after *Phèdre*—this vulgar function being incompatible with his dazzling new status as historiographer royal—he dutifully complied with Mme de Maintenon’s request. The result was the three-act drama, *Esther*, crafted from the Biblical book of that name, with musical accompaniment. This venture was so successful that Racine was asked for another play of the same sort, and so it was that *Athalie*, with its source again in the Old Testament, was again performed at Saint-Cyr in 1691. School plays, for genteel schoolgirls, on religious subjects, performed in the presence of King and courtiers: what could be more innocent? And yet, as this article will attempt to show, in both these works violence and religion mix explosively to produce true tragic combustion, and a sense of unease that is necessarily subversive of any tranquil acceptance of religion and its expression.

As a genre, tragedy is at home with transgression. The tragic hero takes a step too far, goes beyond the limits. In Racine’s non-religious tragedies these limits are connected with the exercise of power and the pursuit of passion. Already in these plays, however, there are hints as to some of the questions to which the two later religious dramas will give rise. With one exception (*Bajazet*, with its Turkish subject), the tragedies Racine composed while a practicing playwright were taken, as convention demanded, from the common Greco-Roman inheritance of history and myth. Here, armed conflict is a natural part of the story, while “God” or “the Gods” take a greater or lesser place in Racine’s plays, depending on whether notions of “fatality” or the playwright’s supposed Jansenism are thought important by different spectators and readers.<sup>3</sup> However, the cohabitation of war and religion is generally discreet.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> For example, Lucien Goldmann, “*Bérénice ou le tragique racinien*”, *Théâtre populaire*, 1 Sep 1956, 31–36 (p. 32), contends that “Racinian tragedy” springs from the adaptation for non-religious drama of the Jansenist vision of man. For other views, for more detailed consideration of ‘the God-question’ in Racine’s tragedies, and for the bibliography associated with it, see John Campbell, *Questioning Racinian Tragedy*. North Carolina Studies in the Romance languages and Literatures, 281 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 151–204.

<sup>4</sup> This discretion explains the lack of any critical commentary on this cohabitation beyond that on *Iphigénie* and the religious dramas, which will be discussed in this paper. On each topic taken separately, see Maurice Delcroix, *Le sacré dans les tragedies profanes de Racine* (Paris: Nizet, 1970), and Maurice Descotes, *Racine: Guerre et Paix. Réalités et Mythes* (Pau: Universités de Pau et des pays de l’Adour, 1991).

It is true that memories of the Trojan War are at the very center of *Andromaque* (1667): the eponymous heroine, asked to choose between marriage to Pyrrhus and the murder of her son, cannot forget the massacre of her people led by the very man she is being asked to marry. That said, Racine elides the references to the Gods that feature so largely in Homer's and Virgil's epics. The one indirect reference, however, happens to be to a transgression of the sacred, in a passage directly inspired by Virgil's account of the sack of Troy in the second book of the *Aeneid*: the assassination of King Priam, "Ensanglantant l'Autel qu'il tenait embrassé" (v. 1000; Pouring out his blood on the altar to which he clung).<sup>5</sup>

The mix of war and religion is more explicit in *Iphigénie*, first performed at Versailles in 1674. This tragedy is again dominated by the Trojan War, this time yet to take place because the Greek fleet lies becalmed. It is in this play that the first questions arise concerning the role human beings assign to the divine in the pursuit of war. The priest Calchas is demanding a human sacrifice, in the name of the Gods, in order for the fleet to be given a fair wind. In his interpretation of the divine will, the fleet will be able to sail, and the war take place, only if there is a prior act of primal violence: the ritual slaughter of Iphigénie, beloved daughter of the commander-in-chief, King Agamemnon. The heroine spells it out simply:

Ce champ si glorieux, où vous aspirez tous,  
Si mon sang ne l'arrose, est stérile pour vous.  
Telle est la loi des Dieux à mon Père dictée. (vv. 1543–45)

[This glorious battlefield, for which you all yearn, / If not soaked in my blood, will be sterile for you. / Such is the law dictated to my father by the Gods].

This harsh image of the Gods is compounded by Racine's placing of the legendary deeds of the Trojan War, as in *Andromaque*, in a context of murder and genocide. A striking example is the gentle Iphigénie's admonition to her warrior lover:

Allez; et dans ses murs vides de Citoyens,  
Faites pleurer ma mort aux Veuves des Troyens.  
Je meurs dans cet espoir satisfaite et tranquille.  
(vv. 1555–57)

[Go: and in that city emptied of its men, / Make the Trojan widows weep for my death. / I die in this hope, content and at peace].

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<sup>5</sup> Jean Racine, *Théâtre, Poésie*, ed. Georges Forestier. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1999), with line-references set in parenthesis in the body of the text. All further citations are taken from this edition. The rough translations of Racine's text, and quotations from critical writings in French, are my own.

In light of the encouragement that the Gods might seem to be giving to this forthcoming human slaughter, it can easily be argued that *Iphigénie* shows humankind in the hands of irrational, impersonal forces which, like the runaway troop train that Emile Zola would represent two centuries later in the paroxysmal conclusion to his novel *La Bête humaine* (1890), can drive human beings on to violent catastrophe, without them having the slightest control over future events.<sup>6</sup> This argument is supported by reference to a character who never appears on stage, the sinister figure of Calchas, a priest who interprets the will of the Gods, and can be seen to pull all the strings, but out of sight, like God himself: "Il sait tout ce qui fut et tout ce qui doit être" (v. 458; He knows everything that was and everything that must be).<sup>7</sup>

Evidence for this thesis of divine malevolence may also be found by extrapolating some of the bitter phrases pronounced by the potential victim's parents, Agamemnon and Clytemnestre. With different degrees of violence they both portray the Gods as always ready for murder (vv. 921 and 1267), as inciting men to wage war despite the violation of innocence and the sanctity of life (v. 390), and as acting with a vindictive anger that can be appeased only by human sacrifice (v. 1494). There are several references to the injustice of the Gods (v. 574), to their blood-stained rituals (v. 85), as well as to their lack of pity and to their thirst for blood: "pour fléchir l'inclemence des Dieux / Il faut du sang peut-être, et du plus précieux" (vv. 18788; To assuage the pitiless Gods, / Blood is perhaps needed, and of the most precious quality).

*Iphigénie*, however, is much more than a comfortable diatribe against the Gods of war. As Georges Forestier insists, Racine cannot change the broad terms of a subject famously treated by Euripides: one that involves the Goddess Artemis, and the sacrifice to appease her that unblocks the path to the Trojan War.<sup>8</sup> That said, and within the boundaries of the chosen subject, what actually happens in *Iphigénie* may still be interpreted as being the result of human agency. For the conflict is actually resolved when the Trojan refugee Eriphile, unmasked by the priest Calchas as a secret daughter of Helen, opts to commit suicide to avoid being ritually slaughtered on the altar. It is this very human act, coinciding with a wind that suddenly begins to blow, that opens the path of Troy to the Greeks, ironically reassured that the Gods are on their side (v. 1700). Indeed, throughout the play, what happens comes as a result of human initiative, even though, in true tragic

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<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Jean Rohou, ed., Racine, *Théâtre complet* (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1998), 1029, for whom the Gods are responsible for everything. Tony Gheeraert, "Voix de Dieu, voix des dieux: oracles, visions et prophéties chez Jean Racine," *Études Épistémè* 12 (2007): 83–115, develops the hypothesis that Racine's general purpose in *Iphigénie* and *Phèdre* was to discredit paganism (113).

<sup>7</sup> See Rohou, ed. Racine, 1030 (see note 6): "Quarante fois nommé, Calchas obsède l'imagination" (named forty times, Calchas obsesses the imagination).

<sup>8</sup> Forestier, ed. Racine, 1576 (see note 5).

fashion, there is an ironic reversal of intention. As Agamemnon is reminded, it was he who had sought to have his honor avenged, he who had whipped his compatriots into a warlike fury, and he who had successfully striven to become commander-in-chief (vv. 297–318). That these decisions now rebound on him is not the fault of the Gods, as Clytemnestre points out:

Cette soif de régner, que rien ne peut éteindre,  
L'orgueil de voir vingt Rois vous servir et vous craindre,  
Tous les droits de l'Empire en vos mains confiés,  
Cruel, c'est à ces Dieux que vous sacrifiez. (vv. 1289–93)

[This unquenchable thirst for power, / The pride of seeing twenty kings serve you in fear, / And all the prerogatives of imperial rule that have been given to you, / It is to these Gods that you are making the sacrifice].

And, in the end, it is Agamemnon alone who has to take the decision as to whether or not his daughter's life is the price to pay for glory in war. In this dilemma there is no trace of religious obligation but, in the king's anguished admission, the realization that, within frightening constraints, and in a fast-developing situation, a choice between two evils is still a choice that must be made, dissolving in tragic irony any easy boundary between freedom and fatality: "Ah! quels Dieux me seraient plus cruels que moi-même!" (v. 1450; Ah! What Gods would be crueler to me than I am?). In other words, "the Gods" are a cultural context, and a personal or national pretext: war, and the impossible choices it demands, are the human reality from whose implications neither characters nor audiences can easily extricate themselves.

This strand of war and violence runs through Racine's final two tragedies, *Esther* and *Athalie*, both set in the context of a traditional Christian understanding of the Old Testament as prefiguring the New. In this perspective, the different books of the Old Testament are held to show not just that God protects his Chosen People, be this by means of wars and massacres, but that even the bloodiest events may be viewed as forming part of a providentialist design from which the Christian Redeemer will come. It is therefore unsurprising that both these plays deal with the issue of religious faith and the violence needed to sustain it. More surprising, perhaps, is the gap opened up between Racine's avowed intentions and the questions provoked, at least in a modern mind, by the works themselves.

### *Esther*

The Book of Esther is the story of how the Jewish people were delivered from servitude, and from the threat of extermination ordered by King Xerxes (Racine's Assuérus). The pious Racine, commissioned by the equally pious Mme de

Maintenon, asserted in the Preface to his own *Esther* that his intention was to “chanter les louanges du vrai Dieu” (to sing the praises of the One True God), and he strove throughout to remain faithful to the biblical text, thus giving his schoolgirl performers “les seules Scènes, que Dieu lui-même, pour ainsi dire, a préparées” (only scenes that God himself, so to speak, has prepared).<sup>9</sup> God, in other words, was the scriptwriter. Thus, if the Jewish people are shown fighting to survive, their war will be God’s war:

Le Dieu que nous servons est le Dieu des combats.  
Non, non, il ne souffrira pas  
Qu’on égorge ainsi l’Innocence. (vv. 336–38)

[The God we serve is the God of battles. / No, no, he will not allow / Innocents to be slaughtered in this way].

This image of this God of victories provided in Act 1, with which a modern audience might not be entirely comfortable, is all the more unsettling in that it is prefaced, in the play’s Prologue, by the celebration of the military exploits of another god-like figure, Louis XIV, presented as a “victorious king” doing God’s work (Prologue, v. 9). Even more disturbing is that this Prologue is delivered by the figure of Piety, who has descended from heaven for this purpose, and who presents the king’s wars as his chosen means of avenging the insults proffered to God (Prologue, v. 59). The choice of Piety to deliver these lines might be dismissed as a piece of rhetorical sleight of hand, destined to pre-empt the suggestion that the author in merely indulging in base flattery of his royal master.

Whatever the case, this Prologue also seems to be giving a divine seal of approval to the French king’s long, ruinous, and ultimately futile program of national self-aggrandizement, that for a critical François Fénelon (1651–1715) had begun with the Dutch wars of 1672–1678, and was to continue, with little respite, for decades after.<sup>10</sup> Racine somewhat brazenly connects these royal wars and the book of Esther by using the idea of Providence. Just as God saved the Jewish people from destruction, and thus supported the sometimes bloody acts undertaken to that end, Piety asks God that the same support be given to the French king, whose wars are waged not for his own glory but for that of God:

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<sup>9</sup> On Racine’s use of the Lemaître de Sacy translation of the Book of Esther, published in 1688, see Forestier, ed. *Racine*, 1683 (see note 5).

<sup>10</sup> “Lettre à Louis XIV,” Fénelon, *Œuvres*, ed. Jacques Le Brun, 2 vols. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1983–1997), 1: 544.

Que tous les soins qu'il prend pour soutenir ta gloire  
 Soient gravés de ta main au Livre où sont écrits  
 Les noms prédestinés des Rois que tu chéris.

(Prologue, vv. 16–18)

[May all the actions he takes to uphold your glory / Be engraved by your hand in the book in which are inscribed / The predestined names of those kings that you cherish].

Louis XIV is thus presented to God by the figure of Piety as the only ruler on earth who is on His side: “De ta gloire animé, lui seul de tant de Rois / S’arme pour ta querelle, et combat pour tes droits” (Prologue, vv. 29–30; Motivated by your glory, he alone amongst so many kings / Takes up arms in your cause, and fights for your rights). A slight problem here is that Pope Innocent XI himself had come out in support of those European powers which, in 1686, had formed the League of Augsburg to defend the Palatinate against the French king’s predatory campaign of national aggrandizement, in what became the Nine Years’ War. The figure of Piety therefore, still addressing God, declares that in waging this war Louis XIV has had to take on the papal role as God’s representative on earth, supporting the one true religion with the sword, since even the pope had been hoodwinked by the devil into opposing the wholesome pursuit of God’s work through what in effect is a holy war:

Et l’enfer, couvrant tout de ses vapeurs funèbres,  
 Sur les yeux les plus saints a jeté ses ténèbres.  
 Lui seul, invariable et fondé sur la foi,  
 Ne cherche, ne regarde et n’écoute que toi;  
 Et bravant du démon l’impuissant artifice,  
 De la religion soutient tout l’édifice.

(Prologue, vv. 35–40)

[And hell, shrouding everything in its dismal fumes, / Has filled the eyes of the very holiest men with darkness. / He alone, unchanging and rooted in faith, / Seeks only you, gazes only at you, listens only to you; / And, defying the devil and his vain wiles, / Supports the whole structure of religion).

God’s work and Louis XIV’s wars are thus made part of a seamless web, each expressing the other. In this context, the Dauphin’s recent campaign in Alsace, which has visited on this region, for no great benefit, the customary devastation of war, can be presented in the most favorable light: “Quand son roi lui dit: «Pars», il s’élance avec joie, / Du tonnerre vengeur s’en va tout embraser” (Prologue, vv. 56–57; When his king says “Go”, he dashes away, overjoyed, / In order to set everything ablaze with avenging thunder). This celebration of war is even more striking in that it is wrapped up in praise for the “Innocence” (Prologue, v. 3) that reigns in Mme de Maintenon’s establishment for quiet schoolgirls, those very

“timid doves” (Prologue, v. 11) who are about to perform the sacred drama: “tout respire ici Dieu, la paix, la vérité” (Prologue, v. 70; Everything here breathes God, peace, and truth).

It might be imagined that only a post-Enlightenment mind could readily be disturbed by a war presented as God’s work, and that Louis XIV’s wars were greeted with enthusiasm on the home front. This would be to take some license with the historical record, all the more so in that freedom of expression was not the outstanding feature of seventeenth-century French society. For a start, the king’s constant military campaigns were impoverishing France. At the very moment that the lavish set for *Esther*, personally supervised by Louis XIV, was being expensively created at Saint-Cyr in 1689, the silverware crafted by Charles Le Brun for nearby Versailles was being melted down for an overstretched exchequer, while some months later food riots would begin breaking out in Paris.<sup>11</sup> And Fénelon, for one, though at that time on the best of terms with Mme de Maintenon and still awaiting an episcopal seat unobtainable without royal favor, still felt strongly enough to denounce Louis XIV’s seemingly unquenchable appetite for war, declaring it to be in contradiction with the very God and religion it purported to defend.

Fénelon’s picture of France, composed just four years after the first performance of *Esther*, provides a strikingly different picture from that given by Racine’s Prologue. His letter, in principle addressed to the king, but more prudently sent to Mme de Maintenon, deserves to be quoted at some length. For this one priest at least, the idea of holy war adumbrated by Racine’s figure of Piety receives very short shrift:

Vos peuples, que vous devriez aimer comme vos enfants, et qui ont été jusqu’ici si passionnés pour vous, meurent de faim. La culture des terres est presque abandonnée, les villes et les campagnes se dépeuplent; tous les métiers languissent et ne nourrissent plus les ouvriers. Tout commerce est anéanti. Par conséquent vous avez détruit la moitié des forces réelles du dedans de votre État, pour faire et pour défendre de vaines conquêtes au-dehors. Au lieu de tirer de l’argent de ce pauvre peuple, il faudrait lui faire l’aumône et le nourrir. La France entière n’est plus qu’un grand hôpital désolé et sans provision. [. . .] La sédition s’allume peu à peu de toutes parts. [. . .] Vous êtes réduit à la honteuse et déplorable extrémité, ou de laisser la sédition impunie et de l’accroître par cette impunité, ou de faire massacrer avec inhumanité des peuples que vous mettez au désespoir en leur arrachant, par vos impôts pour cette guerre, le pain qu’ils tâchent de gagner à la sueur de leurs visages. Mais, pendant qu’ils manquent de pain, vous manquez vous-même d’argent, et vous ne voulez pas voir l’extrémité où vous êtes réduit. Parce que vous avez toujours été heureux, vous ne pouvez vous

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<sup>11</sup> See *L’État classique (1652–1715)*, ed. Henry Méchoulant and Joël Cornet (Paris: Vrin, 1996), 475–76.



imaginer que vous cessiez jamais de l'être. Vous craignez d'ouvrir les yeux. Tout le monde le voit et personne n'ose vous le faire voir.

[Your subjects, whom you should love like your children, and who have until now been your fervent supporters, are dying of hunger. Farming the land has almost been abandoned, town and country alike are being depopulated; the various trades are wasting away and are no longer providing food for working men. All commerce has been wiped out. As a consequence, you have destroyed half the real strength within your State, in order to make and to defend empty conquests outside it. Instead of extracting money from your unfortunate people, you should be feeding them, and giving them charitable relief. The whole of France has been turned into one big, abandoned, and unsupplied hospital. [. . .] Little by little sedition is starting to flare up on all sides. [. . .] You are reduced to the shameful and deplorable extremity, either of letting this sedition continue with impunity, or of carrying out inhumane massacres of people that you are driving to despair by snatching from them, with your taxes for this war, the bread they're trying to earn by the sweat of their brows. But while they lack bread, you yourself lack money, and you choose not to see the extremity to which you are reduced. Because you have always been happy, you cannot imagine that this contentment might cease. [. . .] You are afraid to open your eyes. Everyone can see it, and no one dares point it out to you).<sup>12</sup>

The unease produced by Racine's association of war, Louis XIV, and God in *Esther* is not entirely dissipated when the French king is then withdrawn from the scene for the curtain to go up on the biblical drama. One reason is that, in the body of the play, God is portrayed in the same way as was Louis in the Prologue: as a warrior king of kings always ready to punish those who attack his interests. Indeed, the first reference to God in the play is as "the God of armies" (vv. 20–21), no heavenly *Deus sabaoth* but a God of real armies ready for real wars.<sup>13</sup> This is not to suggest that, since Louis XIV had been pictured doing God's work, Racine was assimilating this warrior God to the French king. Flattery is one thing, heresy quite another. On the other hand, the energetic God invoked by the Chorus is pictured using the same gunpowder as Louis, against a league, not of Augsburg, but of enemies that similarly need to be crushed:

Que peuvent contre lui tous les Rois de la Terre?  
En vain ils s'uniraient pour lui faire la guerre.

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<sup>12</sup> Fénelon, *Œuvres*, 1: 548 (see note 10).

<sup>13</sup> The phrase "le Dieu des armées" is seen as merely replicating the biblical "Deus sabaoth" ("Lord of Hosts"), familiar from the *Sanctus* of the Catholic Mass, by Forestier, ed. *Racine*, 593, n. 5, following from Roger Duchêne, ed., Mme de Sévigné, *Correspondance*, 3 vols. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1972–1978), 3: 503, n. 4. However, as noted by Pascal Parente, *Beyond Space: A Book About the Angels* (Rockford, IL: TAN Books, 1973), 69, "the biblical phrase refers not to a temporal but to a spiritual reality, a well-ordered and well-organized multitude of heavenly spirits, most powerful and ever ready to obey God, the king of heaven, the Lord of Hosts."

Pour dissiper leur ligue il n'a qu'à se montrer.  
Il parle, et dans la poudre les fait tous rentrer. (vv. 221–24)

[What can all the kings of the earth do against him? / They would unite in vain to make war on him. / To scatter their league he has only to appear. / One word from him, and they all go back home to the sound of gunpowder].

It will be objected at once, and not without reason, that the subject matter of *Esther* is of an entirely different order to that of Louis XIV's wars. For what is at stake is not the destruction of some fortresses on the Rhine, but the survival of God's Chosen People. Indeed, it is on this very basis that Lucien-Gilles Benguigui has claimed that "anti-Semitism is the real subject both of the book of Esther and of the play."<sup>14</sup> And it is true that the risk of extinction is real. The Jews are already scattered, exiled, and enslaved, but worse is threatened, imminently. King Assuérus has been persuaded by his scheming Chief Minister Aman (Haman) that there should be what to a modern ear has the sinister ring of a final solution. This is how the matter is put to Esther:

On doit de tous les Juifs exterminer la race.  
Au sanguinaire Aman nous sommes tous livrés.  
Les glaives, les couteaux sont déjà préparés.  
Toute la Nation à la fois est proscrite. (166–70)

[The whole Jewish race is to be exterminated. / We have all been delivered up to the bloodthirsty Aman. / The swords and the knives are even now ready. / The whole nation is forbidden to exist].

Aman himself expresses the matter succinctly:

Que les peuples entiers dans le sang soient noyés.  
Je veux qu'on dise un jour aux siècles effrayés:  
Il fut des Juifs. (vv. 475–77)

[May whole peoples drown in their blood. / My wish is that ages to come will one day say, with terror: / Once upon a time there were Jews].

Since the resistance to extermination must fall within even the most exacting criteria for a just war, is there any cause to question "the God of battles" (v. 326), "the victorious God" (v. 342) portrayed in this particular context? In the circumstances, could any human conscience, before or after the Holocaust, be easily scandalized by this warrior God?<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Lucien-Gilles Benguigui, *Racine et les sources juives d'Esther et Atalie*, Éditions du Pavillon (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995), 40.

<sup>15</sup> See Michel Corno's reaction to a Comédie-Française performance, *Le Monde*, 6 June 2003, p. 30: "It is naturally impossible to attend this sober and faithful performance of *Esther* having in your mind, at all times, Auschwitz."

That there is no easy answer to such a question, in *Esther*, is already one way of showing that Racine's play is not quite as straightforward as might be imagined from its origin as a school drama. The role of Louis XIV is certainly one complication. Another is that the play may be viewed, as indeed its Biblical source has been, merely as another episode in the bloodstained pages of the Old Testament: for Jules Lemaître, for example, the Book of Esther was nothing more than "a story of blood and pleasure."<sup>16</sup> After all, Aman has described how the Israelites, locked into "an eternal hatred" with his own race, the Amalekites, had previously attempted to wipe them from the face of the earth, their cattle included, and almost succeeded (vv. 483–87). It is true that, whereas the book of Esther ends with the bloody revenge meted out by the Israelites to Aman, his family, and the Amalekite people, Racine does elide most of the violence. It is simply left to the audience's imagination to piece out the king's explicit instruction: "Je leur livre le sang de tous leurs Ennemis" (v. 1183; I am handing over to them the blood of all their enemies). This is not exactly how these revenge killings are presented in the final choral scene: "Dieu fait triompher l'Innocence, / Chantons, célébrons sa puissance." (vv. 1200–2; God makes innocence triumph, / Let us sing, let us celebrate his power). Modern audiences and readers will not necessarily find it easy to escape conferring some ironic coloring to this denouement.

Seen in this light, the play itself seems not too far removed from the spirit of its Prologue. Indeed, it seems apt that the person who took on the task of admitting spectators to its few performances was Louis XIV himself: "Le Dieu que nous servons est le Dieu des combats" (v. 350; The God we serve is the God of battles). For it is difficult not to ask questions about the identity of a God presented as exercising his overwhelming power in acts of war against enemies who, inevitably, are to be crushed. This in turn raises other questions about those who use "God" to justify their wars, and fashion an image of divine power that reflects their own appetites and ambitions. In what circumstances can there be a just war? Is it possible for God to support one particular side, as each side can claim, and remain the God of all? May any degree of violence be committed in the name of God?<sup>17</sup>

### *Athalie*

These same questions resurface in *Athalie*, which followed two years after *Esther*, since that first play had, perhaps unsurprisingly, given visible pleasure to the

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<sup>16</sup> Jules Lemaître, *Jean Racine* (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1908), 279.

<sup>17</sup> [Editor's note: For the idea of Just War, see other articles in this volume, e. g., those by Ben Snook, John Dempsey, and Albrecht Classen, John Dempsey, among others].

warrior king and defender of the faith.<sup>18</sup> This time, however, there was no flattering Prologue, but a full, five-act tragedy with reversal and recognition on recognizably Aristotelian lines, ending with the overthrow and death of the monarch. If these questions recur with greater intensity, it is because the drama itself is more intense. *Athalie*, indeed, was long considered to be the crowning achievement of Racine's dramatic career: "this conjunction of an ideal tragic subject, a perfect dramatic construction, and sublime poetic writing, allows one to understand why *Athalie* can be considered to be the quintessential French religious tragedy."<sup>19</sup> Thus, although the overthrow of Queen Athalie and the coronation of Joas have specific biblical sources, it is important to note that *Athalie* is, first and foremost, a well-worked dramatic action that stirs emotion and keeps audiences involved until the final reversal and recognition.<sup>20</sup> For, as Georges Forestier points out, it is *Athalie*'s success as a tragic drama that allows the religious dimension to exist independently of it, and become a question of personal interpretation.<sup>21</sup>

On the subject of the war between the Houses of David and Achab, of which *Athalie* provides a concentrated episode, two opposing perspectives offer themselves. The most obvious is to accept that all the violence that takes place to defend the House of David is, as Racine states clearly in his Preface, part of the history of salvation, seen from a Christian perspective. It is impossible to miss the messianic dimension of the play, for example in the repeated calls for a redeemer, "ce Roi promis aux Nations" (v. 734; this King the nations have been promised), who will deliver the Jewish people from its bondage, as in the high priest's vision of the New Jerusalem (vv. 1159–74). Since from David's line the Redeemer must come, so David's line must be protected, and his enemies crushed. That explains some apparent paradoxes. The High Priest Joad can thus explain how King Jehu, now regarded as a faithless renegade (vv. 1083–92), had been previously used as an instrument of divine wrath to eliminate God's enemies, notably all the family of Achab. Joad lingers over one famous moment in this holy war, the murder of Jezabel, providing surprisingly graphic details in order to show God's unflinching response to any threat (v. 112):

Près de ce champ fatal Jézabel immolée,  
Sous les pieds des chevaux cette reine foulée,  
Dans son sang inhumain les chiens désaltérés,  
Et de son corps hideux les membres déchirés; (vv. 115–18)

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<sup>18</sup> Mme de Sévigné, *Correspondance*, 3: 520 (see note 13).

<sup>19</sup> Forestier, ed. *Racine*, 1713 (see note 5).

<sup>20</sup> 2 Kings 11 and 2 Chronicles 22 and 23.

<sup>21</sup> Forestier, ed. *Racine*, 1720 (see note 5).

[Near this fatal field the slain Jezabel, / This queen that horses trample on, / With her inhuman blood in which dogs slake their thirst, / And the torn limbs of her hideous body].<sup>22</sup>

There are thus good wars, and bad. When Athalie's mother or son is killed, this is divine vengeance. When Athalie, in revenge, attempts to annihilate the House of David, which means attempting to slaughter all her grandchildren, this is necessarily evil. The queen does not know, however, that one child, the future king Joas, has escaped, and is even now being hidden in the Temple. It therefore becomes God's will to defend this child, and thus to eliminate Athalie in turn. For without the child, there can be no Messiah. Every act of war committed by the House of David is therefore justified as being part of God's providential design for mankind. This sacred conflict involves not only a "Dieu qui combat pour nous" (v. 226; God who fights on our side), but also a strategy of purification: "L'Ange exterminateur est debout avec nous" (v. 1698; The exterminating angel stands by our side). In this vision, everything is impelled by "an avenging God" (v. 1471).

On the other hand, although this God is described as the arbiter of battles (v. 1348), these acts of war are, in *Athalie* as in *Esther*, in every case committed, not by some distant God who tumbles Egyptian chariots and horses into the sea, but by human beings using all the ingenuity and trickery at their command: "La foi qui n'agit point, est-ce une foi sincère?" (v. 71; Can the faith that does not act be a sincere faith?) The organization of the Levites, the stockpiling of weapons in the Temple, the fine detail of the tactics for the assault, all come from the creative generalship of the high priest (vv. 1445–55). Athalie is thus overcome, not by some divine thunderbolt, but by "the soldiers of the living God" (v. 1730) who come out of hiding and seize her.

The high priest's scheme to lure Athalie into the temple, and then assassinate her, which forms the denouement of the play, is part of this grand and very human design. In is in this context that may be understood Joad's advance absolution of his warriors: "Dans l'infidèle sang baignez-vous sans horreur" (v. 1360; In infidel blood steep yourselves without horror). This goes slightly beyond simple self-protection. All these acts are accomplished by human beings whose faith in the One True God justifies any level of violence to defend it. One might ask if the Crusades or the *dragonnades*, Louis XIV's infamous military sweeps against the Huguenots, were undertaken on any other basis. In the cause of salvation, the end seemingly justifies the means. For the high priest these means can legitimately

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<sup>22</sup> The description is not just surprising because it concerns the death of a woman, but because it contrasts markedly with the lexical restraint of French seventeenth-century tragedy as a genre. Such restraint, later pilloried as anemic and non-poetic by Romantics such as Victor Hugo, is most in evidence in the tragedies of Racine, making the level of detail and color in this particular passage quite exceptional in his works.

be extreme. Thus his call for energetic action: “Du milieu de mon peuple exterminiez les crimes” (v. 91; From the midst of my people exterminate wrongdoing).

The use of the term “exterminate” might here again give cause for reflection, the more so in that, unlike in *Esther*, the proposed act of war is not directed at the Jewish people, but is to be carried out by them. For it goes without saying that the high priest’s vision of holy war has not gone unopposed, beginning with Voltaire, for whom *Athalie*, while being a masterpiece of poetry, was also “the masterpiece of religious fanaticism.”<sup>23</sup> Seen through this Enlightenment lens, the high priest becomes the epitome of intolerance, inciting his men not to lay down their weapons till the last enemy is killed, and to place their hope in the avenging fury of God (vv. 1375–78). Strengthening the unease caused by violence committed in the name of religion is the idea that there is no reason for a modern audience to share Joad’s religious beliefs, and thus to privilege one particular holy war over another. Indeed, Queen *Athalie* is regarded by some as a “benevolent despot,” and a “worthy participant in a fierce political struggle.”<sup>24</sup> And it is true that *Athalie*, the perpetrator of one massacre, has her own traumatic memories of what she sees as the war crimes of the House of David:

J’aurais vu massacrer et mon Père, et mon Frère,  
Du haut de son Palais précipiter ma Mère,  
Et dans un même jour égorger à la fois  
Quel spectacle d’horreur! quatre-vingts fils de Rois:  
Et pourquoi? Pour venger je ne sais quels Prophètes,  
Dont elle avait puni les fureurs indiscrettes. (vv. 711–16)

[I have seen the massacre of my father, and my brother, / My mother hurled down from the top of her palace, / And on the same day the simultaneous murder / (What a spectacle of horror!) of eighty royal children: And why? To avenge some Prophets or other, / Whose crazed inquisitiveness she had punished].

In this perspective, *Athalie*’s final admission that the Jewish God has won the battle (v. 1768) is not a confession of wrongdoing, only a recognition that the big battalions are on God’s side.

Whatever interpretation of *Athalie* is made, the violence used to put Joas on the throne, and the wars waged to defend the House of David, and thus the messianic line, must be placed in the context of one final disturbing detail: the simple fact, underlined at different points in the play, that the new king Joas will end up by

<sup>23</sup> Voltaire, *Ceuvres complètes*, ed. Theodore Besterman, 142 vols. to date (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1968–), 66: 513. On Voltaire’s complex and varied reactions to *Athalie*, see Ronald S. Ridgway, “*Athalie* vue par Voltaire,” *Jeunesse de Racine* (La Ferté-Milon: Association Jeunesse de Racine, 1969), 108–17.

<sup>24</sup> Peter France, ed. *Athalie*. Clarendon French Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 34–35.

turning his back on God, to the point of assassinating his own high priest in the Temple. In other words, the violence used in the name of God to put a king on the throne will be used by that same king against God's own people. In a messianic perspective, this betrayal in no way dims the promise of a savior, since the God of War will always be ready, sword of revenge in hand, to smite the faithless and unworthy. In any other perspective, Joas's future betrayal might be seen as suggesting a cycle of violence endlessly being renewed, and endlessly justified by appeals to God.

None of the preceding leads in itself to neat conclusions: audiences and readers will have their own reactions, inevitably nourished by their own convictions, or lack of them. Nor do these works leave any easily identifiable moral landscape. As Girard has expressed it, "The tragedians portray men and women caught up in a form of violence too impersonal in its workings, too brutal in its results, to allow any sort of value judgment, any sort of distinction, subtle or simplistic, to be drawn between 'good' and 'wicked' characters."<sup>25</sup> At the very least, however, the treatment of God and war in some of Racine's tragedies allows some questions to be asked about the motives for human acts of violence, and the identity of the God in whose name these acts are committed. It is not at all certain that the pious Racine, when writing *Esther* and *Athalie* for the pupils of Saint-Cyr, had any notion that his works could be read in this perspective. However, in a more impious age, more than three centuries later, his mixture of God and war will, to many, seem potentially explosive, and necessarily unholy: a mirror of the problem of evil that will always remain an obstacle to any easy acceptance of a loving God. It is to the credit of Racine's works that they simultaneously permit enjoyment, engagement, and ambivalence.

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<sup>25</sup> Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, 47 (see note 2)..





## Chapter 22

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### Out of the Kitchen and into the Fire: The Dutch Heroine Tradition

The plethora of artistic and literary eulogies to the several heroines of the Dutch Revolt and their descendants immediately indicates the distinctiveness of this early modern republic's cultural environment and its ability to powerfully transgress traditional gender norms. Indeed, the hero tradition in most cultures was rather strictly a male enterprise. Usually cultural artifacts, both literary and visual, consist of male eulogies to other men who execute brave, noble, or glorious deeds. There were, of course, some female exceptions to this convention that were much less frequently transmitted in western culture through a type of text known as "Catalogs of Good Women." These catalogs, which first appeared in antiquity, were revived during the Renaissance and each new text added a few contemporary figures to the list of virtuous, wise, and brave women. By the seventeenth century, various types of women were included in such texts: mythological or ancient figures including Zenobia, the Amazons, and Lucretia; biblical figures such as Judith, Susanna, and Deborah; more contemporary figures consisting of royalty or rare women like Joan of Arc. A few of these women achieved heroine status through traditional means—physical strength and bravery in battle—but more often they became revered through their traditional female virtues of modesty, charity, faith, and self-sacrifice.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview of these catalogs and their contents, see Glenda McLeod, *Virtue and Venom: Catalogs of Women from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991). I would like to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Nicolaas Unlandt for his suggestions on the Dutch translations throughout the text. [Editor's note: See now the contributions to *Warlike Women in the German Literary and Cultural Imagination since 1500*, ed. Sarah Colvin and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly. *Women and Death*, 2. *Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture*

Dutch heroines, in contrast, were distinctive in many ways. First, several cities of the newly forming republic proclaimed and mythologized the brave deeds of one or more of their female citizenry. So, rather than producing a singularly extraordinary heroine, the Dutch Revolution generated a tradition that allowed for the much more common assimilation of heroic capabilities by women. Another unusual feature of the Dutch heroine tradition is the manner in which these women achieved their legendary status. Unlike the more familiar self-sacrificing heroines of the past, most of these women gained fame through courageous struggle against the Spanish enemy. Indeed, they purportedly competed with, and at times surpassed, their male compatriots in terms of strength and bravery. Thus, the future ability of women to adopt traditionally male roles and characteristics was greatly enhanced. Finally, a further distinctive feature of these heroines was their common status; they were not of royal privileged station, but were instead ordinary burgher women. This aspect of the Dutch heroine also made her a more accessible role model for the female culture at large.

Dutch heroines developed legendary status in both written and visual culture from the late sixteenth through the seventeenth century and beyond. Some of these eulogies envisioned limited audiences, but others were very purposefully intended to appeal to large numbers of spectators and were even designated at times for an international market. These acclamations are found in a wide variety of visual and textual genres including paintings and prints (often with inscriptions), book illustrations, dramas, catalogs of good women, lists of heroes, descriptions of cities, poetry, published journals, and a multitude of histories. According to contemporaries, this celebration of courageous women inspired later generations of women also to take up arms in defense of the republic. The continued interest in and elaboration on these heroine legends was obviously meant to establish a unifying and epic national tradition, while also engendering patriotic fervor in the founding of the new republic.

The impact, however, of this heroine legacy was more extensive than the straightforward establishment of a nationalistic, patriotic tradition. It also provoked furor over established definitions of “woman” and her character and capabilities. As a result, a heated debate began to emerge over women’s roles generally and their rights and abilities to act in the traditionally male public sphere. Often in direct relation to the heroine discourse, this larger dialogue also occurred in a variety of formats and was also very public.

In relation to the tradition of celebrating these women of the Golden Age, it is essential to introduce the most significant catalog of good women published in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. Johan van Beverwijck’s *Van de Wtneementtheyt*

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(Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2009. See especially Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly’s contribution, “Wearing the Trousers: The Woman Warrior as Cross-Dresser in German Literature,” 28–44.)

*des Vrouwelicken Geslachts* (On the Excellence of the Female Sex) defends the courage, abilities, and intelligence of women and even argues that women are superior to men.<sup>2</sup> Van Beverwijck's positive text on women, published twice during the seventeenth century in 1639 and 1643, incorporated many of his famous female contemporaries in the form of descriptions, as well as contributed poems and eulogies. In this way, the text is rather distinct from most such texts published elsewhere. Many of the anecdotes and histories van Beverwijck relates must have been gathered via contemporary discourse in Dutch society. It has been argued that the fact that this text was published in Dutch and not in its originally intended Latin indicates it was aimed at the ordinary citizenry, and that the text seems to have held a particularly local appeal due to the unique aspects of Dutch culture.<sup>3</sup> It appears, therefore, that van Beverwijck's text lauding women held little appeal for other cultures; this must have been due, in part, to the unique situation of Dutch post-revolutionary gender characterizations and the resulting status of women.

Significantly, van Beverwijck eulogizes many Dutch female soldiers in his text and compares their bravery to that of men. Indeed, in the later edition he devotes an entire section of his text to their courageous deeds. The significance of the heroine tradition in Dutch culture seems particularly indicated by the addition of chapters on women's love of the fatherland and on women's bravery. The impact of this discussion, combined with other histories, was tremendous. By the time Petrus van Gelre wrote his *Vrouwen-Lof* (Praise of Women) in 1646, he asserted that gallant soldiering had been the nature of women for so long in the Netherlands, it no longer seemed unnatural.<sup>4</sup> This heroine discourse directly contradicted normative concepts of women's roles and must have profoundly influenced public perceptions of women's character and capabilities. In art, by usurping the visual tradition of the male warrior, images of heroines also posed a challenge to a strict binary system of gender roles and permanently altered this society's patriarchal discourse.

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<sup>2</sup> Johan van Beverwijck, *Van de Wttnementheyt des Vrouwelicken Geslachts Verciert met Historyen, ende kopere Platen: als oock Latijnsche, ende Nederlansche Verssen van Mr. Corn. Boy* (Dordrecht: Hendrick van Esch, 1643).

<sup>3</sup> Cornelia Niekus Moore, "'Not by Nature but by Custom': Johan van Beverwijck's *Van de wttnementheyt des vrouwelicken Geslachts*," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25.3 (1994): 633–51. Unlike other contemporary texts, such as those by the famous Jacob Cats, this book did not enjoy international fame.

<sup>4</sup> Pieter van Gelre, *Vrouwen Lof: aen me-iuffrouw, me-iuffrouw*, C.K. (Leiden: William Christiaens vander Boxe, 1646).

## The Dutch Revolt

In order to situate the Dutch heroines historically, it is necessary to briefly review the events of the revolt against Spain and to emphasize those that specifically relate to women's history. Tension was already brewing in the Low Countries long before the actual revolt erupted. While many explanations have been given for the conflict between the people of the Netherlands and their Spanish king, Philip II, religious differences certainly played a key role. During the sixteenth century, the urban areas of the Netherlands had become increasingly attracted to various forms of Protestantism. At the same time, the Inquisition, supported by the devoutly Catholic Philip, was strengthening its battle against heretics. These religious tensions reached their height in 1566 as icon-destroying crowds began wreaking havoc in many churches throughout cities in both the northern and southern areas of the Low Countries. Outraged, Philip sent an army north to quell this heretical fury. When the troops arrived nearly a year later and after peace had been restored, the citizenry perceived the huge army under the Duke of Alba as a threat to their freedom and religious practice.

Conditions worsened under the harsh rule of Alba, who was made governor-general in December of 1567. His infamous Council of Blood meted out punishments against heretics and even those who merely tolerated Protestantism. As a result, the Counts of Egmond and Horne were executed, signaling to the people a complete loss of their rights under the law. In addition to issuing many death sentences, the council also banished heretics and confiscated their lands, thus causing a large exodus of Protestants to neighboring countries. Later some of these individuals, who came to be known as Sea Beggars, would return to support the revolt and hinder the Spanish army. It was at this time that William of Orange, *stadholder* (highest executive official) for the king in Holland and Zeeland, also fled the Netherlands. He continued, however, to oppose Spanish power, and in 1568 attempted an invasion of Brabant. Even though the coup was unsuccessful, this important first phase of armed resistance marked the beginnings of a revolt that would significantly change the political face of Europe.

Resentment against Alba deepened when the duke instituted a new tax policy to help ease the financial crisis in Spain. Although the system was never imposed due to public resentment, its emergence sufficed to encourage the first independent meeting of the States of Holland. The assembly declared William as their leader and called for religious freedom—both were statements of revolt against Spanish rule. In retaliation, Alba began attacking pro-Orange cities such as Mechelen, Zutphen, and Naarden. These massacres further fueled resentment against Spain, so that when Alba headed north to extinguish thoroughly the rebellion, he found citizens there fiercely tenacious in their struggle against Spanish tyranny.

One of the most famous sieges of the revolt took place at Haarlem. Prior to the arrival of the Spanish army, the Protestants in Haarlem had already gained control of the city. Catholic and Spanish sympathizers had been driven out of power, and St. Bavo's, the main church, had become a house of Protestant worship. The siege, which began in December of 1572, dragged on for several months with the unrelenting citizens of Haarlem continually refortifying themselves and generally harassing the Spanish troops. The winter months took a heavy toll on the Spanish army and it was not until July of 1573 that they were able to elicit surrender from the citizens of Haarlem. Again, stories regarding Spanish atrocities and Netherlandish heroism emerged from this campaign to further spur other revolutionaries in their desire for freedom from Spanish oppression.

After the fall of Haarlem, the Spanish troops advanced on to the cities of Alkmaar, Leiden, and Middelburg. This time, however, the rebels barely, but successfully, withstood the lengthy, difficult sieges, and much of the region became united against the king and his policies. In November of 1576, the Pacification of Ghent was signed in which all the rebel provinces agreed to drive out the Spanish army and to set up a provisional government under the States-General. In retribution for their losses, the Spanish troops turned on Antwerp, slaughtering and pillaging for several days in what came to be known as the Spanish Fury. This event increased public ire against the crown and also convinced many that the only solution to the conflict was armed rebellion.

Even in the city of Utrecht, where the Catholic Church remained powerful, ill-feeling toward Spain was increasing. In 1577, the city besieged the Spaniards in their fortress Vredenburg until they surrendered. Then the supporters of William of Orange forced out the *stadholder* and took control of the city. In defiance, the citizenry then focused its wrath on the final symbol of Spanish oppression and destroyed the Vredenburg fortress.

In January of 1579 the Union of Utrecht allied Flanders, Tournai, Holland, Zeeland, and Guelders in an agreement that they would all defend each other's rights and privileges and that they would not make a separate peace with the king. Increasingly, however, there were differences of opinion that separated the northern and southern provinces, as each area tried to take a lead in the revolt. Eventually, as the crown began retaking many southern cities, large numbers of Protestants from the south would flee to the north seeking religious and other freedoms. In July of 1581, the Act of Abjuration accused the king of violating the traditional and natural rights and laws of the Low Countries. In light of this tyranny, the rebels reasoned that they no longer needed to obey the king. Moreover, they asserted that the States-General would choose a new sovereign for the people. After a few unsuccessful choices, however, the States-General finally came to the conclusion that a king was unnecessary, and that the provinces would be governed by a representative body. Finally, in 1588 the northern provinces declared themselves a separate republic.

The new citizens of the Republic of the United Provinces had little to unite themselves except for their shared hatred and distrust of both Spain and the Catholic Church, which was, however, enough to trigger the future development. As the republic strove now to define itself and create a unified culture, there were a number of competing discourses all clamoring for recognition. Some of the most significant and enduring discourses to arise were related to gender and more specifically to the appropriate roles for women in this new, non-Catholic, society. By this time, according to visual and written accounts, women had participated in everything from iconoclastic riots to outright struggles against Spanish soldiers for many years.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, as the society began looking for patriotic symbols to unite the new republic in its continued resistance to Spain, the deeds of several heroines received a great amount of public attention. The significant praise extended to these women led to a redefining of women's roles and character that was to have lasting import for women of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.

### Kenau Simons Hasselaer and the Women of Haarlem

The most celebrated heroine to emerge from the Dutch Revolt against Spain was Kenau Simons Hasselaer. In fact she is one of the most famous patriots of the revolt, male or female. Hasselaer was born in Haarlem in 1526 to Simon Hasselaar and Grietje Coenen. She came from an important and distinguished Haarlem family, as did her ship-building husband Nanning Gerbrandsz Borst, and had mothered four children by the time she was widowed in 1571. Although she did not continue with the shipbuilding business after her husband's death, she did continue to trade in ship timber, which she supplied to the city in 1573 for the defense of Haarlem during the Spanish siege.<sup>6</sup>

The earliest mention of Hasselaer's role in the revolt is found in the diary of Johannes Arcerius that was published in Delft in 1573.<sup>7</sup> Arcerius draws attention to

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<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of women's roles in the iconoclastic riots, see Peter J. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 111–13.

<sup>6</sup> There are several excellent sources on Hasselaer's life and times, including: Jacques François Bosdijk (published under the pseudonym J. van de Capelle), *Belangrijke stukken voor geschieden oudeidkunde; zijnde bijlagen en aantekeningen betreffende het beleg en de verdediging van Haarlem in 1572-73* (Schoonhoven: Van Nooten, 1843); Cornelius Ekama, *Beleg en Verdediging van Haarlem in 1572 en 1573* (Haarlem: A. C. Kruseman, 1872); Gerda H. Kurtz, *Kenu Symons Dochter van Haerlem* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1956); Els Kloek, *Kenau: de heldhaftige zakenvrouw uit Haarlem (1526-1588)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001).

<sup>7</sup> Johannes Arcerius, *Historie ende een waerachtich verhael van al die dinghen die gheschiet zijn van dach tot dach in die lofwaardichste ende vermaerste stadt van Hollandt, Haerlem ghenoeemt, in dien tyt als die vanden Hertoge van Alba beleghet was* (Delft: Aelbrecht Hendricksz, 1573).

the women of Haarlem generally in his account of the battle. First, he describes how the women and girls took care of barricade reparations so vigorously that the Spaniards composed a satirical song about them recorded in this translation:

Die Meyskens van Haerlem, sy zijn so mal,  
Sy draghen die eerd al op die wal

[The Girls of Haarlem, they are so peculiar,  
They carry the earth all up on the wall]

Furthermore, he reports that the women poured tar and oil on the heads of the storming Spaniards, along with all else possible day and night to aid in combat. Finally, he singles out Hasselaer, a middle-aged and well-to-do woman who provided weapons and guns and saw to the general welfare of the revolt. She also did what she could to aggravate and harass the enemy. Arcerius claims her nature was so masculine she should rightly be called a “manninne.”

The diary of N. van Rooswijk was also published in 1573.<sup>8</sup> Van Rooswijk records how the women of Haarlem helped to build up the city wall during the siege by carrying mounds of earth around the clock to fortify the barricade. In addition, the publisher of the diary, Jan Moyt Jacobsz, inserted a woodcut of Hasselaer as the final page to the text (Fig. 1). This print sets an important precedent for future images of the heroine and is reminiscent of prints like Hendrick Goltzius's full-length portrait of Haarlem captain Jan Dircksz Schatter. Schatter wears a sword and sash while holding a standing pike in one hand with the other on his hip. Similarly, Hasselaer is represented dressed as an ordinary woman of the era but even more heavily armed than Schatter. Her image mimics the captain's with the inclusion of weapons and sash. As in Goltzius's print, the pose conveys a swaggering confidence in the placement of her hand on her hip and in her bold manner of grasping the pike in her right hand. Her manly nature is further indicated by her sword, pistol, and powder horn. The accompanying inscription in Latin and Dutch assigns her the rank of captain and tells how, with manly intrepidity, she hunted and fought the treacherous Spaniards.<sup>9</sup>

After this, a number of diaries, Dutch and German, repeat the stories of the Haarlem women building up and fortifying the wall, but some of them also begin to

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<sup>8</sup> N. van Rooswijk, *Cort ende waerachtich verhael van alle gheschiedenissen, handelinge, aenklage, storme, en schermutsinghe in ende voor der stadt Heerlem in Hollandt gheschiet, zedert de belegheringhe van dien, aengheteeckent ende beschreuen by N. R. burger ende poorter der voornoemde stadt Heerlem* (Leyden: Jan Moyt Jacobsz, 1573).

<sup>9</sup> Van Rooswijk, *Cort ende waerachtich verhael*, final page (see note 8):  
*Haec Batava est Kennau, quam armat sic mascula virtus,*  
*Haec Mauros hybridas Harlemi exercet et urget.*  
*Dit is Capiteyn Kennou, de Hollantsce vrou, manlijck onversaecht,*  
*De Spansce Mooren ontrou, bij Heerlem nou, dees oeffent en jaecht.*

mythologize the accounts. These diaries describe the women and Hasselaer as being armed during the battle,<sup>10</sup> suggesting how significantly the legend of these heroic women gradually participated in popular culture and patriotic propaganda, as individuals not actually present during the siege were repeating and enlarging upon the firsthand records.

In addition to their appearance in diaries, the women of Haarlem are also discussed in many of the histories published in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. First, in Emanuel van Meteren's *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche historie van onsen tijden tot 1598* (*Belgian or Dutch History of Our Times Until 1598*), published in 1599, Hasselaer is praised as a brave and honorable widow of forty-six years.<sup>11</sup> Here she is identified as the leader of the women of Haarlem in fighting the enemy, described, significantly enough, performing manly deeds *surpassing* the nature of women as she attacks with spears, guns, and sword. Van Meteren proclaims that Hasselaer is like a man dressed as a woman.

In other histories, such as Famianus Strada's *De thien eerste boecken der Nederlandsche oorlogen* (*The First Ten Books of the Netherlandish Wars*), published in 1632 but written ca. 1602, she is also identified as the leader of a troop of women who used guns to fight the enemy.<sup>12</sup> And again, in an anonymously published tract regarding the tyranny of Spain (1621), the widow Hasselaer is praised for her "manly" deeds in leading the women with weapons against the Spaniards. The author further records that her bravery won her the name of "*capiteyn Kenu*."<sup>13</sup> Indeed, beginning early in the seventeenth century, writers and artists frequently assigned the rank of captain to Hasselaer, as she led her legion of women warriors to defend the city.

Increasingly, Hasselaer's deeds are expanded upon and lauded in histories of the revolt. In Samuel Ampzing's 1628 edition of Haarlem's history, *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland* (*Description and praise of the City of Haarlem in Holland*), Hasselaer's role in the battle receives even more notoriety through a lengthy poem in Latin and Dutch entitled "In Kennaviam":

<sup>10</sup> For an overview of these diaries, see Kurtz, *Kenu*, 13-23 (see note 6).

<sup>11</sup> Emanuel van Meteren, *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche historie, van onsen tijden: Inhoudende hoe de Nederlanden aenden anderen ghehecht, ende aen Spaengien ghecome zijn: met de oorsaken der inlantsche beroerten, ende oorlogen der selver / Oock de veranderinghe van Princen / van Regimenten ende van Religie / mette scheuringhen / verbontenissen ende vredehandelighen: Mede vervattende eenighe harer ghebueren ende andere Landen handelighen. Meest onder de regeeringhe van Philippus de II. coninc van Spaengien, tot synen doot, ende den vtgaenden lare 1598. Verciert met een Caerte van alle de Nederlanden, ende aller Regeerders afbeeldinghe in Coper ghesneden*, vol. 4 (Delft: Jacob Cornelisz Vennecool, 1599), 63 verso.

<sup>12</sup> P. Famianus Strada, *De thien eerste boecken der Nederlandsche oorlogen*, 7 (Dordrecht: Jacobus Savry, 1655), 519-24. Strada's original text, *De Bello Belgico*, was published in Rome in 1632 and was published in 1645 in Dutch by Guillaume van Aelst. The book draws upon the memoirs of Cardinal Bentivoglio that were written ca. 1602.

<sup>13</sup> *Warachtighe beschrijvinghe ende levendighe afbeeldinghe van de meer dan onmenselijcke ende barbarische tyrannije bedreven by de Spaengiaerden in de Nederlanden* (1621), 141.



Wanneer ons Haerlem gaf seer dappre kloeke mannen,  
 Bereyd voor't Vaderland hun kragten in te spannen,  
 En allerlei gevaer kloekmoedig uyt te staen,  
 Sprak Haerlem, dat is niets, ik moeder anders aen:  
 Ik wil ook in het hert van alle mijne wijven  
 Een mannelijken moed en helden kloekheyd schrijven.  
 Sy sprak't, sy deed het ook, en gaf ons een geslacht  
 Dat inden quaeden tijd een mannen aerd betracht.  
 Wat mag de Spanjaerd doen? Wat mag hy 'tvolk verstoren,  
 En tergen tot den krijg, een volk tot krijg geboren?  
 Siet Spanjaerd, hoe een Vrou sich tegens dij ook spand:  
 Dit is der vrouwen aerd alhier in Nederland.  
 Loopt Spanjaerd way gy meugt! Wat wilt noch met dij worden,  
 Wanneer de mannen selfs hun swaerden sullen gorden?  
 Weg Spanjaerd al dijn best, en liefst ter eerster uer?  
 Wat siet gy Holland aen? die druyven sijn te suer.  
 Wat wil de Spaensche bloed den Leeu van Holland quellen?  
 En tegen sulck een volk van wap'nen sich gaen stellen?  
 Wel Spanjaerd sijt gy dul? En is hun moed, en lust,  
 En kloekheyd in den strijd dij anders niet bewust?  
 Loopt wat gy lopen meugt! Hier wonen Roomsche Helden,  
 En die sich oyt en oyt met magt te were stelden:  
 Hier sijn d'Amazones, hier wonnd een vrouwen-aerd,  
 Die ook in tijd van nood haer ere wel bewaerd.  
 Bewijst dat Kennau niet met haere manne-daeden?  
 Haes-op dan, weg Maraen! en wil dij so beraden.  
 Weg, weg! daer is voor dij in Holland niet gesaeijld.  
 Weg, weg! daer is voor dij in Holland niet gemaeijld.  
 Wie seyd mij dat het volk in Nederland geboren  
 Geen mannen souden sijn? wie lochend voor mijn oren  
 Dien roem der Bataviers? voorwaer! dit wijf is mij  
 Veel meerder als een man, en Spanjaerd, meer als gy.

[When our Haarlem provided very valiant and brave men,  
 Preparing to continue their fight for the Fatherland,  
 And in everything dangerous, with bravery to stand,  
 Spoke Haarlem, that is nothing, I must also mention something else:  
 I want to inscribe into the heart of all my housewives  
 A courageous spirit and heroic bravery.  
 Haarlem said this and also did so, and gave us a generation  
 That in this difficult time behaved manfully.  
 What can the Spaniards do? How can they disturb the people,  
 When in provoking them to war, they find a people born to battle?  
 Look, Spaniard, how a woman also fights against you:  
 This is the female nature here in the Netherlands.

Go, Spaniard, to your liking! What shall become of you  
 When the men buckle on their swords?  
 Give way, Spaniard, to the utmost, and preferably within the first hour!  
 What do you see in Holland? Those grapes are too sour.  
 Why does Spanish blood want to torture the Dutch lion?  
 And take position against such a brave nation?  
 Well, Spaniard, are you crazy? Are you not aware of their spirit, and desire,  
 And bravery in battle?  
 Go do your duty! Here live Roman heroes,  
 And forever and ever will they be powerful:  
 Here are the Amazons, here dwells a female nature,  
 Which, in times of need, also protects their honor.  
 Don't you see the evidence of Kennau with her manly deeds?  
 Hurry up then, be gone, Moors! And consider.  
 Get away, get away! There is nothing sown for you in Holland.  
 Get away, get away! There is nothing mown for you in Holland.  
 Who said that there are no men born in the Netherlands?  
 Who denies before my ears this fame of the Batavians?  
 Verily! This housewife is to me much more than a man,  
 And, Spaniard, more than you.]<sup>14</sup>

Pieter C. Hooft also elaborates on Hasselaer's legend in *De Nederlandsche historien*, 1642.<sup>15</sup> He claims that the legion of housewives under the command of Hasselaer numbered over three hundred. As in previous histories, he records that Hasselaer was a forty-seven year old widow from a good family in Haarlem and praises her as a brave "*mannin*." Again she is described as being armed with spear, gun, and rapier while leading women against the enemy. In *Harlemias*, 1648, Theodorus Schrevelius also speaks of the valiant nature of the women of Haarlem who came against the enemy yelling with stones, torches, and pikes.<sup>16</sup> Also, "*Capiteyn*" Kenau led them; she was a woman with both manly heart and manly courage who fought the enemy with a spear and would not be defeated.

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<sup>14</sup> Samuel Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende Lof der Stad Haerlem in Holland: In Rijm bearbeyd: ende met veele oude ende nieuwe stucken buyten Dicht uyt verscheyde Kronijken / Handvesten / Brieven / Memorien ofte Geheugenissen / ende diergelijke schriften verklaerd / ende bevestigd* (Haarlem: Adriaen Rooman, 1628), 161-62.

<sup>15</sup> Pieter C. Hooft, *Neederlandsche Histoorien, Seedert de Overdraght der Heerschappye van Kaizar Kaarel den Vyfden op Koning Philips zynen Zoon* (Amsterdam: Louys Elzevier, 1642), 286.

<sup>16</sup> Theodore Schrevelius, *Harlemias, Ofte, om beter te seggen, De eerste stichtinghe der Stadt Haerlem, Het toe-nemen en vergrootinge der self-den; hare seltsame fortuyn en avontuer in Vrede, in Oorlogh, Belegeringe, harde beginselen van d'eerste Reformatie, Politique Raedtslagen, Scheuringhe in de Kercke, de tijden van Lycester, Oude keuren, gunstige Privilegien van Graven, Regeeringe in de Politie soo hooghe als leeghe, in 't Kerckelijcke, Militaire, Schola-stijcke, de oeffeninghe van de Inghesetenen, in alle Wetenschap, Kunst ende Gheleertheydt, Neeringhe en Hanteringe, en wat dies meer is* (Haarlem: Thomas Fonteyn, 1648), 100.

Hasselaer's valiant deeds are again set forth in van Beverwijck's text *Van de Wtnementheyt des Vrouwelicken Geslachts*.<sup>17</sup> He describes how, during the siege of Haarlem, the women of the city acted with courage under the direction of an honorable widow of forty-six years old named "*capiteyn Kennau*." With guns and other weapons, these women inflicted much damage on the Spanish. Furthermore, he informs the reader that her name and image are still very famous and have been preserved by lovers of history like Buchel and Ampzing. He then goes on to quote Ampzing regarding Hasselaer's "manly" courage in service of the Fatherland.

The legendary and pervasive status of Hasselaer is perhaps most forcefully evident in Petrus de Lange's history of the Batavians entitled *Batavis Romeyn* 1661. In this text, de Lange purports to list all the heroic deeds done in Holland and Zeeland from 1492 to 1661. He includes several engraved portraits of the various Dutch heroes in his text—the first is of William of Orange and the second is a monumental image of Hasselaer (Fig. 2). As in Rooswijk's text, Hasselaer strikes a bold pose with a standing pike in her right hand and a sword hanging from her waist. Now, however, other women are sporting guns and pikes as they guard the city wall in the background. The inscription identifies Hasselaer as a modest yet brave heroine who led three hundred women against the Spaniards.<sup>18</sup> This image was also reproduced in a separate print with a similar inscription and imitated in paintings.

De Lange's accompanying text declares that old history books are no more replete with narratives concerning Amazons than the new history books discussing Hasselaer. He also informs the reader as to her age and identifies her father and her husband. He then repeats the familiar narrative of how she led three hundred wives during the siege with gun, spear, and sword. Importantly, he claims that her brave and valiant spirit transcended female nature. Finally, he recounts the story of how the Spaniards, on seeing the bravery of this "*manninne*" and her company, burst forth crying that the women had become men. Thus, de Lange says, they shamed the "womanly" Spanish men.<sup>19</sup>

The popular appeal of Hasselaer and her battalion of women is perhaps even more forcefully evident in the many visual images produced of her during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The heavily armed Hasselaer of the woodcut used in Rooswijk's diary seems to have heralded future images of the heroine. The monumental full-length female soldier is a type used, for example, in a print by

<sup>17</sup> Van Beverwijck, *Wtnementheyt*, 3:48 (see note 2).

<sup>18</sup> Petrus de Lange, *Batavise Romeyn; Ofte Alle de voornaemste Helden-daden, Ridderlijke feyten en listige Oorlogs-vonden, in Veld en Zee-slagen, overwinninge van Steden en Schepen, en in andere gelegentheden, by de Hollanders en Zeeuwen verricht, zedert den Iare 1492 tot 1661* (Amsterdam: Willem van Beaumont, 1661), 10. The Dutch inscription reads: "Kenau Simon Hasselaers, een Zedighe doch moedighe Hedinne van treffelijcken huysen binnen Haerlem, out 46 jaren, die int belegh 1572, als Kapitein met bus, spies en geweer, drie hondert Vrouwen, tegen de Spagniaerts opvoerde."

<sup>19</sup> De Lange, *Batavise Romeyn*, 10 (see note 18).

Matthias Quad (Fig. 3).<sup>20</sup> Again, Hasselaer is pictured in a hand-on-hip pose with sash and medal. She holds a standing pike, while a sword, pistol, and powder horn hang from her waist. Silhouetted against the sky and identified as "*Capitain Kenou*," she looks every bit the manly warrior. The inscriptions, in German and Latin, obviously meant for an international audience, tell us a great deal about the perceived character of the manly Hasselaer and her followers, as well as their growing international reputation:

Diese Kennow Jansen ein Harlemische bergerin so nun fast ein alte  
Fraw jres handwerks ein schifzimmerman ist in kaufhandlung und  
vast allen manlichen gescheften zu wasser und zu land selbs thatig.

[This is Kenau Jansen, a Haarlemer burgheress, now almost an old woman, her occupation is a trader in ship timber, and she works in almost all manly affairs on water as well as on land.]

The inscriptions also evidence her quickly developing legendary status, in their identification of her as "*Capitain Kenou*" who, armed as a man, drove the Spanish Moors from Haarlem in defense of the Fatherland. Furthermore, her army is compared to the Amazons and she is proclaimed a heroine whose fame is known far and wide.

Equally illuminating are the prints that compare Hasselaer to Judith, the biblical heroine, whose beheading of the wicked tyrant Holofernes saved her people. This parallels a male tradition in which William of Orange was identified with the Old Testament David or Moses and, more generally, the Dutch associated themselves with God's chosen people of ancient Israel.<sup>21</sup> This comparison also significantly elevates Hasselaer to the status of an historical "good woman" like Judith. Thus, in an anonymous print, Hasselaer is proclaimed the virtuous Dutch Judith who overcame the Spanish tyrant (Fig. 4).<sup>22</sup> The helmeted head of a Spaniard sits as a trophy on the table next to an armed Hasselaer. Now she also wears a medal around her neck. These prints recall Goltzius's images of heroes, such as his portrait of William of Orange, ca. 1581. William is also represented half-length next to a table in the manner of a heroic soldier. It is now his helmet, however, which lies on the table rather than

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<sup>20</sup> The dating of the images is rather difficult since they all set the date at 1573, the time of her heroic deeds. Quad's image, however, appears to be one of the earliest.

<sup>21</sup> Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1987), 110–13.

<sup>22</sup> OMINE FOLICI DVX KENNAV HOLLANDICA

Iudith Harlemo Excurens sauuos sic pulsat Iberos

Sie da ejjn frauu genamt kennau fris wie ejjn lanskucht gut

Si brauckt sich im harlem aen storm und slacht wol gemut

In a seventeenth-century copy of this print, the magnitude of her manly courage is increased through the addition of two more Spanish heads and more vicious looking weapons—a halberd and a spear.

the head of a Spaniard. Old Testament metaphors, however, are still present; each corner contains a scene dealing with Moses leading the Israelites out of bondage. Clearly, these images indicate a nascent patriotic discourse establishing the righteous cause of the new republic, while at the same time unifying the citizenry behind new heroic legends.

A monumentally silhouetted Hasselaer similar to that in Quad's engraving is also used in a print attributed to Remigius Hoogenberg (Fig. 5). Here depictions of Judith are even more vividly recalled, such as those by Marten de Vos and Marten van Heemskerck, as she triumphantly displays the Spaniard "*Don Pero*"'s head while blood spouts from his lifeless body at her feet. The inscription probably refers to a Spanish officer, Don Rodrigo Perez, killed in 1573.<sup>23</sup> Judith's Holy Land has now been replaced by Hasselaer's Haarlem in the distance—it is in defense of this Fatherland, we are told, that these manly women of Holland shamed the Spanish and acquired fame for themselves. Again the pike-bearing Haarlem soldiers of Goltzius are recalled in the placement of a heroic figure standing on a mound in the foreground with a bird's-eye-view of the landscape behind. Now, instead of the coat of arms found in Schatter's portrait, a plaque identifies the brave "*CAPITAIN KENOV*."

This is also the compositional type found in a seventeenth-century painting that once stood in the captain's room of the civic guard in Haarlem (Fig. 6).<sup>24</sup> A heroic, large-scale Hasselaer is again presented with banner, pike, and sword. Near the wall in the background women gather carrying pikes and swords.

In another type of image, Hasselaer is represented in half-length with all her weapons and the Haarlem landscape in the distance (Fig. 7). Although a likely sixteenth-century original has disappeared, there are at least five copies still in existence. Three of the paintings silhouette the heavily-armed Hasselaer against the horizon with St. Bavo's Church in the background. She carries a halberd, pike, pistol, powder horn, and sword in each version. Three of the paintings bear similar inscriptions:

Siet hier een Vrou, / genaemt Kenou, / Vroom als een Man: /  
Dief alder-tijt, / Vromelijck bestrijt / Den Spaenschen Tiran.

[See here a Woman called Kenou, Brave as a Man:  
Who in that time, Gallantly fought the Spanish tyrant.]

An engraving attributed to Romeyn de Hooghe, 1688, depicts a much more actively involved Hasselaer (Fig. 8). In this image, she stands with spear and sword on a hill in the foreground. Behind and below her the women join the men in the battle charge. Hasselaer turns to encourage the armed women behind her, as one woman beats a

<sup>23</sup> Ekama suggests this identification in *Beleg*, 100 (see note 6).

<sup>24</sup> The inscriptions are later additions but they demonstrate how long-lasting the associations with Amazonian women endured.

drum and another carries a victory wreath. The inscription specifies the date and the event, comparable to other historical prints by de Hooghe.

Importantly, Hasselaer's image is also placed on the title plate to a play dated 1660 with the title, "*Herstelde hongers-dwangh, of Haerlems langhen strenghe Belegeringhe, Ende het overgaen der selver stadt, door het scherpe swaerd der ellenden*" (Fig. 9). Hasselaer stands above the city in a manly pose with banner, pistol, powder horn, and pike. Behind her, a female soldier carries a flag. A battle rages in the background. The play reenacts Haarlem's struggle against Spain in which Hasselaer plays a major role. She encourages all—men and women—to keep up the fight through her descriptions of the women's brave deeds. To spur them on she reminds them of the massacre at Naarden and claims that while she is but a woman, she has no fear of the Spaniards.

### Trijn van Leemput and the Women of Utrecht

Second in reputation among the Dutch military heroines was Trijn van Leemput, as she was called. She was the daughter of Willem Claesz van Voorn and a woman named Geertruyt. The place and date of her birth are unknown. She married a Utrecht brewer by the name of Jan Jacobsz van Leemput, who died in 1590. In addition to the name van Leemput, she was also known by her father's name, van Voornen, and her brother's name, Berghes. She was the mother of three children and was buried on 2 January 1607.<sup>25</sup>

As in Hasselaer's case, van Leemput is first mentioned in the diary of one of her contemporaries, Arend van Buchell.<sup>26</sup> Van Buchell records that she initiated the destruction of Vredenburg castle. Additionally, he describes her as a woman with manly courage. Unlike Hasselaer, however, van Leemput's deeds are not elaborated by numerous historians of the era. Obviously the fall of Vredenburg castle did not elicit the same public emotion as that inspired by the siege of Haarlem, and certainly there are fewer descriptions of Catholic Utrecht's role in the revolt than was the case with Haarlem.

Although her name is not as frequently mentioned in histories of the revolt, she nevertheless also inspired legend as evidenced in certain texts intending to glorify women, such as van Beverwijck's history. He devoted a great deal of space to expanding the legend of van Leemput in tremendous detail. In one of the illustrations to the text, Trijn van Leemput is depicted with her band of women as they march forward to attack the castle seen in the background (Fig. 10). She carries a flag, and

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<sup>25</sup> An important source on the biography and history of Trijn van Leemput is J. G. Riphaagen, "Een Standbeeld voor Trijn van Leemput," *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* (1977): 85–112.

<sup>26</sup> *Diarium van Arend van Buchell*, published through Gisbert Brom and Lambregt A. van Langeraad (Amsterdam: Johannes Muller, 1907), 240.

one of her compatriots beats a pot-become-drum. Her legion follows behind armed with various tools. Accompanying this illustration is a lengthy recounting of her story that indicates how elaborate the legend had become by the seventeenth century. Van Beverwijck's narrative begins with the burghers of the city meeting together to decide how best to accomplish the destruction of Vredenburg castle. Van Leemput's husband comes home from the council and relates the dilemma to her. This "brave heroine," as van Beverwijck characterizes her, responds that if the men could not accomplish it, she would immediately go and help with the destruction. Her worried husband begs her not to go, but she is so overcome with valor that she immediately goes out and gathers her friends. They arm themselves with pickaxes and rush to the castle. Van Leemput leads them with a blue apron tied to a mop handle as their standard. When they reach the castle, some begin to fear and retreat, but the dauntless van Leemput starts smashing the first stones off the castle's walls. Upon seeing her courage, the others come to help until the castle is completely destroyed.<sup>27</sup>

Van Beverwijck does not end his narrative of van Leemput's deeds there; he relates another episode, even more astounding in its declaration of her fearlessness. According to van Beverwijck, two Spaniards, who had been out perpetrating unspeakable deeds among the people, came to stay at van Leemput's house. They also have violence in mind for her, but she completely overcomes them by first pushing one of them down the stairs. She knocks the other Spaniard over, and with her foot on his chest, threatens him with a knife. He begs for and receives mercy, going away stunned that a woman could be so powerful.

Van Leemput's name and deeds were also popularized in the previously mentioned pro-female text written by Petrus van Gelre. Van Gelre's text first lauds historical women and then turns to the women of the revolt.<sup>28</sup> As in van Beverwijck's text, van Gelre recounts the story of how Hasselaer's brave heart and formidable fighting claimed the lives of many Spanish noblemen and halted the army for a time, but claims that no amount of words can do justice to the brave and heroic deeds of van Leemput. Perhaps even more significant is the manner in which he ends this eulogy to the heroines of the Dutch Republic. He claims to have seen women fighting and assaulting men both on land and sea, and he declares that because such deeds by women in the Netherlands are so common, they no longer seem unnatural.

In an anonymous mid-seventeenth-century painting, van Leemput's deeds are further memorialized as she triumphantly smiles at the viewer (Fig. 11). The painting has much in common with the types composed around Hasselaer in that van Leemput, dressed as a housewife, stands half-length with her weapon, a pickaxe, over her shoulder. In her left hand she holds a stone, as she supposedly struck the first stone that demolished the castle. Similar to the paintings of Hasselaer, the

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<sup>27</sup> Van Beverwijck, *Wtnementheyt*, 3:49–51 (see note 2).

<sup>28</sup> Van Gelre, *Vrouwen-Lof* (see note 4).

geographical locale of her deeds is pinpointed by a depiction of Vredenburg castle visible through the arch behind her. Moreover, the placement and tone of the inscription are also comparable to the image-type associated with Hasselaer:

Dit Is Trijn Leemput's Beeld, / Di Moedig Heeft Gedaan, /  
Dat Borger Noch Soldaat, / Oyt Derven Had Bestaan.

[This is Trijn Leemput's image, who bravely did  
what neither burgher nor soldier ever dared do.]

Importantly, this inscription signifies that van Leemput was also considered to possess manly bravery, which in her case even surpassed that of men. Finally, this image also relates to the Hasselaer full-length images with the inclusion of her band of women vigorously attacking the castle gates with hammers, scythes, and pickaxes. A copy of this painting includes the coat of arms of van Leemput's family, as an obvious indicator of her descendants' pride in her heroic actions. In addition, this basic pose of van Leemput is repeated in a 1646 painting by Cornelis Droochsloot, also depicting her with pickaxe in hand (Fig. 12). This time, however, she is shown full-length and centrally placed, fighting along with the men as they barrage the castle. The visual and textual similarities among Hasselaer prototypes attest the popularity of the earlier images and their continuing influence throughout the seventeenth century.

### Trijn Rembrands and the Women of Alkmaar

The women of Alkmaar, where the Spaniards turned after the fall of Haarlem in 1573, were also celebrated for their heroics in contemporary texts. The bravery of these women was first recorded in 1573 by one of Alkmaar's inhabitants, Nanning van Foreest, who was present during the siege. In his pamphlet, *Een cort verhael van de strenghe belegheringhe ende aftreck der Spangiaerden van de stadt Alcmaer gheleghen in Hollandt* (*A Short Tale of the Harsh Siege and Departure Laid by the Spaniards Against the City of Alkmaar in Holland*), Foreest tells of how on September 18, the Spanish army began to attack the city. He first describes the bravery of the burghers, but then says this was true of the women, boys, and girls also. The women, he says, brought boiled fat, tar, and lime water to hurl at the Spaniards. He also admits that he heard some of the soldiers say that, had the women not helped with the weapons, they would have had to yield to the enemy. Foreest concludes his history with a song on the siege of Alkmaar, celebrating the unflagging courage of all citizens—men, women, boys, and girls—striving to do their best.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Nanning van Foreest, *Een cort verhael van de strenghe belegheringhe ende aftreck der Spangiaerden van*



Van Meteren also describes the crucial role played by the women of Alkmaar during the siege. He records that women and brave boys brought stones and boiling limewater to throw at the enemy. Furthermore, the women and girls heated pots and kettles to provide burning tar to pour on the Spaniards.<sup>30</sup> In addition, Hooft mentions the importance of women and girls in combating the enemy approaching the city walls of Alkmaar.<sup>31</sup> Finally, van Beverwijck relates that during the siege of Alkmaar, the women helped to defeat the enemy by preparing pitch and by bringing stones and mortar to build up the walls of the city.<sup>32</sup>

At some point during the seventeenth century, Trijn Rembrands was singled out from this group of Alkmaar heroines and given particular prominence. One of the seventeenth-century sources to mention Trijn Rembrands is a history of the siege written by Kornelis Schoon in 1673 entitled *Alkmaars Bitter en Zoet* (*Alkmaar Bitter and Sweet*). First, he praises the women generally for remaining undaunted in helping with the weapons. Then he says he was told of a sixteen-year old woman, Rembrands, who with her gun demonstrated her manliness.<sup>33</sup>

Another source on Rembrands is de Lange's *Batavise Romeyn*. He also introduces the account with a retelling of the deeds of the women in general. The women, he says, proved themselves as brave as the men, and they carried out all missions and maneuvers with great diligence. We are informed that of sixteen-year old Rembrands, however, it is said that she even fought with the spirit of a man.<sup>34</sup> Whether or not Rembrands was an actual person remains unknown. In the eighteenth century, Gysbert Boomkamp thought she may have been a certain Catharina Remme, a girl in Alkmaar at the time of the siege, but he admits that she might also be an invention by the city to compete with Haarlem's heroine Kenau Simons Hasselaer.<sup>35</sup>

Boomkamp mentions the existence of many paintings of this heroine, but only one appears to be still extant (Fig. 13).<sup>36</sup> In the eighteenth century, this painting hung in the regent's room of the Pesthuis in Alkmaar. The painting probably dates from the mid-seventeenth century and is modeled after the images of Hasselaer. Rembrands stands in the same heroic pose with her left hand on her hip and her right hand grasping a standing pike. She wears the dress of a burgher woman except for her sash and sword. Behind her are the walls of the city and a group of women with one carrying

*de stad Alkmaer ghelegghen in Hollandt* (Delft: Aelbert Hendricsz, 1573).

<sup>30</sup> Van Meteren, *Belgische*, 4:69 (see note 11).

<sup>31</sup> Hooft, *Neederlandsche*, 324 (see note 15).

<sup>32</sup> Van Beverwijck, *Wtnementheyt*, 2:358 (see note 2).

<sup>33</sup> Kornelis Schoon, *Alkmaars Bitter en Zoet* (Alkmaar: Pieter de Wees, 1673), 26.

<sup>34</sup> De Lange, *Batavise Romeyn*, 16 (see note 18).

<sup>35</sup> Gysbert Boomkamp, *Alkmaer en deszelfs Geschiedenissen uit de nagelatene papieren van Simon Eikelenberg, en veele andere echte stukken en bescheiden* (Rotterdam: Philippus and Jakobus Losel, 1747), 26.

<sup>36</sup> Boomkamp, *Alkmaer*, 271 (see note 35).

a flag and another a pike. Again, the imitation of Hasselaer images indicates the popularity of the patriotic discourse surrounding that more famous heroine.

### More Women Warriors

In addition to exalting the deeds of women from Haarlem, Utrecht, and Alkmaar, van Beverwijck includes stories of other brave women of the revolt. For example, he describes and illustrates the gallantry of the women of Amsterdam (Fig. 14).<sup>37</sup> He writes that having taken the city of Haarlem, the victorious Spanish troops turned to Amsterdam only to be met by more shooting. The women of Amsterdam fought bravely alongside the men and on their own brought artillery to a certain elevation in the city, from which they bombarded the Spanish. After a long battle, the Spanish acknowledged defeat and fled to the ports.

Another woman, according to van Beverwijck, won acclaim in 1587 after the surrender of the Prince of Parma. When the army came to Dordrecht, it was discovered that one of the soldiers was a woman. All were greatly astonished that for two years she had served as a famous soldier.<sup>38</sup> Van Beverwijck mentions that a similar case originated in Gelderlandt in 1589. After the battle had ended, a woman was found among the dead. Van Beverwijck states that she had fought for the republic for many years, performing many famous deeds.<sup>39</sup> These last two examples are significant and different from the other heroines because the women were disguised as men. In spite of the deceit of these women in becoming men, van Beverwijck still praises their bravery and heroism.

De Lange also discusses other brave women soldiers. One such woman, Margarita, he dubs a "Dutch Amazon" and describes how she fought fearlessly in a number of early seventeenth-century battles at Oostende, Groeningen, and Steenwijck. She also dressed in men's clothing and used a spear and musket. He writes that a song was composed about her to inspire other young women.<sup>40</sup> Another female soldier described by de Lange who took on a male disguise was Trijntje Symons. Once again he compares her heroic deeds to Greek and Latin descriptions of the Amazons. He records that she fought during the 1620s dressed as a man, learned to use weapons, and changed her name to Symon Poort. Symons served so gallantly as a soldier that she gained much fame and received a celebrated burial.<sup>41</sup> Finally, de Lange describes the valor of two women, Joanna Pieters and Anna Jans, who fought against the

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<sup>37</sup> Van Beverwijck, *Wtnementhey*, 2:357–58 (see note 2).

<sup>38</sup> Van Beverwijck, *Wtnementhey*, 2:358 (see note 2).

<sup>39</sup> Van Beverwijck, *Wtnementhey*, 3:51 (see note 2).

<sup>40</sup> De Lange, *Batavise Romeyn*, 103 (see note 18).

<sup>41</sup> De Lange, *Batavise Romeyn*, 174–75 (see note 18).

English during the 1650s. These two women went to sea and preferred an honorable death to surrender. It is significant that once again an author compares contemporary female fearlessness to that of ancient heroines—the Amazons and the Batavians.<sup>42</sup>

These later examples of women warriors are notable; encouraged by the example of their revolutionary predecessors, they too wanted to assume traditional male soldiering roles to protect the Fatherland. They, however, took this daring to a new level by actually disguising themselves as men and training as fighters. Such anecdotes relate directly to the 1989 research of Rudolf Dekker and Lotte van de Pol,<sup>43</sup> whose investigations yielded a significant number of cases in which women dressed as males and enlisted as sailors and soldiers during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the Netherlands. Furthermore, the two investigators presume that the number of instances discovered only represents a small portion of actual cases in which women were donning armor. While the motivations of these women were mixed, many of them claimed patriotic justifications and expressed a desire for glory. Certainly, the conflicting opinions regarding female soldiers, particularly those extolling the patriotic foremothers of the revolt, must have inspired many women to take on these male roles. As was the case with Hasselaer and her army, these women were called Amazons by their contemporaries and some were even received at court and rewarded by the monarchy. While there were also negative reactions to women soldiers, this phenomenon certainly inspired in these later cross-dressing heroines a greater degree of boldness that provided opportunity to compete with men in their traditional roles. It also publicly raised questions regarding the nature and role of women.

Seventeenth-century evidence of women taking inspirational cues from the actions of Hasselaer and the other heroines is also found in the pseudo-historical sensationalist narratives of authors like Jacob van de Vivere and Simon de Vries. These texts also provide overt evidence of the connections made in the Dutch male psyche between female soldiers and the debate regarding mannish women.

In Jacob van de Vivere's *De Wintersche Avonden of Nederlantsche vertellingen* (1615) the conflicting discourses over women's roles as associated with heroines is expressly laid out.<sup>44</sup> He begins by asserting that bravery in a man is no wonder, but that manly deeds among the female sex are all the more amazing. Thereafter, he turns to the feats of the "*Nederlandsche Amazones*" and specifically to the famous story of Hasselaer. In a rather praising spirit, he relates that during the siege the women conducted themselves very bravely. He describes how Hasselaer, a courageous and honorable

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<sup>42</sup> De Lange, *Batavise Romeyn*, 395–96 (see note 18).

<sup>43</sup> Rudolf M. Dekker and Lotte C. van de Pol, *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989).

<sup>44</sup> Jacobus van de Vivere, *De Wintersche Avonden of Nederlantsche vertellingen* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz, 1615), 117–19.

widow of forty-six years old, used spears, guns, and swords while leading the other women in manly deeds—beyond female nature—against Spain. He then discusses the several women warriors who were inspired by these early heroines, but complains that it has made women too bold and ridiculous.

The enduring quality of this discourse is attested by its reappearance in the writings of Simon de Vries at the end of the century. In his *D'eedelste tijdkering der weetgierige verstanden: of de groote historische rariteitenkamer* (1682), a similar intersection of conflicting views over female soldiers and bold women is found.<sup>45</sup> One of the male characters in de Vries's debate criticizes women who repudiate their sex by dressing in men's clothing and doing battle. If, however, they do so in women's clothing for love of the Fatherland and the defense of their fellow citizenry, they are to be praised. He asserts that there are many examples of such women, but that he will only relate one, the story of Hasselaer. Citing van Meteren's history of the revolt, de Vries recounts the events of the siege at Haarlem in which Hasselaer led three hundred fully-armed women against the Spaniards. With spear, musket, and sword, she wished to help as a man and executed many manly deeds above the female nature. He calls Hasselaer a "*mannin*," and claims that when the Spaniards saw her army of women, they cried that the women had become men. Another of the male characters in de Vries's debate interjects that he does not think it advisable to talk about the valiant deeds of heroines in front of women. He then relates a story about a man whose shrewish wife Margriet developed a lust for fighting through listening to tales of women's heroic deeds.

There was thus a considerable amount of public attention devoted to heroines and their legacy in Dutch culture. Texts and images that celebrated the deeds of heroic women significantly affected public perceptions of women's capabilities to take on what were deemed to be male characteristics and roles. Such discourses vehemently thrust this discussion over women and their abilities into the public sphere. It is clear that for many authors the heroines of the revolt deserved admiration and praise. For van Beverwijck, de Lange, and van Gelre in particular, women's courage rivaled, or even surpassed, that of men. Characteristics such as bravery, fortitude, leadership, patriotism, loyalty, strength, and military skill were no longer seen as exclusively male. In addition, for some of these artists and authors, the brave female soldier was not such an unusual phenomenon. It was, therefore, the typical nature of the Dutch heroine that separated her from such atypical examples in other societies.

In addition, texts and images emphasized the fact that the most notable heroines were neither royal nor lesser aristocrats, but were almost all ordinary burgher women. Because the heroines are represented as contemporary women leading other females in the protection of their cities, surely other Dutch women would relate to them as

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<sup>45</sup> Simon de Vries, *D'eedelste tijdkering der weet-gierige verstanden: of de groote historische rariteitenkamer* (Amsterdam: Jan Bouman, 1682), 118–27.

individuals like themselves. Indeed, van Beverwijck intermingled his discussion of heroines with lofty praise for housewives, and both were acclaimed for their character and contributions to Dutch society. This was important for Dutch women of the seventeenth century in that they obviously developed a kinship with these heroines. In other words, the heroines' ability to go beyond the traditional bounds of their sex and achieve public attention and fame affected all women and made these types of opportunities seem possible for other burgher women. This marks a typological turning point in affirming that women generally, not just women warriors, could be ascribed admirable traits previously considered to be uniquely male. And such was, of course, the purpose of texts like those by van Beverwijck and van Gelre.

Certainly the immediate and prolific attention given at home and abroad to these heroines gave women from the outset of the republic a stronger position from which to help shape future gender status and roles. Their deeds were recounted and enlarged upon in the many seventeenth-century histories of the revolt. These legends were also adapted and performed in patriotic dramas of the era. In particular, the profusion of widely-disseminated prints glorifying the patriotism and bravery of these women must have generated forceful depictions of future Dutch women overall. By usurping the visual tradition of the male warrior, these images posed a challenge to a strict binary gender division. Specifically, the manly portrayal of the women and the inscriptions equating their bravery and fortitude with that of men must have influenced public perceptions of women's ability to engage in other male pursuits, participate in the public sphere, and gain public reputations. Indeed, it was not only heroines who were praised for their male pursuits. We find that van Beverwijck's text lauds women who gained public adulation through their scholarly, artistic, poetic, and musical accomplishments. The portrayals of and rhetoric referring to these women echoed those lavished on heroines. All such *vrouwen lof*, or praise of women, who engaged in male pursuits was quite revolutionary in their view of women as men's equal. Such recognition clearly established a discourse that significantly overturned the prevailing patriarchal hegemony.

It has been suggested that a woman's autonomous ability to "imagine herself otherwise" in a male-dominated society is only possible when the "cultural imaginary" contains symbols, images, and representations that allow her to deliberate, self-define, and self-fashion without overwhelming restrictions to this mental process.<sup>46</sup> The Dutch Republic was a society in which this type of imagining was certainly possible due to the early overlapping of gender roles through the heroines of the revolt against Spanish hegemony. As this society began redefining itself in numerous ways, images of these gender-crossing heroines became important

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<sup>46</sup> Catriona Mackenzie, "Imagining Oneself Otherwise," *Relational Autonomy: Feminist Perspective on Autonomy, Agency, and the Social Self*, ed. Catriona Mackenzie and Natalie Stoljar (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 124–50.

models of inspiration for women who were similarly trying to represent themselves in the public sphere.

### The Heroine Legacy

The impact, then, of this heroine legacy was more far reaching than the straightforward establishment of a nationalistic, patriotic tradition. It also provoked furor over established definitions of “woman”: her character and capabilities. As a result, a heated debate began to emerge over women’s roles generally and their rights and abilities to act in the traditionally male public sphere. Often in direct relation to the heroine discourse, this larger dialogue also occurred in a variety of formats and was also very public.

Accordingly, the actions of these heroines and their ever-enlarging legends enabled another type of future Dutch heroine. These were women who could also act in the public sphere and compete with male capabilities, due to the structuring of new gender norms after the revolt. Unlike their warrior predecessors, however, these women achieved heroic recognition and fame as scholars, poets, artists, and other public roles. But because these too were women of consequence, they, like the militant heroines, acquired such renown that later generations of women would follow in their footsteps as well.

While some historians have been willing to allow that there were certainly a few exceptional seventeenth-century Dutch women who achieved power and prominence in the public sphere, they have been unwilling to admit that this affected the female population generally. As more of these examples of accomplished women have come forward, however, their impact on Dutch culture is emerging as significant. While it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss these women in detail, a few examples will be discussed that relate directly to the previously discussed heroine images. Specifically, portraits of these women borrow directly from the glorifying imagery of Hasselaer and van Leemput. This is probably due to the fact that, like the heroines, many of these women defined roles for themselves in elite male circles, and thereby garnered prestige in both visual and written culture. Indeed, it is becoming increasingly evident that the freedom enjoyed and the fame achieved by many of these female artists, poetesses, and scholars did not exist to the same extent elsewhere in the seventeenth century.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, many of these women were included in van Beverwijck’s catalog of good women, thus equating them with ancient as well as recent Dutch heroines.

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<sup>47</sup> See the various essays in *Women of the Golden Age: An International Debate on Women in Seventeenth-Century Holland, England and Italy*, ed. Els Kloek, Nicole Teeuwen, and Marijke Huisman (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994).

Their public fame spread through various means, including painted and printed portraits, poems, and encomia in various published sources, and through their own artistic, scholarly, and literary contributions. As with the heroines, the non-militant women's abilities were often paralleled with those of men, causing their public representations to resemble male prototypes. Indeed, from the outset of the seventeenth century several women managed to negotiate in this province and achieve public recognition and even fame. Once again, this opened up the possibility for other women throughout the century to achieve similar recognition.

Van Beverwijck compares the prominence and merit of these female scholars, poets, writers, musicians, and artists to that of renowned women from the past, as exemplified in the second book of his text, dedicated to the most famous of all Dutch women scholars, Anna Maria van Schurman.

The celebrity of Anna Maria van Schurman truly became an international affair, as elites from around Europe anxiously initiated correspondence with this woman of great renown. Generally accepted as the most internationally famous woman of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, Anna Maria van Schurman provided a lasting image of possibilities for female education and fame. Comparisons with this learned woman would be made with others following in her wake throughout the ensuing century.

Van Schurman was born in Cologne, but her family moved to Utrecht in 1615 in order to escape religious persecution. She was educated from an early age by her father and later became one of the most celebrated scholars in Europe. She had many admirers, including Descartes, and she kept up a learned correspondence with illustrious men and women throughout Europe. In her hometown of Utrecht she had achieved fame at an early age due in part to her linguistic ability. She could read and write in several different languages: Dutch, German, French, English, Latin, Italian, Greek, Hebrew, Ethiopian, Arabic, Syrian, Persian, and Samaritan. In addition to a knowledge of classical philosophy, her writings also indicate that she became well versed in poetry, rhetoric, dialectics, and mathematics. Van Beverwijck included a portrait of this remarkable woman in his dedication and an accompanying verse that equates her with Greek goddesses. He asserts that van Schurman is as magnificent as the goddesses Venus, Juno, and Pallas and that she should be similarly remembered and venerated.<sup>48</sup>

As a result of her intelligence and skill, van Schurman was asked to write a Latin poem for the opening of the University of Utrecht in 1636; in 1641 she was admitted to Utrecht's Guild of St. Luke. That same year she wrote an important treatise in Latin, the *Dissertatio*, in which she defended a woman's right to education. This influential text was translated into French and English. The *Dissertatio* is remarkable, for its time,

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<sup>48</sup> Van Beverwijck, *Wtnementheyt*, 2:17 (see note 2).

in its logic and strong insistence that women were equal to men in their ability to think and learn. In her later years, van Schurman continued to write. She joined a protestant sect under the direction of Jean de Labadie; this group attracted a great number of female supporters. She published *Eucleria*, documenting her spiritual enlightenment while associated with this group.

Van Schurman also trained as an artist under Magdalena van der Passe, experimenting with several media including paper cutting, embroidery, oil gouache, pencil, crayon, wax, boxwood, ivory, and copper. Her artistic accomplishments attracted so much attention that she continued to be lauded in collections of artist biographies for several decades including those of Cornelis de Bie in 1662 and Arnold Houbraken in 1718. De Bie particularly praises van Schurman for engaging in the “male” pursuit of creating art and states that this “manly” endeavor has won her “manly” honor.<sup>49</sup> Houbraken includes her portrait and compares her fame to a number of ancient women on the famed list, including Sappho.<sup>50</sup> The effect of these venerating images and biographies, of her writings on female education, and of her own achievements was to have significant implications for gender discourse throughout the seventeenth century.

While there are several portraits of, and self portraits by, van Schurman, one particular example will provide evidence of the benefit she derived from the Dutch heroine legacy in achieving fame in the public sphere. An influential self-portrait, designed and perhaps engraved by van Schurman, is included in Jacob Cats’s dedication to her at the outset of his text *‘S Werelts Begin, Midden, Eynde, Besloten in den Trou-Ringh, Met den Proef-Steen van den Selven*. (The World’s Beginning, Middle and End, Comprised in the Wedding Ring, With the Touch Stone of the Same) (Fig. 15).<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Cornelis de Bie, *Het gulden cabinet van de edele vry schilder-const ontsloten door den lanck ghewenschten vrede tusschen de twee machtighe croonen van Spaingnien en Vranckryck* (Antwerp: Juliaen van Montfort, 1662), 557–58.

<sup>50</sup> Arnold Houbraken, *De groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen waar van ‘er vele met hunne beeltenissen ten tooneel verschynen, en hun levensgedrag en konstwerken beschreven worden: zynde een vervolg op het schilderboek van K. v. Mander* (Amsterdam: Published by the author, 1718-1721), 313–16.

<sup>51</sup> Jacob Cats, *Alle de Wercken, So ouden als nieuwe, van de Heer Iacob Cats, Ridder, oudt Raetpensionaris van Hollandt, &c.* (Amsterdam: Ian Jacobsz Schipper, 1655), Forward to *‘S Werelts Begin, Midden, Eynde, Besloten in den Trou-Ringh, Met den Proef-Steen van den Selven*. In his dedication, Cats states that the image is a self-portrait, but it is not known if Schurman engraved the work or whether it was simply done after her drawing. Another engraved self-portrait by Schurman does exist. Cats’s inscription reads, “Nu soo isset alsoo dat niet alleen de hooghe Schole van het Sticht van Utrecht, maer oock menigh geleert man in Hollant met volle reden van wetenschap kan getuygen, dat al het gene voren is verhaelt, gelijckelick is te vinden in den persoon van Jonck-vrou *Anna Maria Schuerrmans*: wiens beelt na ‘t leven by haer selfs uyt een spiegel kunstelick geteyckent wy den Leser hier in ‘t koper ghesneden gunstelick mede-deelen; als een wonder niet alleen van onse, maer oock van de voorige eeuwen. En daer op besluytende, segge ick: *O licht van uwen tijt, en Peerel van den douck! Ghy die ons Eeuwe ciert, verciert oock desen Bouck*.”



Accompanying the image is an inscription proclaiming her fame and glory and also a lengthy description of all her talents in learning, art, and music. The setting of the portrait clearly mimics the portrayals of heroines. The view of the Utrecht church out the arched window is reminiscent of the similarly represented Haarlem cityscape in images of Hasselaer. Furthermore, in several prints of Hasselaer the instruments of her fame—Spanish head or heads—are laid out, like van Schurman's texts, on a nearby table. Important here is that the heroine images had already crossed gender boundaries by equating Hasselaer's bravery with that of men in the inscriptions and by picturing her armed like a man in a heroic hand-on-hip pose. Thus, when van Schurman adopts these aspects and manipulates them to proclaim her own fame, there were already pictorial precedents depolarizing the female portrait and bestowing fame on the sitter.

Significantly, van Schurman's heroic portrait reappeared in multiple editions of Cats's *'S Werelts Begin, Midden, Eynde, Besloten in den Trou-Ringh, Met den Proef-Steen van den Selven* (first published in 1637) and in his collected works, thus disseminating her powerful image throughout the Dutch Republic. As a result, this celebration of van Schurman's accomplishments in the public sphere increasingly created a culture that encouraged women to imitate these behaviors of heroic women, and the influence of this astounding woman resurfaces time and again throughout the century.

A compelling example of the fortunate consequences of previous heroines' fame is also directly evidenced in an illustration to Matthijs van Balen's 1677 *Beschrijvinge van de stad Dordrecht* (*Description of the City of Dordrecht*) (Fig. 16).<sup>52</sup> This illustration, engraved by Samuel van Hoogstraten, was made after a self-portrait by the Dordrecht artist Margareta Godewijk. Obviously, Hasselaer's and van Schurman's portrait type was referenced in the similar setting with a draped cloth of honor and view out the window to the tower of the Dordrecht church. Godewijk holds a book, signifying her erudition as well as her artistic skill in this portrayal. Indeed, the accompanying inscription praises both these skills. Godewijk, born in 1627, was the daughter of a school teacher and historian. This "Dordrecht Pearl," as van Balen describes her, wrote poetry and was conversant in several languages including Greek, Latin, Italian, French, English, Dutch, and Hebrew. She also exhibited skill in such arts as embroidery, painting, drawing, glass engraving, singing, and playing the clavichord. In his praise of Godewijk's art and learning, van Balen compares her to van Schurman, and he suggests that Godewijk's accomplishments rival those of her

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<sup>52</sup> Matthijs van Balen, *Beschrijvinge der stad Dordrecht, vervatende haar begin, opkomst, toeneming, en verdere stant: opgezocht, in 'tlicht gebracht, en vertoond, met vele voornamen voorrechten, hand-vesten, keuren, en oude herkomen; als mede een verzameling van eenige geslachtboomen, der adellijke, aal-oude, en aanzienlijke heeren-geslachten van, en in, Dordrecht, enz.; zijnde der voornoemde beschrijvinge, gecierd, en verrijkt, met verscheijde kopre konst-platen* (Dordrecht: Symon Onder de Linde, 1677), 203–04.

famous predecessor; the obvious intention of this imitation was to advance the merits of Dordrecht's claim to fame via their own famous female heroine.

As more Dutch women like these were added to the pantheon of "good women," such lofty status must have seemed increasingly accessible to future generations. Van Beverwijck's text gave significant attention to both military heroines and heroines of art and learning. They are all compared to legendary women of the past and accorded much praise for their accomplishments. But unlike most of the women discussed in these traditional catalogs, the Dutch women were ordinary and their contributions achievable. In other words, theirs was a fame to which other common women could realistically aspire. These representations of renowned women were essential to this new society's self construction and to the ways that they began to view themselves. Thus the public sphere, from the outset, was defined by women as well as men. Dutch women were an integral part of the legends and myths of the new republic. As these influential women continued to be linked to their famous predecessors, and to other wise and talented "good women" examples of the ancient past, it helped them achieve celebrity for their own skills. The addition of new secular goddesses to the canon of "good women" in the seventeenth century helped establish alternative gender roles, definitions, and boundaries for the Dutch Republic.



Fig. 1: Anonymous, Kenau Simons Hasselaer, Illustration from N. van Rooswijk, *Cort ende waerachtich verhael van alle gheschiedenissen, handelinge, aenklage, storme, en schermutsinghe in ende voor der stadt Heerlem in Hollandt gheschiet, zedert de belegheringhe van dien, aengheteekent ende beschreuen by N. R. burger ende poorter der voornoemde stadt Heerlem*, 1573



**KENAU SIMON HASSELAERS,**  
*een Zedighe doch moedighe Heldinne van treffelycken huysse binnen  
 Haerlem, out 46 jaren, die int belegh 1572, als Kapitein met bus,  
 spies en geweer, drie hondert Vrouwen, teeen de Spaaniaerts omvoerde*

Fig. 2: Anonymous, Kenau Simons Hasselaer, Illustration from Petrus de Lange, *Batavise Romeyn; Ofte Alle de voornaemste Helden-daden, Ridderlijke feyten en listige Oorlogs-vonden, in Veld en Zee-slagen, overwinninge van Steden en Schepen, en in andere gelegentheden, by de Hollanders en Zeeuwen verricht, zedert den Iare 1492 tot 1661, 1661*



Fig. 3: Matthias Quad, Kenau Simons Hasselaer, Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 4: Anonymous, *Kenau Simons Hasselaer*, Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Es ist bekannt gar weit und weit,   
 der Bannfomer weider streit   
 das sie ihr Leib und Leben wagten   
 und ihren Feind gar verjagten   
 Also ist auch zu unser Zeit   
 verkommen in Hollandischen streit   
 ein Mägdlein Hertz sin und gemuth   
 zoe den Spanischen zeich viel schade   
 von den Weibern furt das Regiment   
 die Herren namen machen bekannt   
 mit beschermung ihres Vatter lant   
 darmit es nicht so gar und gants   
 von den Spanischen vol beant   
 von den Spanischen mohn werden   
 drumb sich ein weib Kennon erworben   
 in der Stat Haerlem mit seinen hauffen   
 gar wol gemut und sehr behendt   
 hat einen Obersten das hant ab slagen   
 Don Pero war er genant   
 welch auch frey vnn ver zagen

Fig. 5: Remigius Hoogenberg, Kenau Simons Hasselaer, Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 6: Anonymous, *Kenau Simons Hasselaer*, Stadhuis, Haarlem





Fig. 7: Adam Willaerts, *Kenau Simons Hasselaer*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 8: Romeyn de Hooghe, *Kenau Simons Hasselaer*, Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Herstelde  
**HONGERS-DWANGH,**  
 OF  
 Haerlems *langh en strenghe* Belegeringhe,  
 Ende het overgaen der selver Stadt, door het  
 scherpe Swaerdt der ellenden.  
**TREUR-SPEL,**  
 Met zijn VERTOONINGHEN;  
*In vier Treur-deelen.*  
 Hersteldt door STEVEN vander LUST.  
*Ghespeelt tot Haerlem, op den 29 Junij, Anno 1660.*



Ghedrukt tot Haerlem, by *Kornelis Theunisz. Kas*, op de  
 Marckt, in de Nieuwe Druckery, Anno 1660.

Fig. 9: Anonymous, Title Plate to *Herstelde hongers-dwangh, of Haerlems langh en strenghe Belegeringhe, Ende het overgaen der selver stad, door het scherpe swaerdt der ellenden*, 1660



Fig. 10: Anonymous, *Trijn van Leemput*, Illustration from Johan van Beverwijck's *Van de Wtnementheyt des Vrouwelicken Geslachts Verciert met Historyen, ende kopere Platen; als oock Latijnsche, ende Nederlansche Verssen van Mr. Corn. Boy*, 1643



Fig. 11: Anonymous, *Trijn van Leemput*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht

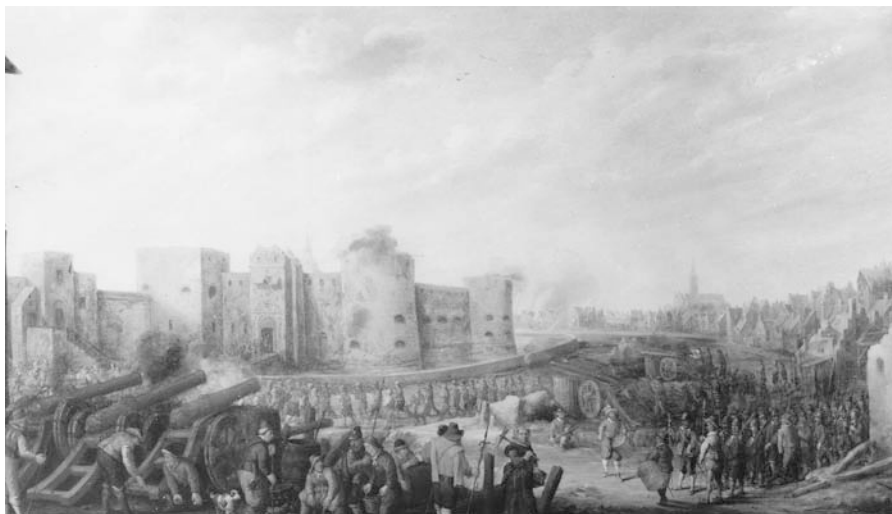


Fig. 12: Cornelis Droochsloot, *Trijn van Leemput*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht



Fig. 13: Anonymous, *Trijn Rembrands*, Stedelijk Museum, Alkmaar



Fig. 14: Anonymous, *Amsterdam Heroines*, Illustration from Johan van Beverwijck's *Van de Wtnementheyt des Vrouwelicken Geslachts Verciert met Historyen, ende kopere Platen; als oock Latijnsche, ende Nederlansche Verssen van Mr. Corn. Boy*, 1643



*Hier siet ghy, goet-gunstige Leser, een af-beeldinge van  
Jonck-vrou Anna Maria Schurmans, naer het leven gedaen: onder  
het welcke wy geslet hebben het veers dat ghy daer lesen meught.*



*Wie ghy dit aerdig beelt sult komen aen te schouwen,  
Hout vast, dat ghy hier siet een roem voor alle vrouwen.  
Van dat de werelt stont, tot heden op ten dach  
Niet een die haer geleek of na beriecken magh.*

**M**Aerniemand dencke dat wy hier (ghe- hebben gesproken. neen niet alsoo; maer  
lijck wel somwijlen in lof-dichtē plagh ghy selfs wort hier rechter gemaect om te  
te geschieden) te ruym ende wijdt-mondigh oordeelen of dit mijn eer-dicht erdicht is,  
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Fig. 15: Anna Maria van Schurman, After a Self Portrait, Illustration from Jacob Cats, *Alle de Wercken, So ouden als nieuwe, van de Heer Iacob Cats, Ridder, oudt Raedtpensionaris van Hollandt, &c., 1655*



Fig. 16: Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Margareta Godewijk, After a Self Portrait*, Illustration from Matthijs van Balen's *Beschrijvinge der stad Dordrecht, veruatende haar begin, opkomst, toeneming, en verdere stant: opgezocht, in 'tlicht gebracht, en vertoond, met vele voorname voorrechten, hand-vesten, keuren, en oude herkomen; als mede een verzameling van eenige geslachtboomen, der adellijke, aal-oude, en aanzienlijke heeren-geslachten van, en in, Dordrecht, enz.; zijnde der voornoemde beschrijvinge, gecierd, en verrijkt, met verscheijde kopre konst-platen*, 1677

## Chapter 23

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### The Animal Actor and the Spectacle of Warfare: Lewis's *Timour the Tartar* at Covent Garden

In 1811, British theatergoers gleefully observed, in Matthew Lewis's play *Timour the Tartar*, the defeat of Napoleon by a horse. That Napoleon was represented by a stand-in—an actor playing a fourteenth-century tyrant—and the horse was itself a stand-in for natural (read British), manly, and martial virtues, requires some background explanation. The context here is provided by the late eighteenth-century rise of the circus and of the *hippodrama*: equestrian theater. The appearance of the horse on stage was not entirely new. The anonymous Elizabethan drama *Thomas of Woodstock* (sometimes attributed to Shakespeare) featured two scenes calling for horses, including one that provides a delightful “conversation” between the title character and the equine; Samuel Pepys, in a 1668 diary entry, recounts a trip to King's Theatre to see a production of James Shirley's *Hyde Park*, in which horses were also prominently featured;<sup>1</sup> and Alexander Pope mocked the appearance of horses in a spectacular production of Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* in October 1727, inspired by the pomp of the recent coronation of George II: “The play stands still, damn action and discourse; / Back fly the scenes, and enter foot and horse.”<sup>2</sup> But the hippodrama, which takes hold of the stage at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, gives the animals a more central role: not only do they appear more frequently in scenes, but these scenes are also central to the purpose of the drama, in which the horse is in fact called upon at key moments to “act.”

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Pepys, *Diary*, 11 July 1668. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: Bell, 1970–1983), 9: 137.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Pope, “Imitations of Horace,” *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. John Butt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 626, vv. 314–15.

A number of explanations may be offered for the emergence of this theatrical hybrid. One has to do with the law, specifically theatrical regulation after the restoration of Charles II in 1660. The returned monarch wasted no time in reopening the theaters that had been closed by the Puritans. When he did so he granted two letters patent permitting the staging of spoken drama: one to Thomas Killigrew, who formed the troupe known as the King's Company; the other to William Davenant, who formed the so-called Duke's Company. After various ups and downs, including a brief merger of the two companies, two patent houses stood that would maintain a monopoly on spoken drama until 1843: Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, opening in 1663 (the current theater is the fourth structure on the site); and Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, opening in 1732 (the current building, the home of the Royal Opera, is the third on the site). In 1766 Samuel Foote gained a patent for a third venue, the Theatre Royal Haymarket, to perform the spoken drama during the summer months. Regulation was further tightened in 1737 with the passage of the Theatrical Licensing Act. Instigated by the First Lord of the Treasury Robert Walpole, who had wearied of being satirized in the plays of Henry Fielding, the act granted the government exclusive control over spoken drama and asserted the right to license and thus censor all new plays. Political satire in the theater was quelled, and more domestic and sentimental works moved to the fore (the Shakespearean drama also benefitted from an upsurge in productions).

This foray into matters of state control over the theater points us toward a problem. By the late 1800s London's population had grown to about 950,000, up from around 700,000 at the beginning of the century. Limiting the drama to two houses (or two and a half, including the Haymarket) left many audience members out in the cold. These people required places of entertainment, and they would get them. The law permitted opera, dancing, pantomime and melodrama (initially, as its name suggests, a form of musical theater) to be performed at non-patent houses, and Londoners flocked to productions that mixed these sanctioned elements into new, spectacular forms. During the eighteenth century, visual and musical elements would become increasingly popular in the theaters. Alexander Pope, quoted above, could perceive the trend toward an emphasis on visual elements: "For taste, eternal wanderer, now flies / From heads to ears, and now from ears to eyes."<sup>3</sup>

It was only a matter of time until someone arrived at the notion that animals would be ideal performers in an era that drastically limited on-stage speech. In 1770, Astley's Amphitheatre, as it would be known, was opened off the Westminster Bridge Road in Lambeth. Philip Astley, the man who hit upon the

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<sup>3</sup> Pope, "Imitations of Horace," vv. 312–13 (see note 2).

notion (and who would later gain renown as the creator of the modern circus), was born in Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1742, the son of a temperamental cabinetmaker who was fond of horses. Evidently preferring a life more exciting than one spent cutting veneer, yet maintaining his father's love for horses, young Philip left home to join the cavalry regiment known as the 15th Light Dragoons, in which he honed his talents as a brilliant horseman and swordsman. Astley possessed a booming voice and stood over six feet tall—making him a virtual giant in those days and thus destined to stand out in a crowd. During the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), in which Britain allied with Prussia against much of the rest of Europe, then-corporal Astley distinguished himself by a number of rescues and escapes, such as at the Battle of Emsdorf (in Hesse, 1760), where he is recorded as capturing an enemy (French) standard; then, at Freiberg (Saxony, 1762), rescuing the wounded Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick (Braunschweig) from behind enemy lines.

These and other exploits earned Astley the rank of Sergeant Major by the time he left the army and returned to England. Legend has it that Astley had been rewarded by General Granville Elliott (founder of the Dragoons) with the gift of a white charger named Gibraltar, and later known, in his performing days, under the title "the Spanish Horse." Astley promptly put his military training to good use, setting himself up in South London as a trick rider whose stunts included standing, kneeling, or reclining on two (or three) galloping horses (often while playing the pipe), standing on his head on a pint-pot set on his saddle, and picking up items from the ground astride his horse at full gallop. Initially this institution was known as The Riding School, founded in a field in Lambeth Marsh in 1768. By 1770 the Amphitheatre was opened off Westminster Bridge Road. Additional construction took place in stages during the following years, and the ring itself was covered in 1782; the second building, in 1784, was the first to offer a completely covered auditorium, ring, and stage.<sup>4</sup> Nor did Astley's lack rivals: Charles Hughes and Charles Dibdin opened the Royal Circus on Blackfriars Road in 1782, inaugurating a period of intense competition between the two houses. On the other side of the Thames, Sadler's Wells also staged circus-type productions, but switched to the "aquatic drama" with the installation of a large water tank in 1804;

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<sup>4</sup> Astley's went through various incarnations until its final demise in 1893, when it was under the management of George Sanger. There were six buildings in all, the first four of which were destroyed by fire. For further information, see: Diana Howard, *London Theatres and Music Halls, 1850–1950* (London: The Library Association, 1970), 15–16; A. H. Saxon, *Enter Foot and Horse: A History of Hippodrama in England and France* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968); Marius Kwint, "The Legitimization of the Circus in Late Georgian England," *Past and Present* 174 (February 2002): 72–115; id., entries on Philip Astley and his son John in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 60 vols. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) (also online at: [www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com); last accessed on April 15, 2011).

naval engagements, complete with bombardments, appeared in works such as *The Siege of Gibraltar* (1804).

Astley's hybrid role as soldier/performer is emphasized in the early bills for the Riding School, in which he is touted as "Mr. Astley, the original English warrior [sic] from Gen. Eliott's [sic] Light Horse."<sup>5</sup> He often appeared as the "English Hussar," a routine "which showed the equestrian in his military uniform, re-enacting General Eliot's charge of the French troops in Germany in 1761."<sup>6</sup> A clipping from 1775 notes his accession to requests from gentlemen that Astley provide demonstrations of martial skill: he will

display the different Attitudes, offensive and defensive, Sword in Hand, imitating real Action, as practiced by Preston's Light Dragoons now on their passage to North America, he begs leave to inform the Public, that in order to give everyone an opportunity to see it displayed, he intends, between the different exhibitions of Horsemanship and Activity, to perform that Warlike Discipline every Evening the Week, and absolutely no longer.<sup>7</sup>

The valorization of the English military was not limited to its army; despite its very earthbound nature, the ring at Astley's would feature many heroic roles for the British sailor, the tar. This institution would prove crucial to the development of one of the more unusual hybrid dramatic forms, the hippodrama.

As Astley's venue progressed from riding school to performance space, one area of emphasis was trick riding. Advertisements for the Riding School display a range of entertainments including rope-dancing, learned pigs, dancing dogs, tumbling, fireworks, bird-calls, and *ombres chinoises* (shadow-puppet shows)—but horsemanship was the key. A couple of performers, one being Astley's wife Patty, served up the unlikely combination of equestrianism and apiarism: riding while covered in bees. A favorite piece, played well into the next century, showed Astley feigning equestrian ineptitude as "The Taylor Riding to Brentford": his foppish tailor, Billy Buttons, ends up mounted backwards on his horse, riding through various obstacles and disasters, culminating in a leap through a window.<sup>8</sup> One version of

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<sup>5</sup> Philip Astley, *Horsemanship. This and every day, at six o'clock in the evening (Sundays excepted) Mr. Astley, the original English warrior from Gen. Eliott's . . .* [London], [1771?]. Advertising Woodcut. British Library. Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (last accessed on Nov. 1, 2010, University of Massachusetts, Amherst).

<sup>6</sup> Helen Burke, "Jacobin Revolutionary Theatre and the Early Circus: Astley's Dublin Amphitheatre in the 1790s," *Theatre Research International* 31.1 (2006): 1-16; 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Early London Theatres: A Collection of Newspaper Clippings, etc., on the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> Century London Stage*, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library, NCOM [RBS] 97–1156, 2.

<sup>8</sup> See Jacqueline S. Bratton and Jane Traies, *Theatre in Focus: Astley's Amphitheatre* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1980), 33.

this routine shows the tailor attempting to participate in a foxhunt: failing to take a fence, he strews the stage with buttons, thimbles, measures, and shears.<sup>9</sup>

The feats at Astley's were not always those of the rider. In a forerunner of the "animal acting" that would be used in a more complex way later, the horse would also be called upon to assume roles and perform feats. A key figure in such early shows was Billy, the famed "Little Learned Military Horse" purchased, according to legend, for five pounds. Billy was, in Dickens's words "a great popular favorite, playful as a kitten with those he knew, and deeply versed in all the learning of the circus. Billy could fire off pistols, take a tea-kettle off a blazing fire, lay the cloth, arrange cups and saucers, and invite the clown to tea."<sup>10</sup> In other routines Billy would count, tell gold from silver money, distinguish ladies from gentlemen in the audience, and engage in "thought-reading" with another equine performer, the "Little Turk."<sup>11</sup> He was prominently featured in publicity for the venue, and was also known as the "Little Conjuring Horse"; according to one report from 1781, he "possesses a wonderful memory, and was very attentive to his master."<sup>12</sup> In a notable routine, Billy "played dead" while Astley, standing over the "corpse," uttered these lines:

My horse is dead apparent at your sight,  
But I'm the man can set the thing to right:  
Speak when you please, I'm ready to obey,  
My faithful horse knows what I want to say;  
But first pray give me leave to move his foot,  
That he is dead is quite beyond dispute.

*The horse appears quite dead.*

This shews that brutes by Heaven were designed  
To be in full subjection to mankind:  
Rise young Bill, and be a little handy  
To serve that warlike hero Granby!"

*The horse of his own accord rises.*<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The *Times*, 10 May 1785.

<sup>10</sup> Charles Dickens, "Philip Astley," *All the Year Round*, 27 January 1872, p. 210.

<sup>11</sup> Maurice Willson Disher, *Greatest Show on Earth, As Performed for Over a Century at Astley's (Afterwards Sanger's) Royal Amphitheatre of Arts, Westminster Bridge Road* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), 26.

<sup>12</sup> *Early London Theatres: A Collection of Newspaper Clippings, etc., on the 18th–19th Century London Stage*, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library. NCOM [RBS] 97–1156, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Charles John Smith, *Historical and literary curiosities, consisting of fac-similes of original documents; scenes of remarkable events and interesting localities; and the birth-places, residences, portraits, and monuments, of eminent literary characters; with a variety of reliques and antiquities connected with the same subjects. Selected and engraved by the late Charles John Smith* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1847).

These early cases of animal acting were divorced from any larger dramatic context: the horse engages in extraordinary actions, but cannot—yet—be said to perform a dramatic role in a larger story.

The amphitheatre drew in audiences not only with its trick-riding but by also with prompt recreations of major events of the day, particularly battles. The presentation of scenes of military conflict, increasingly elaborate and touted as “authentic” in detail, was Astley’s other great attraction. On the one hand, the horse act provided a tight focus on a living image, a sign and symbol of military impulse and action; on the other hand, the staging of parades, troop movements, skirmishes and battles, with “soldiers” and horses accurately attired and recreating specific actions on a reconstructed field of conflict, offered a long view of a discrete event. Thus Astley’s productions generated both a telescopic and panoramic view of war: a dual image that, significantly, largely abandoned the characterization of individuals. This shift in perspective also made possible a new kind of experience for audiences, now encouraged to feel involved in the action as never before. As Gillian Russell suggests, “People attended Astley’s and Sadler’s Wells not because their entertainments were more or less theatrical but because the theatre, like the camp and the parade ground, catered to the desire to *see war*.”<sup>14</sup>

Commentary on some of the productions discussed below illustrates this point, emphasizing the allure of the audience’s privileged perspective. From the first, Astley assured his customers that they were seeing a real old soldier recreating actual military feats; in later, more complex productions they were promised true images of faraway places and action. Such spectacles were relying, of course, on a larger shift in taste and aesthetic experience. In the second half of the eighteenth century, emergent technologies allowed thrilling new experiences of time and space: Philippe de Louthembourg’s shows using transparencies allowed viewers to “see” that famous traditional parade of British naval might, the Spithead Naval Review, in the 1773 revival of David Mallett and James Thomson’s *Alfred*. Likewise, Robert Barker’s Panorama, opened in Leicester Square in 1793, offered a comprehensive view of a wide range of subjects, foreign and domestic, often unfolding not only in space but also in time.<sup>15</sup> Consumers of such entertainments inevitably revised their notions of “realistic” effect.

On 18 August 1789, Astley’s produced *Paris in an Uproar; or, The Destruction of the Bastille*.<sup>16</sup> For this spectacle, the floor of the amphitheatre was largely taken up

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<sup>14</sup> Gillian Russell, *The Theatres of War: Performance, Politics, and Society, 1793–1815* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 74.

<sup>15</sup> For more information on such late eighteenth-century entertainments, see Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1978).

<sup>16</sup> Other “Bastille plays” appeared at Astley’s rival houses in the summer of 1789: The Royal Circus offered *The Triumph of Liberty; or, The Destruction of the Bastille* on 5 August; Sadler’s Wells followed on 31 August with *Gallie Freedom; or, Vive la Liberte* [sic].



with a model of central Paris, and Astley and others wore, according to the publicity, genuine National Guard Uniforms sent from Paris by his son John (born in 1768, John had been a performer since childhood). As would be typical of stagings at this venue, the draw lay in the visual detail. *Paris in an Uproar* promised elaborate interior and exterior views of the Bastille, including dungeons, "the whole forming an exact Representation of that once tremendous Edifice."<sup>17</sup> Initial depictions of revolutionary activity in France followed a comforting template, as if the events were like any other military conflict. Gillian Russell has noted that "The fall of the Bastille was [ . . . ] represented at the minor theatres in the same terms as a siege or battle, except that the politics of this particular war were very different from the norm"; for the audience the theater became "Paris" in the same way that it would later "become" Valenciennes and Seringapatam (sites of historic English victories in France and India, respectively), when they too were recreated onstage.<sup>18</sup>

Astley's early depictions of the French Revolution were generally friendly to the champions of the people. English (and Irish) characters might appear on the scene in these works, having not much to do other than suggest, with benevolent good cheer and song, that English notions of liberty were at last taking hold across the channel. A striking example of this approach appears in *The Royal Fugitives; or, France in an Uproar* (25 July 1791), which represented the failed escape of the royal family on 20–21 June of that year. The tone is jocular from the opening song, in which we meet an English dancing-master, Smart, who has come to France to learn new steps only to observe a bigger "dance": "Both high and low, both great and small, / To caper are inclined." It is a joke, but one that points up the theater's relentless view of all events as being reducible to patterns of spectacle. Smart and his Irish companion, Pat O'Rowe, mingle in the action with historical figures in the affair, not only the King and Queen but also the postmaster Drouet, who thwarted their escape at Varennes.

The piece features numerous equestrian moments, including a scene in which the royal party, eager to flee, is thwarted by the suspicious postmaster, who insists on watering the horses. The mob scenes that delighted the audience lead in the end to more jokes about *movement*: Smart gleefully observes that "the dance is chang'd," and heads off to observe the new authorities: "Then let's with the ASSEMBLY [sic] unite, / For I hear their *new steps* will delight, / But if, do you see, there's a ROUT, / Why, as we *danc'd in*, we'll *dance out*."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> The *Times*, 18 August 1789.

<sup>18</sup> Russell, *Theatres of War*, 68 and 70 (see note 14).

<sup>19</sup> [John Astley], *The Royal Fugitives; or, France in an Uproar, A BURLETTA As Performing with Applause at THE ROYAL GROVE, Written according to the Instructions of A GENTLEMAN OF DISTINCTION who was at Paris during the late Commotion*. Third ed. (London: G. Allen, 1791), 18.

When the wars between England and revolutionary France began in 1793, Astley re-enlisted in his former regiment. He was fifty at the time, and functioned at once as a celebrity and a soldier. This recursion to military status created a particularly close relationship between the war and its representation back home at the amphitheatre, since Philip Astley's son John could promptly stage "authentic" versions of events based upon his father's letters from the field. As the circus historian Marius Kwint has noted, this highly publicized use of "expert" sources would set a pattern for the staging of warfare: "Astley's and competing popular theatres and circuses [. . .] became principal suppliers of visualized information on present or recent conflicts for much of the nineteenth century. However cheap their lyrics and plots, they were sometimes lavishly furnished with detailed and purportedly accurate maps, panoramas and models worked up by the scenery and special effects departments."<sup>20</sup>

Take, for instance, the production of *The Siege of Valenciennes* (1793). Dickens gives Philip Astley credit for a canny public relations gesture: his provision of free seats (next to the orchestra) to returning veterans guaranteed that the show would extend into the audience itself: "The audience crowded the theatre merely to look at the troops fresh from the war, and the spectacle of *The Siege of Valenciennes*, produced with great completeness, attracted all London."<sup>21</sup>

The siege itself lasted from 24 May–26 July 1793. Thirty thousand allied troops, mostly British and Austrian, successfully besieged the city, before moving on to Dunkirk—a more important target. Less than two months later, Astley staged *The Siege of Valenciennes; or, The Entrance of the British Troops into France*. In an address to the public supplied in the published texts of the songs from the piece, Astley apologizes for not producing it sooner:

the multiplicity of matter necessary for the production of a piece of such importance as the siege of Valenciennes, could not be collected in a day, nor put together in a week: – this has occasioned that seeming delay, which [I trust] will be entirely removed, when the public behold an entertainment founded, not on an imaginary event, but on one as true as it was glorious! – the representation of which, is, he flatters himself executed in a style which will do credit to the ingenuity of the artist, and to the skill of the composer.<sup>22</sup>

Astley's painstaking attention to detail and his solemn insistence that the careful construction of the piece contribute to the documentary quality—or the illusion of

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<sup>20</sup> Marius Kwint, "The Theatre of War," *History Today* 53.6 (June 2003): 36–7; here 36.

<sup>21</sup> Dickens, "Philip Astley," 209 (see note 10).

<sup>22</sup> *Songs, Duets, Chorusses, &c. with a description of Scenery and Machinery in a New Military Spectacle called The Siege of Valenciennes; or, The Entrance of the British Troops into France. Now performing, with unbounded applause, at the Royal Saloon, or, Astley's Amphitheatre, Westminster Bridge* (London: H. Pace, 1793). Cited hereafter as "*Siege of Valenciennes*."

it—are inherent in many of his productions from the 1790s. The *Siege of Valenciennes* has an episodic, pageant-like effect, with a very limited attempt at characterization. The cast list includes British, French, Hessian, Hanoverian, and Imperial officers; French citizens and *sans culottes* (working-class French during their revolution); gunners, artillerymen, sappers (combat engineers), miners, and the like. The show begins at the tent of the duke of York (our nominal hero, to whom Astley dedicated the piece), where the duke, as commander-in-chief, is seen in pantomime consulting with his officers. We then swiftly move to the outskirts of the besieged city, where a skirmish takes place (the horses would here make a prompt appearance). The piece presents a series of dumb shows (shorter, pantomime dramas)—the French town folk pleading with their Governor, for instance—scenes of combat, and songs. At the end appear a victory procession and paeon to Prince Frederick, the duke of York.

Much of the play is taken up with images of military action, even extant summaries of which reveal Astley's obsession with accurate detail. Take, for instance, Scene VII:

*The Major's Battery on the Right of Briquette, and a South View of the City of Valenciennes, Redoubts, Gun and Mortar Batteries, &c.*

Several of the French batteries, particularly those from the Bason Royal, la Porte de Cambrai, and part of the citadel, are seen directing their fire on the English, who return it so vigorously on the assailants, as not only to dismount their guns, but very materially injure their town, by destroying, among other edifices, the church de St. Nicholas, and setting fire to various parts of the city by bombs, the effects of which are theatrically represented, as they appeared on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of the siege.<sup>23</sup>

This scene's description is by no means unusual in its energy (theater-goers at Astley's grew accustomed to the smoke from simulated gunfire and explosions). The parties to the conflict are, almost without exception, depicted en masse or by type, nationality or military function. Almost every rank and function ends up singing its particular song: "the sappers," "the miner," "the gunner," and so forth. The dragoons, singing on horseback, offer up extended patriotic assurances, one verse of which will suffice:

When sent the intrenchments to cover,  
Each danger we boldly despise;  
And oft is our talk to discover  
Where the force of the enemy lies:  
Still forward we dash;  
While bombs and balls clash,  
And the foe on all sides giving way;

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<sup>23</sup> *Siege of Valenciennes*, 12 (see note 22).

Still, still we pursue,  
 And cut our way through,  
 And true British valour display.<sup>24</sup>

Speaking in a unified voice, the dragoons merely formulate much of what we are actually seeing them do in the ring. They become signs of military specialization and prowess rather than characters, not so different from the horses themselves.

In such representations, the danger arises that any military conflict might be reduced to struggles between groups differentiated only by level of skill. How can a moral dimension, a sense of the identities and values at issue in any battle, be bodied forth? Certainly the flags, costumes, and songs afforded audience members a good sense of who was who, but the deemphasizing of rhetoric made these contests less emotional, less comprehensible. Jane Moody has usefully analyzed the treatment of the “despot” figure in this period, particularly the reliance on the “blow-up” effect, a spectacular explosion that destroys the tyrant enemy’s fortress or redoubt: “It makes representable in an entirely new way that irreducible confrontation between freedom and despotism, good and evil.”<sup>25</sup> Moody’s observations on the representation of despotism in the illegitimate theatre point us toward some interesting dramaturgical issues in the 1790s.

The decade saw a number of plays dealing with the Mysore Wars, and the serious resistance facing the British—particularly the power of the East India Company—in southern India. Tipu Sultan, called by the British Tippoo Saib, was the son of Hyder Ali, a French ally who had defeated the British in the Second Mysore War in the 1780s; in the 1790s, Tipu Sultan fought the British in the Third and Fourth Mysore Wars. Although he lost both wars, and was killed in the last defending his capital of Seringapatam on 4 May 1799, Tipu was embodied on stage as a figure of real power and danger. Astley’s (along with Sadler’s Wells Theatre) dramatized the news of the wars as quickly as possible, staging in April of 1792 *Tippoo Sultan; or, The Siege of Bangalore*; in August of 1792 an *East India Military Divertissement*, later called *Tippoo Saib’s Two Sons*; and in September of 1799 *The Storming of Seringapatam; or, The Death of Tippoo Saib*. Tipu, referred to as an “Eastern Despot” and “The Tiger of Mysore” was certainly given his due in these extravaganzas; however, certain spectacular elements persistently undercut his status as a formidable foe in war.

*The Siege of Bangalore* represented events of the previous year, in February and March of 1791, when General Cornwallis brought the British public some comfort after the defeats of the 1780s in America and Mysore. Daniel O’Quinn characterizes the piece as “an amalgamation of action, animal husbandry, and

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<sup>24</sup> *Siege of Valenciennes*, 12–13 (see note 22).

<sup>25</sup> Jane Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770–1840* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 28.

complex scenic effects" typical of Astley's productions.<sup>26</sup> O'Quinn also notes that commentators uphold Astley's notion of his amphitheatre as itself a kind of quasi-battlefield. A reviewer for *The Oracle* observes that, "Mr. Astley, Jun. commenced the present campaign last Monday evening." Another from the *Star and Daily Advertiser* marks the closing of the production thus: "the Siege of Bangalore takes its leave of the Royal Saloon and the public, Tippoo Saib being compelled to fly. It is reported that he has bled freely, as young Astley can testify."<sup>27</sup> These references to the martial essence of the representations themselves, however jocular, display a key part of the appeal of Astley's Amphitheatre, which, more than any preexisting venue, made performers and audience members quasi-participants in their country's military campaigns and successes.

The sequence of scenes for *The Siege of Bangalore* suggests a contrast between British order and discipline and Eastern corruption and indolence, the whole concluding with a display of British troops at drills (the seeming inevitability of British superiority is not in the least undercut here by the fact that Tipu escaped from the victorious General Cornwallis). The later representation in August of the surrender of Tipu's two sons as hostages to the British likewise sets up an opposition between the failed paternal figure of Tipu, framed by a view of Seringapatam (Philip Astley claimed to have obtained a useful drawing of the city from French sources) with the gracious and victorious Cornwallis, seen at the Hill Fort where he offers a "noble reception" to the two princes.<sup>28</sup>

In the 1799 "New Grand and Historical Spectacle of Action," *The Storming of Seringapatam*, the usual songs, dances, and choruses punctuate an elaborate series of ten scenic effects, including "the Banqueting Garden of Tippoo Sultan"; "A Correct View of the City of Seringapatam, with the whole of Tippoo's Army, Elephants, Camels, &c. in Motion, together with the Mysore Army [. . .] forming a Camp near Fort Periapatam"; "A British Battery Opening Brisk Fire on Tippoo's Piquet [picket] Guard, particularly the blowing up of a Powder Mill"; and the "Zenana and City on Fire, with a Variety of Circumstances that attended this important Conquest."<sup>29</sup>

Daniel O'Quinn has noted the tightening of perspective here: "the increasing enlargement of scale—each successive scene corresponds to a smaller geographical space—has a telescopic effect [. . .] succession of scenes effectively generates the fantasy of hurtling into the space."<sup>30</sup> The pattern of these scenes emphasizes a

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<sup>26</sup> Daniel O'Quinn, *Staging Governance: Theatrical Imperialism in London, 1770–1800* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 320.

<sup>27</sup> Both reviews cited in O'Quinn, *Staging Governance*, 321 (see note 26).

<sup>28</sup> Details are from the advertisement in the *Times*, 23 August 1792, 3.

<sup>29</sup> Advertisement in the *Times*, 30 September 1799.

<sup>30</sup> O'Quinn, *Staging Governance*, 345 (see note 26).

British military superiority in weapons, training, and administration that was far from assured at the time; by contrast, depictions of Tipu tend to display his obesity, taste for luxury, and general personal weakness. In both *Tippoo Saib's Two Sons* and *The Storming of Seringapatam* the collapse of the Sultan's home and family are pointedly depicted: in the former two of his sons are handed over to the British; in the latter the climactic scene shows not only his death but the destruction of the *zenana*, or harem. The "blow-up" effect here encompasses the destruction of the powder mill, the *zenana*, and the city itself. (Readers of Wilkie Collins will recall this destruction as the backdrop for the opening of his sensational 1868 novel, *The Moonstone*.) This domestication and annihilation of the figure of an opposing tyrant, contrasted with scenes of battle in which his enemies emerge victorious, would shortly provide an important template for the portrayal of Romantic-era Britain's favorite bugbear, Napoleon.

As the above descriptions suggest, horses (and other animals) were never kept long offstage. Not only did they appear routinely in battle scenes—being one of the "sensational" elements, along with the explosions—but they also remained a crucial component of the bill. A program from late in 1791 furnishes a good sense of the mingling of tricks, exercises, and military drama, offering the following enticements: "Equestrian Maneuvers on a Single Horse by Master Giles Sutton. Including the Exercise of the Skipping Rope, the Fork and Oranges, Cups-and-Saucers &c. After which will be given Useful Hints to Bad Horsemen"; "A Grand Heroic and Historical Pantomime [. . .] *The Siege of Quebec; or, The Death of General Wolfe*."<sup>31</sup> In the intervals between dramas or acts, trick riding troops of jumpers, and equestrian exercises were offered up alongside ventriloquists and ropewalkers. The horses' tricks, their "acting," would soon be incorporated into the drama of war.

It is in the first decade of the nineteenth century that we see brought together the varied and successful elements of the illegitimate theater's depiction of armed conflict. The reliance on equestrian scenes and expertise, the staging of troop movements and large-scale scenes of conflict, and the increasingly cartoonish representation of the tyrannical enemy all merge, to striking effect. And they do so not in the illegitimate theaters, but in the heart of the legitimate drama, at Covent Garden. In 1811, Philip Kemble, amid great delight and outrage, brought the hippodrama to his theater in a production of Matthew ("Monk") Lewis's "Grand, Romantic Melo-Drama," *Timour the Tartar* (see Plate 1). A peculiar play on many levels, *Timour* is first of all a version of the life of the great fourteenth-century conqueror Timur (also known as Tamerlane). To any reader of Christopher Marlowe's hair-raising two-parter, *Tamburlaine the Great* (1587–1588),

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<sup>31</sup> The *Times*, 22 September 1791.

Lewis's *Timour* looks very watered down indeed. Marlowe's Zenocrate, Tamburlaine's captive-turned-wife, is now Zorilda, a much less cooperative female; Callapine, the treacherous son of the Turkish sultan and Tamburlaine's captive, is now Agib, Zorilda's imprisoned child; and while Marlowe's barbarian is without family, building his own inner circle by conquest and seduction, Lewis's version is burdened by a cranky old father and a whining, social-climbing sister. Timour appears a comically reduced tyrant, and never once in the play manages to kill anyone, despite abundant threats to do so.

This defanged terror is, as Jane Moody observes, "a Napoleonic Bogeyman,"<sup>32</sup> a connection reinforced by the casting in the title role of Charles Farley, who was rather short. Reviewers immediately picked up on the connection. *The Morning Chronicle* suggested that "Some part of the piece may be considered a satire upon a neighboring Emperor. Timour is an usurper, and raises his needy relations to princely dignity . . ." <sup>33</sup> *Bell's Weekly Messenger* praised the "ingenious allegorical interpretation": "Bonaparte was certainly never in a more miserable condition than he is at present [. . .] Mr. Kemble [. . .] is making a most spirited campaign against him at Covent Garden; borrowing the cavalry of Astley, and bringing to bear on him the whole park of artillery of the Playhouse."<sup>34</sup>

Leigh Hunt, in *The Examiner*, expressed mock sympathy for Bonaparte, "who is perfectly shocked, no doubt, to hear of these terrible proceedings against him in 'the finest theatre in Europe!'"<sup>35</sup> The practice at the legitimate theaters was to rely on "analogical drama" to explore contemporary political problems and fears on stage without alarming the censor. Gillian Russell has offered a useful reading of *Pizarro*, by Lewis's highly popular earlier contemporary, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, as one such play, in that it illuminates England's anxiety in the face of possible French invasion (remarkably, the Peruvian Indians are here stand-ins for the British).<sup>36</sup> This tactic would seem to undercut the assertion of authenticity and immediacy in the depiction of wars at the illegitimate houses. Nonetheless, the audiences seemed to have no trouble accepting the double image, wherein contemporary troop movements of the sort they might see at Astley's appear in a conflict set in an earlier century.

Nor was *Timour the Tartar* entirely an exercise in comic deflation. Equestrian spectacle provided a key component of the action—and the play's success. Astley's troop of horses was borrowed, imported into the sacred precincts of Covent

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<sup>32</sup> Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London* 99–100 (see note 25).

<sup>33</sup> *The Morning Chronicle*, 30 April 1811, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 5 May 1811; cited in *The Broadview Anthology of Romantic Drama*, ed. Jeffrey N. Cox and Michael Gamer (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2003), 348–49. Henceforth "Cox and Gamer."

<sup>35</sup> *The Examiner*, May 1811; cited in Cox and Gamer, 349 (see note 34).

<sup>36</sup> Russell, *Theatres of War*, 54–59 (see note 14).

Garden (one wag provided an epigram nodding to Swift: "May the *Houynnhms* no longer be reckon'd a fable, / Now all our great actors are brought from the stable").<sup>37</sup> They appear in the very first scene, in Zorilda's arrival at Timour's court (see Plate 2):

*(The Tartars arrive on horse-back, conducting Zorilda, drest as an Amazon, holding an arrow, and wearing a quiver. She is mounted on a Courser, richly caparisoned, and attended by four African boys in Golden chains, and holding fans of painted feathers—Two of them prostrate themselves; the others throw a tapestry over them; the Courser kneels, and She steps on the Slaves to dismount, Abdalec giving her his hand—The Horses withdraw, after paying their homage to Timour)*<sup>38</sup>

Zorilda, actually a Princess from Georgia, is here disguised as an Amazon to rescue her kidnapped son from Timour. Her entrance provides a stately introduction for the horses. But by the end of Act 1, the horses begin to receive more attention. In fact, Act 1, Scene 3, is almost entirely composed of stage direction depicting a contest between two knights of Timour, rival suitors to a young lady of the court:

*"The Lists,—the Circle is formed by balconies filled with spectators—On each side is a decorated throne.—Zorilda, Timour, and Selima arrive in a Car of triumph, followed by Bermeddin, Abdalec, and Tartars; They descend; Timour and Zorilda occupy one throne, and Selima the other.—Agib's Tower appears as in the first scene.—A Trumpet sounds, and is answered; the Barriers are thrown open, and Kerim and Sanballat enter on horseback, from opposite sides. They charge with lances: at length Kerim's horse takes part in the combat, seizes Sanballat, and drags him to the ground—Sanballat rises, and attributes the victory solely to the Horse. Kerim proposes to renew the Combat on foot. The horses are led away and the fight begins: Kerim falls, and loses his sword. His rival rushes to dispatch him, when Kerim's Horse leaps the Barrier, prevents Sanballat from advancing, picks up the sword, and carries it to his Master. Sanballat in fury stabs the horse, who falls, and expires.*

*Zorilda: Hold! Hold! Oh! Coward!*

*(Kerim's desire to avenge the faithful Animal increases his strength. He disarms his Rival, drags him to the Horse, and sacrifices him on the Body: During which all descend. Selima embraces Kerim: Zorilda crowns him: But He takes off the wreath, breaks it, strews the flowers on the Horse, and falls upon Him weeping—Selima hangs over them greatly affected).*<sup>39</sup>

In his exploits here, the noble horse conjures an echo of Astley's Billy, the Little Learned Military Horse, so good at fetching and carrying and feigning death ("That he is dead is quite beyond dispute"). But his "tricks" have an entirely different effect here, since he is in fact a character in a play.

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<sup>37</sup> *The Poetical Register*, January 1810, 89.

<sup>38</sup> Matthew Lewis, *Timour the Tartar*, in *The Broadview Anthology of Romantic Drama*, ed. Cox and Gamer, 103 (see note 34). All further references are to this edition.

<sup>39</sup> *Timour the Tartar*, 108 (see note 34).



Within this “lists” scene itself, the horse assumes an elevated character, embodying the virtues of loyalty, bravery, and self-sacrifice. The other key figures—Kerim, Sanballat, and Selima, the woman over whom they fight—have virtually nothing to do for the rest of the play. This is “their” scene, but clearly they are secondary figures even here. The horse is allotted the significant action (he holds the center of the stage, and resists being confined to the side) that embodies in miniature the central event of the play: the protection of the virtuous and good and the thwarting of the villain. However, Kerim and Sanballat are barely characters; the beast has more agency. The “tricks” of Astley’s Billy here coalesce to endow the horse with a higher function, and he becomes a sign of the warrior himself. It is not simply the horse’s own actions that create this equine apotheosis. When Sanballat, in a fury, stabs the animal, it is a wonderful moment of deflection: the horse has become his foe, not Kerim. And it is the horse that gets the great death scene, as he is lavishly mourned by his comrades. This is, strikingly, the only true battle death described in the entire play. And while Sanballat is reduced to losing a battle with an animal, Timour gets only a comic parody of that “battle”: in Act II he wrathfully stabs a couch, wrongly imagining an enemy to be hiding therein.

The crowds at Covent Garden adored the expanded role of the horses. The *Morning Chronicle* gave in to the trend: “if horse actors are to be the rage, why should not they, as well as biped performers, have characters made for them to show them off to the best advantage [. . .] Had the audience been polled upon the subject, we think that we may venture to say the three-fourths of them came to see the horses—the horses—and nothing but the horses.” *The Dramatic Censor* proved more grudging:

The piece is, on the whole, as shewy as it could be made by the most lavish profusion of theatrical pomp: but the horses are the principle performers. Some displeasure appears to have been premeditated on by the critics in the pit: but the *unaffected zeal* and *natural acting* of the horses gradually softened the asperity of their enemies; and the melo-drama concluded with a roar of approbation.<sup>40</sup>

*Timour the Tartar*, despite its appearance on a legitimate stage where the spoken word may be expected to define character, privileges spectacle over speech by concentrating in the animal presence the issues that drive the dramatic action. This quasi-fetishizing of the horse adds a new twist to the idea of the animal act, one that would give rise to new routines at Astley’s itself. If Philip Astley had amused audiences with acts such as “The Taylor Riding to Brentford,” later performers at his amphitheatre, such as the great Andrew Ducrow, would amaze viewers with

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<sup>40</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 30 April 1811, p. 2; *The Dramatic Censor*, May 1811, cited in Cox and Gamer, 241–45 (see note 34).

more complex variants of such sequential equine mini-dramas, pantomimes on horseback. Take, for example, the hit routine from the 1820s, "The Vicissitudes of a Tar" (Plate 3), in which Ducrow, as a jolly sailor, is seen undergoing a series of adventures, including battle and shipwreck, all enacted from the back of a galloping horse decked out as a ship, complete with (at different moments) gun ports, anchor, sails, and treasure chest. The horse is no longer merely an animal, but a living sign of war, one no longer bound even to land (there's something delightfully absurd in the image of the horse-ship).

The horses have one more scene in *Timour*. Not surprisingly, they play a key role in the concluding scene, which incorporates the arrival of cavalry. Timour, ever less effectual as a villain as the play goes on, ultimately fails in his attempt to marry or kill Zorilda, or to maintain his grip on her son. This last scene combines a number of effects, including large-scale battle maneuvers, lighting, horses, and water:

*Scene the Last: The Fortress by Moonlight. The whole of it is entirely surrounded by water, except a lofty Tower on one side, with a Terrace beneath, of which only one Angle is visible: a variety of smaller Towers, and hanging Terraces appear beyond.*

While his men battle the forces arriving from Georgia, Timour chases Zorilda through the fortress, until she is forced to throw herself into the sea:

*Timour:* Ha! She sinks!—There let her perish.

*Agib (Entering on horseback, followed by Georgians):*—Not while I live to save her—(He seizes a banner, leaps his Horse over the Parapet, and disappears. The Georgians give shouts of admiration, and all rush towards the Water) [. . .] (The Horse rises out of the Water, bearing Agib and Zorilda. The Tartars sally from the Fortress, and endeavor to re-take the Princess; the Georgians come to her assistance; a general engagement takes place, in which Timour is overthrown.<sup>41</sup>

Timour is defeated in the end by an alliance of presumptive non-combatants: the old man Oglou (his father), the woman Zorilda, the child Agib, and Zorilda's horse, first seen in Act I. This horse was singled out by critics for particular praise: "The white horse which carried the heroine (Mrs. H. Johnston) plays admirably. He kneels, leaps, tumbles, dances, fights, dashes into water and up precipices, in a very superior style of acting, and completely astonished the audience."<sup>42</sup> The relentless diminution of Timour, and the role of the animal in his defeat—the suggestion that nature itself powerfully opposes him—neatly ties in with anti-Napoleonic imagery very familiar to British audiences.

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<sup>41</sup> Timour the Tartar, 116 (see note 38).

<sup>42</sup> The *European Magazine*, May 1811, cited in Cox and Gamer, 377–78 (see note 34).

The anonymous caricature of 1803, "A Peep at the Corsican Fairy" shows a tiny Bonaparte (smaller in fact than the hat he wears) chained up by the British Navy, and a long parade of caricatures shows the Emperor thwarted, mocked, and even eaten by a series of symbolic animals, from Biblical whales to Russian bears and, of course, British bulls and bulldogs.<sup>43</sup>

The complex use of analogical and equestrian drama in *Timour the Tartar* creates a very contemporary play, despite its historical and fantastic qualities. While the audience is not getting, as they were in *The Siege of Valenciennes* or the Tippoo Saib plays, a pseudo-realistic depiction of current events, they are getting something arguably more enticing. The fact that viewers must themselves engage in an act of interpretation suggests both the reception of expert knowledge (part of Astley's original advertising campaign for his amphitheatre) and also the movement toward application of this knowledge on the part of the audience, by now trained, over the previous couple of decades, in new ways to view war. That the audience is deeply involved in this theatrical event was noted by *The Dramatic Censor* in a supposed letter from one "Oliver Old Times" (likely an in-house creation), who, the morning after attending the play, shakes his head over the implications of its success:

*We are becoming a warlike people, Mr. Editor. We had wars in Queen Anne's time, but then we fought by a sort of proxy—at present the case is different, and the military spirit is diffused from the cot to the throne. Thanks to Bonaparte's threats of invasion, every man now is a soldier, and therefore naturally becomes enamoured of "the pomp, the pride, and circumstances of glorious war," and amongst them "the neighing steed" of course holds a conspicuous place in his affections—the field of battle is become "familiar to his thoughts," and what before he would have turned from in disgust, he now contemplates with pleasure. It was just so in Rome, it was not so until after the time of Terence [. . .] that the Romans took so violently to gladiatorial exhibitions . . .*<sup>44</sup>

The "conspicuous place" of the "neighing steed" emerges here as an emblem of glorious war—a sign accessible and familiar to audience members. The horse as prop, equipment, adjunct has moved, albeit briefly, from a secondary role to one of unexpected power. In effect, the horse functions as an analogue of nation and warfare, reassuring viewers with its vitality (even in feigning death), skill, and apparent sense of nobility. "Oliver Old Times" shudders at the "pleasure" this transformed, elevated horse brings to theatergoers; in reading the horse, theatergoers likewise elevate themselves, taking on a role and participating, however vicariously, in the action of war.

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<sup>43</sup> For a very full survey of such images, see A. M. Broadley, *Napoleon in Caricature, 1795–1821*, 2 vols. (London: John Lane, 1911).

<sup>44</sup> *The Dramatic Censor*, May 1811, p. 244n. Also cited in Cox and Gamer, 347–48 (see note 34).



Fig. 1: Characters in *Timour the Tartar*, including the combatants Kerim and Sanballat on horseback. London: A. Parks, ca. 1820. Author's Collection



Fig. 2: Mrs. Johnston's entrance as Zorilda in *Timour the Tartar*.  
London: Dighton, June 1811. Courtesy of the Billy Rose Theatre Collection, The  
New York Public Library for the Performing Arts



Fig. 3: Andrew Ducrow in the equestrian sketch 'The Vicissitudes of a Tar.' The etching, by R. Lloyd, features a slightly altered title. London: M&M Skelt, ca. 1840. Author's Collection

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Reproduced in: *Mythos Burg*. Begleitband zu den Ausstellungen "Burg und Herrschaft" (DHM, Berlin, 25.06.-24.10.2010) und „Mythos Burg“ (GNM, Nürnberg, 8.07-7.11.2010), ed. by G. Ulrich Grossmann and Hans Ottomeyer (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2010), 262, Fig. 6.32

Fig. 2: Without title, or: fictitious siege of a fortified place.

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